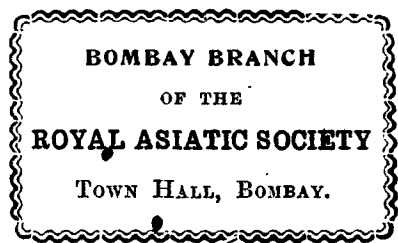




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THE *History*
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Martial Atchievements
OF THE
SCOTS NATION.

Being an ACCOUNT of the
Lives, Characters, and memorable Actions,
OF SUCH
Scotsmen as have Signaliz'd themselves by
the Sword at Home and Abroad.

A N D

A Survey of the Military Tranfactions wherein *Scotland*
or *Scotsmen* have been remarkably concern'd, from the first
Establishment of the *Scots* Monarchy to this present Time.

35161 *al*

By Patrick Abercromby M. D.

VOL. I.

*Hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi;
Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo.*

Virgil. Æneid. lib. VI.

HTC4
EDINBURGH,

Printed by Mr. ROBERT FREEBAIRN, and to be sold at his Shop
in the Parliament-Clofs. MDCXXI. *170*



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T O
His Grace
J A M E S
DUKE of
H A M I L T O N,

Marquess of Clydesdale, Earl of Arran, Lanerk and Cambridge, Lord Ayan, Polmond, Machinshire and Innerdale; Lord Lieutenant of the County of Lancaster, and Knight of the most ancient, and most noble Order of Scotland.

MY LORD,

THAT I should be equally fond and proud of the Honour of Approaching your Grace, in this Manner, is Natural; I very well know, that your great Name will adorn, and raise the Value of any Book it is prefix'd to; and as I could fall upon no Means more likely to prepossess the Minds of Readers, in Favour of my Performance, so I humbly acknowledge that, by offering it to your Grace, I do not at all Compliment your Grace, but that I court the Publick into a good Opinion of my self. But,

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I have a nobler Motive, than that interested one, of gaining the Favour of the Publick : I do also an Act of Justice and Duty. Your Grace is the first Peer of *Scotland* : The Blood of all those Kings, and most of those Worthies, whose Memories I endeavour to preserve from Oblivion, runs pure and untainted in your Veins. And did I not know, that one of your Ancestors was thought worthy of a Royal Consort ; That another was not only Governor of the Kingdom, but also, by Act of Parliament, declar'd to be (what he really was, in case the then Reigning Line had fail'd) rightful Successor to the Crown ; That, as the illustrious House of *Hamilton* has, at all Times, since its first Rise among us, produc'd most eminent Patriots, and sometimes, even Martyrs of Honour and Loyalty ; so that of *Douglas*, from which you are so lately descended, has honour'd the Nation with a Race of Heroes, inferiour to none of those or *Rome* or *Greece* could boast of : And in fine, That it has ever been the glorious Fate of your Grace's Family to share in that of the Throne, I mean, to rise and fall, to shine and to suffer Eclipses, in Proportion to the Vicissitudes that have attended our Sovereigns : I say, did I not know all these Things, so honourable to your Grace's Ancestors, your self, and your Posterity ; yet I should think my self oblig'd to present your Grace with this History of *Scots* Worthies, precisely upon the Score of your personal Merit ; the rather, because I'm convinc'd, that you'll view with Pleasure those immortal Actions, Men so very like to your self have atchiev'd, and you would, did the like Circumstances invite you, repeat.

What a Tender Concern your Grace has ever had for your Country ; what a dutiful Respect you have pay'd to the Crown ; with what a disinterested Zeal, with how much Labour, and with how great Charges, you have, on all Occasions, endeavour'd to promote the true Interest and Glory of both, we all know ; and after-Ages (always more impartial, and better inform'd

than

The D E D I C A T I O N.

than the present) will be sensible of. Whoever shall record the Transactions of this Time, and shall tell but naked Truth, particularly, with Reference to the Noble Efforts made towards enriching *Scotland*, by Commerce with the *Indies*, must needs write a Panegyrick upon your Grace; and your bare Name will then look more shining, than if join'd to the highest Titles, Preference can give. I shall not anticipate upon the ^{Ork} of succeeding Historians; nor shall I presume to in-^{crease}roach so far upon your Grace's Patience and ^{modesty}, as to mention any of those innate and ^{glorious}dearing Qualifications of your Heart and Soul, which render your Person as lovely, as your ^{rich}Rank has made you great, and your celebrated Endeavours, popular. What I have said, is only meant to shew your Grace, that you are in all Respects concern'd with the Subject Matter of the following Sheets; and that I'm therefore by Duty bound, as well as mov'd by Inclination, to dedicate them to the Entertainment of your Leisure-Hours. These Considerations, will, I hope, obtain Pardon, for what would otherwise be considered as a Piece of Vanity and Presumption in,

My Lord,

May it please your Grace,

Your Grace's

most humble,

most oblig'd and

devoted Servant

Patrick Abercromby.

T H E
P R E F A C E.

THE Scots Nobility and Gentry (Men in all Ages accusom'd to improve the Education they receive at Home by their after-Studies and Travels Abroad) are, by the politer and more judicious Part of the World, acknowledg'd to be generally knowing and well-bred. Among the other Qualifications they acquire, that of being acquainted with ancient and foreign History, is none of the least: And no wonder, since the Orders and Institutions, the Progress and Duration, the Successes and Decays, the Events and Revolutions, Laws and Customs of Rome and Greece of old, and of present Italy, France, England and Holland, are by various Authors so excellently well related, commented and enlarg'd, that they make the common Themes of Conversation and Reading, the Study of Learn'd, and Entertainment of idle Men. Scotland, on the contrary, has, since the Union of the British Crowns, made so small a Figure in Europe, and the Scots History, tho so elegantly written by the admir'd Buchanan, is, for many Reasons but too well known, particularly, the Loss of our ancient Records, to which no Scots Author, till of late, could have Access, in all the essential Parts of it so very lame and defective; and its Veracity has been, by contending Parties among our selves, as well as by our Neighbours (never heartily reconcild to their present Friends and Fellow-Subjects, because of old their Enemies,) so much question'd, that even Scotsmen, more uncertain what to credit concerning their own Ancestors, than those of their Neighbours, seem in this Respect to be more Strangers at Home than Abroad. From thence 'tis plain, that such a History of this Part of the Island, as not only the Inhabitants of the whole, but also Foreigners must needs believe, and depend upon, is wanting. But who shall undertake the arduous Work? Till all, or most Matters of Debate and Controversy shall be unravell'd, and to the Conviction of the Impartial, made clear, (and that's a Task too hard for any one Man,) in my Opinion no Body will. Indead several Scotsmen have already labour'd, and some still do with Success towards this End. Encourag'd by, and in Imitation of these, I have ventur'd upon the present Attempt: But not daring to call it a History, I have nam'd it, The Martial Atchievements of the Scots Nation; and, by inserting the Lives and Characters of Scots Warriors, which is the Province of Biography, made it a Compound of both. A Method and Way of writing quite new and unprecedented; but such as I thought most

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most proper to compass the Design I had in my View, which was to give as distinct an Account as was possible, of all the important Transactions of the Nation: For the Martial ones, their Causes and Effects, especially when join'd to the Lives of so many Warriors, must needs comprehend the whole. This I could not do as Matters stand, I mean, while there are so many Points controverted, without entering into frequent Reasonings and numerous Citations, and by Consequence Digressions, the nice Rules of History do not allow of: And (by Reason of the Distance of Time, Uncertainty of Tradition, the Loss of our Records, the consequential Lameness of our History, the Party Engagements of our ablest Writers, and the Contention of Neighbours) unacquainted, at least uncertain, with Reference to a great many minute, but useful and agreeable Circumstances, Biography requires, I have steer'd a middle Course between, if I may say so, Charybdis and Scylla.

But what I durst not my self attempt, a compleat History of Scotland, or an exact Biography of Scots Worthies, I flatter my self that I have facilitated for others. I have done it I hope methodically, and am sure, at least, since the Reign of Malcolm Canmore (for till then I had no certain Rule to walk by) chronologically, and that is, what, I'm sorry to tell the World, no Scots Historian has done before me. In the two first Books the Reader may expect to find as much probability, (for absolute Certainty cannot be look'd for, where Authentick Records are deficient) with Respect to the Antiquity of the Nation, the Succession and Rights of our Kings, the Constitution of the State, our old Laws; our Quarrels with the Romans, Britains, Picts, Saxons and Danes; our Friendship and League with the French, and more particularly our Martial Atchievements and most noted Chiftains, as could well be collected from the Writings of those different Authors, who have handl'd these Subjects apart. I dare say much more of the last Book, and second Chapter of the second, I have taken them almost entirely (and they contain at least twice as much Matter as is any where else to be found) from English Authors, and from both English and Scots Records. By Consequence, I assert nothing in them, but what is genuine Truth, and I may say, absolute Certainty; at least, when from these Vouchers I prove the Independency of our Church and State; the Wisdom, Piety, and Valour of our Kings; the Courage and Loyalty of our Ancestors; the unjust Encroachments of English Monarchs upon us; the Noble and Heroick Defence made by Scots Kings and Scots Worthies; the Regard paid by foreign Potentates to the Kings and Kingdom of Scotland; the Right of the Bruce, in Opposition to that of the Baliol; the first Establishment of Parliaments, &c. I hope 'twill be own'd that I bid fair to silence Contradiction, and have contributed my Part towards enabling a better Pen to out-do my self, than which I wish nothing more.

As to the Authors, from whose Works I have drawn Materials, I have every where cited them with a grateful Regard to their Merits. I have many Reasons to think Fordon the most sincere, and best inform'd of our ancient Historians; I have also a great Value for the Book intitul'd *Extracta e Chronicis Scotiæ*, the Chronicle of Melros, and the MS. of Icolmkill; for which Reasons, where these differ (as they frequently do) from Boethius, Lesly, Buchanan, &c. I have generally taken the Freedom to remark upon their Discrepance. Besides these, I have been

very

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very much oblig'd to the two great Ornaments of our Country, Sir Thomas Craig, and Sir George Mackenzie: I have been also much benefited by the learn'd Works of Sir Robert Sibbald, Sir James Dalrymple, and Mr. James Anderson; and singularly oblig'd to my learn'd and worthy Friends, Dr. George Mackenzie, John Urry A. M. of Christs-Church Oxon, Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, the deceas'd Mr. David Symson, and Mr. John Adair, Geographer for Scotland; besides several other Antiquaries, as Alexander Baillie of Castle-kerry, Mr. Robert Milne Writer to the Signet, Mr. Alexander Nisbet Professor of Herauldry, Mr. George Crawford Author of the History of the Stewarts, Mr. William Smith Professor of Philosophy at Aberdeen, and Mr. William Wilson Clerk to the Session. In fine, I am, and so is all the Nation, vastly indebted to that generous and honourable Society, the Faculty of Advocates; by whose Favour I had Access to their curious and costly Library: From thence I had among many other Assistances, that inestimable Treasure, Mr. Rymer's Collections of English and Scots Records, than which a greater In-let to Light and Truth, with Reference to this Island, the World cannot afford. That worthy Gentleman, has, without doing Prejudice to England his native Country, made in some Measure amends to Scotland, for the Mischief King Edward I. did us, when he commanded our Records to be carried away: By making them, at least a great many of them, publick to the World, he has restor'd them to their rightful Owners, and enabl'd me to boast of more Matter and more Certainty, than former Authors could either have, or in Reason pretend to. I must likewise do Justice to Mr. Tyrrel, as he has in the most material Transactions done Justice to us; and tho I have made bold to differ from him, as from Mr. Echard, Mr. Barnes, and all others of all Nations, where I thought them in the Wrong, (a Freedom Men of Candor and Ingenuity did ever give, and ever take) yet I beg pardon of my own Country-men, to tell them, that (not to mention Dr. Brady and several other Englishmen, who have left us many honourable Accounts of our selves, our own Writers knew nothing about) Mr. Tyrrel alone has afforded me more Materials, and those unexceptionably well documented, towards compleating the main Design of my Book; I mean the Martial Atchievements of Malcolm Canmore, St. David, William the Lyon, the two last Alexanders, Robert Bruce, &c. than all Scots Authors together. Nor have I confin'd my self to the Writers of this Island: French Records, which (after Examination, I find exactly agreeable to those publish'd by Mr. Rymer) and Norvegian Historians have been of no small Use to me, and will to any that shall undertake to Illustrate our History. Upon the Main, I am of Opinion, that no Historian should offer to write the Transactions of his own Nation, without consulting the Accounts given of them by Foreigners. By this Means all Historians may be improv'd, and Posterity better acquainted with the Ages bypast, than with their own. The Reason is obvious, and it is this; The secret Engines and hidden Springs, which gave Being and Motion to all State Affairs we see and talk of in our own Time, are, while Animosities continue, and Party-Principles prevail, undiscernable: But when these are by Time worn out, and unbyass'd Men are let into the different Registers of

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differing Parties; then 'tis, and not till then, possible to form a right Idea, or of the Causes of Events, or of the Justice of Causes.

I have brought this Volume no further down than to the Death of the Heroick King Robert Bruce: Whereas that of King David II. by Reason that the Quarrels of the Father's Reign were first renew'd, and then entirely laid aside in that of the Son, had been the most proper Period of Time. Besides, had I ended at the Death of King David, I had had Occasion to write the Lives of a great many Worthies, the Ancestors of our most illustrious Families still in Being; but to say the Truth, I was not unwilling to stop where I have mention'd; the rather because the Competition between the Bruce and Baliol (tho in it self the most instructive and entertaining Part of the Scots History) the Encroachments of King Edward I. of England, the Wars that ensu'd upon both, and indeed all the Transactions of that Time, have been hitherto so little understood, and so confus'dly by all Authors, both Scots and English deliver'd, that to have the Honour of setting these Matters in their true Light, as I thought no Time however long and precious, mis-spent, so I resolv'd to spare no Labour nor Charges. Hence 'tis, that the Bulk of this Volume has swell'd considerably beyond what I propos'd, or the Publick expected: But if the Publick is thereby oblig'd, I hope private Families will be the more inclinable to have Patience, till fit Occasions of doing them Justice, shall come in my Way: And these, since I am henceforth to travel in the Sun-shine of modern Ages, can no longer be wanting. I have already given an Account of the Rise of some Names, and written the Lives of three or four private Worthies, on Purpose to give a Specimen, to others no less ancient, and as deserving, of what they may expect when the like Opportunities shall lead me to mention them. 'Tis not properly my Province to write Genealogies, much less a Baronage of the Nation; yet where I meet with a brave Man, as I have hitherto frequently done, so I shall continue to tell of what Family he was, and by Consequence, the most shining Glories that have ennobl'd it. If I have omitted to do this, as indeed I have sometimes done, where I had fair Opportunities, with Reference to some of the oldest, greatest and best Families among us, 'twas for no other Reason, but because I was willing to let those concern'd in them understand, by the Method pursu'd in my first Volume, wherein I may stand in Need of Information for the second; and foresaw, that in it Opportunities yet more favourable will occur; and I would avoid Repetitions.

I have on all Occasions express'd the great Value and singular Respect I have for the greater and more flourishing Part of this Island, and its brave Inhabitants, the English. From the real Glories of that mighty People, I have been so far from derogating; that, on the contrary, I have every where extol'd them; and where their Heroes have fallen in my Way, I have not grudg'd them that deserv'd Appellation. Nay, I have done Justice to the splendid Qualifications of those very Princes, by whose Ambition (a Passion indeed most pernicious to Mankind, but from great Souls almost inseparable) Scotland has been in a great Measure Un-nation'd. But then I have expos'd and prov'd (and I humbly conceive I could do no less) the Injustice of their Pretensions and Measures; confuted the Partially

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lity of most, and Malice of some of their Authors; and in Defence of our own Ancestors sometimes, but always unwillingly, retorted upon theirs. This was the more necessary at this Time, because of the great Number of their modern and present Writers, who copying after the more ancient, our avow'd Enemies, seem to enter into their Passions, and thereby to perpetuate old Prejudices; I have, for the Benefit of after-Ages, and in Order to cement our Amity, by fair Reasoning endeavour'd to remove. How convincing my Arguments will appear to others, I cannot tell; this much I must say, as I have had nothing but Truth in my View, so I have frankly given several Points by my Country-men hitherto tenaciously, but, I think, unjustly and partially insisted upon; and where I say ought that may seem derogatory to England or English-men, I have quoted my English Vouchers.

What an uncommon Genius, what a discerning Judgment, what a refin'd Taste, what Purity of Language, how much Grandeur, Politeness, and at the same Time Simplicity of Stile, both History and Biography require, I very well know, and am very far from pretending to possess: And this is one of the Reasons why, as I said before, I durst not assume the Quality either of a Biographer or an Historian. When my Reader is told, that 'twas my Fate to spend most Part of my Youth in foreign Countries, to have but view'd, en passant, the South Part of Britain, and to have been more conversant with Roman and French, than with English Authors; he will not expect from me those modish Turns of Phrase, nor that exact Propriety of Words, Scotsmen, by Reason of their Distance from the Fountain of Custom, so seldom attain to. But did the Court (to which even Custom tho' reputed a Tyrant, because in all Countries and Ages the absolute Mistress of good Breeding and good Language is a Slave) but sometimes visit our more Northern Climate, I doubt not but Scoticism would become Fashionable, and that to speak and write Gracefully in the British, we should not be oblig'd to unlearn our Mother Tongue. However, 'tis Providential, that Reason and common Sense, unconfin'd to Limits, are the Product of all Regions whatever; of these, no one either Nation or Age, much less any one Man or Party of Men is Judge, but the Publick, that is, all Mankind in general, are and must needs be. 'Tis not possible, these, or the Majority of these, can be obstinate either in nauseating a good Book, or in applauding an ill one: Wherefore, as all Authors must, whether they will or no, so perswaded that the Publick can by no Apologies I could make for my Deficiencies be perswaded into a Byas, I most heartily and humbly submit my self to their unerring Censure; happy, when I come to understand it, if in my after-Works, I shall be as able, as I'm sure I shall be willing, to make Amends for the Failures of this.

A N

Alphabetical Catalogue

Of such of the

*Subscribers NAMES and DESIGNATIONS
as have come to our Hands.*

*Those who are omitted (and I am certainly inform'd that there are a
great many of them both in Britain and Ireland) shall be gratefully in-
serted in the next Volume.*

A.

HIS Grace John Duke of ATHOLE.
The Right Honourable William Mar-
quess of ANNANDALE.
Mr. Alexander Abercromby of Tilly-
body Advocate.
Captain Alexander Abercromby of Glassoch.
Alexander Abercromby of Skeith.
Alexander Abercromby Brother-German to
the Lord Glasford.
Alexander Abercromby of Brunstein.
Francis Abercromby Chirurgeon.
Sir James Abercromby of Birkenbog.
John Abercromby Merchant in Edinburgh.
Stewart Abercromby Picture-Drawer.
Walter Abercromby of Brackenhill.
Mr. William Abercromby Minister of May-
boll.
Patrick Alexander of Corfclays.
Mr. William Alexander Writer.
Mr. Alexander Alison Writer to the Signet.
James Alan of Saughtnell.
Mr. James Anderson Writer to the Signet.
John Anderson of London Merchant.
William Arthur M. D.

B.

THE Right Honourable David Earl of
BUCHAN.
The Right Honourable John Lord BOYL.
The Right Honourable James Master of
BALMERINOCH.
Alexander Bailly of A shesteel.
Alexander Bailly of Calins.
Alexander Bailly of Castle-kerry.
Mr. James Bailly Writer to the Signet.
Sir William Baird of Newbaith.
Captain Benjamin Barton.
William Bartram of Nisbet.

Christopher Bateman Bookfeller in London.
Andrew Bell Bookfeller in London.
John Bell of Crowdyknow.
Robert Blaew of London Merchant.
John Blair of Glasclune.
Thomas Bois Writer to the Signet.
George Borthwick Chirurgeon Apothecary in
Edinburgh.
William Bowden of London Merchant.
Alexander Bower of Kincaldrum.
Hugh Bountein of Sellims.
Robert Boyd Writer in Edinburgh.
Daniel Brown Bookfeller in London.
Sir George Brown of Colstoun.
Alexander Bruce Apothecary in Edinburgh.
David Bruce of Clackmannan.
Captain Henry Bruce Brother-German to the
Laird of Clackmannan.
* Captain John Bruce Brother-German to the
Laird of Clackmannan.
George Buchan Clerk to the Lords of Session,
Commissioners of Parliament to Teinds.
Major General Thomas Buchan.

C.

THE Right Honourable Robert Earl of
CARNWATH.
The Right Honourable George Earl of
CROMARTY.
The Right Honourable --- Lord
CLERMONT.
Thomas Calderwood of Pittedy.
John Callender of Westertoun.
Colonel Alexander Campbel of Finab.
The Honourable Mr. Archbald Campbel Son
to the Lord Neil Campbel.
Archibald Campbel of Rachen.
Captain Dougal Campbel.
Sir James Campbel of Auchinbreck.
James Campbel of Stonefield.
James Campbel of London Merchant.

Mr.

Of the Subscribers.

Mr. John Campbel Goldsmith in London.
 Sir Even Cameron of Lochyeal.
 William Carlisle Merchant in Glasgow.
 David Carmichael of Balmedy.
 Sir James Carmichael of Bonnington.
 Alexander Carnegy of Balconel.
 Charles Carnegy of Fineven.
 John Carnegy Son to the Laird of Kinfauns.
 Mr. John Carnegy of Boyfack Advocate.
 Robert Carnegy of Balendary.
 George Carruthers of Holdmains.
 James Carruthers of Roberthill.
 Mr. John Carruthers of Denby.
 Robert Carruthers of Ramerskails,
 William Carruthers Chirurgeon Apothecary
 in Edinburgh.
 William Carruthers younger of Warmanby.
 John Chalmers Merchant in Galloway.
 The Incorporation of Chirurgeons in Edin-
 burgh.
 The Incorporation of Chirurgeons in Glasgow
 Major William Clephan.
 The Honourable Mr. William Cochran of
 Kilmaronock Son to the Earl of Dundonald.
 William Cockburn M. D.
 Marishall College of Aberdeen.
 College and University of Glasgow.
 Royal College of Physicians Edinburgh.
 James Colquhoun Merchant in Glasgow.
 Mr. James Colvil Advocate.
 Mr. James Cook of Balnagich Minister of the
 Gospel.
 Mr. Adam Coult Advocate.
 Thomas Coutts of London Merchant.
 John Corfe Writer in Edinburgh.
 Adam Craick of Arbigland.
 Charles Craingingelt Esquire.
 Alexander Crow of Heughead.
 Mr. George Crawford Brother to the Laird
 of Carsburn.
 Mr. Matthew Crawford Minister of the Gospel
 Patrick Creighton Chirurgeon-Apothecary
 in Dundee.
 Thomas Creighton of Ruthven.
 John Chrystie Writer in Edinburgh.
 Mr. Patrick Cumine Minister at Ormestoun.
 Sir James Cuninghame of Milncraig.
 John Cuninghame Son to the Laird of Enter-
 kin.
 Major Cuninghame of Aiket.

D.

His Grace Archibald Duke of DOUGLAS.
 The Right Honourable James Marques
 of DRUMMOND.
 The Right Honourable John Earl of DUN-
 DONALD.
 The Right Honourable Lord John Drum-
 mond of BALEGERNY.
 The Honourable Sir David Dalrymple Lord
 ADVOCATE.
 Sir Alexander Dalmahoy of that Ilk.
 Charles Dalrymple Merchant in Glasgow.
 James Dalrymple of Dunragget.
 Captain James Dalzel.
 John Don Sheriff Clerk of Stirling.
 James Douglas younger of Dornock.
 Douglas of Strathendry.

Robert Douglas of Auchinschinach Collector
 in Glasgow.
 Robert Douglas of Crookston.
 Major Walter Douglas of Bads.
 William Douglas of Fingland.
 Mr. David Drummond Advocate.
 James Drummond younger of Blair-Drum-
 mond.
 John Drummond M. D.
 Lodovick Drummond of Wester-fodels.
 William Drummond of Machany.
 Mr. William Drummond Warden of the Mint.
 Alexander Dumbar Taylor in the Canongate.
 Alexander Duncan of Lundy.
 Mr. Alexander Duncan Minister of the Gos-
 spel at Glasgow.
 Ralph Dundas younger of Mainet.
 William Dundas Merchant in Edinburgh.
 Mr. William Dunlop Son to the Laird of
 Houfe-hill.

E.

THE Right Honourable Charles Earl of
 ERROL, High Constable of Scotland.
 The Right Honourable John Lord
 ELPHINSTON.
 The Honourable Mr. James Erskine of
 GRANGE, Lord Justice-Clerk, and one of
 the Senators of the College of Justice.
 The Honourable Mr. David Erskine of
 DUN, one of the Senators of the Col-
 lege of Justice.
 The Honourable Sir Alexander Erskine, Lord
 LYON King at Arms.
 William Eccles M. D.
 Alexander Edgar Provost of Haddington.
 James Idington Writer.
 John Edmondston younger of Broik.
 Patrick Edmondston of Newton-Edmondston.
 Mr. Charles Erskine Advocate.
 Colonel John Erskine of Carnock.
 Mr. William Erskine Merchant.

F.

THE Right Honourable John Earl of
 FINLATER.
 The Right Honourable Archibald Earl
 of FORFAR.
 Alexander Farquharson Writer.
 John Farquharson of Kirkcoun-Aboyn.
 Mr. Alexander Ferguson of Isle Advocate.
 Alexander Ferguson of Craigdarnoch.
 Mr. James Ferguson of Pitfour Advocate.
 Archibald Fisher Chirurgeon Apothecary in
 Edinburgh.
 George Fleeming M. D.
 Patrick Fleeming of Barochan.
 David Fotheringham of London Merchant.
 The Honourable Sir James Fowlis of COL-
 LINGTON, sometime one of the Se-
 nators of the College of Justice.
 William Fowlis of Woodhall.
 Andrew Frazer Merchant in Edinburgh.
 Sir Peter Frazer of Dors, for two.
 William Frazer of Broadland.
 Mr. David Freebairn Minister of the Gospel
 James Freebairn Supervisor of her Majesty's
 Excise. David

The Names and Designations

David French of Frenchland.
 John Fullerton of that ilk.
 John Fullerton of Kinnaber.
 Mr. John Fullerton of Greenhal, Parson of Pailly.

G.

HIS Grace George Duke of GORDON, for three.

The Right Honourable William Earl of GLENCAIRN.

The Right Honourable my Lady Jean Gordon, Countess Dowager of DUMFERMLING.

Alexander Garden of Troup.

David Garden of Laton.

James Galbraith of Balgairé.

Captain David George Merchant in Aberdeen.

Sir Thomas Gibson

George Gordon of Gliftirim.

Mr. George Gordon of Sands Advocate.

George Gordon, Son to the Laird of Edinglassie.

James Gordon of Allan.

James Gordon of Trocqhend.

James Gordon, Son to Sir Gordon of Achintoul.

Robert Gordon of Cluny.

Thomas Gordon younger of Earlstoun.

Sir William Gordon of Aftonbar.

William Govan younger of Drumquhassle.

David Graham Collector of her Majesty's Customs at Newport-Glasgow.

George Graham M. D.

James Graham younger of Fintry.

James Graham younger of Braco.

James Graham Merchant in Edinburgh.

John Graham younger of Balgowan.

John Graham younger of Killern.

Robert Graham of Gartmure.

Thomas Graham of Balgowan.

William Graham of Orchil.

Robert Gray M. D.

William Gray of Inverichty

Sir Robert Grierson of Lag.

William Grier of Lag.

Mr. James Guthrie Minister of the Gospel.

H.

THE Right Honourable Alexander Marquess of HUNTLY, for three.

The Right Honourable Henriette Marchioness of HUNTLY, for three.

The Right Honourable Alexander Earl of HOME.

The Right Honourable William Lord HADDO.

The Right Honourable Lady Jean Home Dowager of POLWARTH.

The Honourable Mr. James Home of ALTON, Son to the late Earl of Home.

The Honourable Mr. William Hay of DRUMELIOUR, Son to the late Earl of Tweeddale.

James Hacket M. D.

William Hairfanes of Craigs.

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THE

T H E

Martial Atchievements

O F T H E

SCOTS NATION

B O O K I.

From the First Establishment of the Scots Monarchy in Britain, to the Dissolution of that of the Picts.

Containing the space of about 1168 Years.

C H A P. I.

From the first Establishment of the SCOTS MONARCHY by FERGUS I. To its total Eclipse under EUGENE I.

Containing the space of about 689 Years.

NO Nation, whether now in Being, or extant only upon Record (I except the priviledg'd *Jews*, formerly the Favorites of their Preserver and Founder GOD Almighty,) can give any tolerable or satisfiing Accounts of it's own Origination: That of the *Latines* lyes hidden with their first King *Saturn*, who flying (as is pretended) from the unnatural Rebellion of *Jove* his Son, absconded Himself in that Country, call'd *Latium* or *Italy*, from the Word *Lateo*, which signifies, to *Hide*, or *Abscond*: We have nothing but Fables concerning the first Plantation of Fabulous, tho' Learn'd, *Greece*; and *Egyptian* Darknes over-clouds the first Monarchs and People of *Ægypt*. 'Tis not to be expected that the *Medes*, *Assyrians*, *Perfians*, *Phœnicians*, &c. all Barbarians (at least so reputed and term'd by these politer Nations, I mention'd but now) can account better for there Rise or Progress. If we shall take a nearer View of succeeding Ages and Revolutions; modern *Italy*, we'll find, after innumerable Devastations and Invasions, came at last to be possess'd by the *Lombards*; *Pannonia*, by the *Hunns*; *Spain*, by the *Goths*,

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and *Vandals*; *Gaul*, by the *Franks*; and the Southern parts of *Britain*, by the *Saxons* or *English*: But from what Corners of the Northern Forests and Mountains, those irresistible Swarms of People first creep't out, some may attempt to Conjecture; but none, I humbly conceive, can reasonably pretend to know. Hence 'tis, that it can be thought no matter of wonder that *SCOTLAND*, by far the most Ancient of all *European* States, should, like others, be ignorant of the History of its Original Inhabitants.

Most Antiquaries (a) assert, that the *Scots* came from *Ireland*; the *Irish* from *Spain*, and these again partly from *Greece*, and partly from *Ægypt*: But Modern Authors, especially Foreigners, are for the most part of Opinion, that the *Scots* are nearer a Kin to their now Neighbours the *English*, *French*, *Spaniards*, &c. who all own, and some boast their *Gothick* or *Scythian* Origine. 'The *Scuts* (says Sir *William Temple*) who Conquer'd *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and possess'd them under the Names of *Albin Scuts*, and *Irin Scuts*, I guess to have come from *Norway*, and to have retain'd more of the Ancient *Scythians* (before the *Goths* came into those Parts) both in their Language and Habit, as that of Mantles, and in the Custom of removing from one part to another, according to the Seasons, or Conveniencies of Pasture. Dr. *George Mackenzie* (b) coincides in his Sentiment with that of Sir *William*, which he endeavours to support by a great many Learn'd Observations and Arguments from both Ancient and Modern Authors: And indeed he bids very fair to prove, not only that the *Scots* are originally *Scythians*, and that they came from *Norway* to *Scotland*, but also that there are greater Presumptions for believing, That the *Scots* in *Ireland* came from the *Scots* in *North-Britain*, than that the *Scots* in *North-Britain* should have come from *Ireland*.

There are probable Arguments adduc'd by both Parties; and to tell the Truth, I think, they're only probable: Certainty we cannot look for, in a Matter that at such a Distance of Time admits of none: Objects are not to be seen, when too remote from the bounded Eye, and, as *Darkness cannot be Dispell'd*, while *Bodies*, like the *Earth*, *Opaque*, intercept the Rays of Light, and impede their Advances to our side of the *Globe*; so 'tis impossible we can have a clear View or distinct Idea of things past, when History is Dumb, and Tradition Various. Besides, 'tis not my Province to Write of our Ancestors, whether *Scythians*, *Irish*, or *British*, properly so call'd: My Subject confines me to the *Military Transactions* of the *ALBIN SCOTS*.

Commence-
ment of the
scots Monar-
chy in North-
Britain.

But here again I'm stopt e'er I can be allow'd to enter the Career; *Scotland* (c) boasts of an uninterrupted Series of 112 Sovereigns, that, till this time, have sway'd its Scepter, since *Fergus I.* who began to Reign 330 Years before the Christian *Æra* commenc'd: Than which, there's nothing so glorious, nothing equal or secondary in its kind. By this Account, *Scotland* has remain'd a Monarchy, and (c) Monarchs of the same unspotted Blood and Royal Line have Govern'd

(a) Boet. Fordon, Buchan. &c. (b) Vid. Mackenzie's Preface to the Lives of Scots Writ. vol. 1. (c) Boet. Buchan. Joan. Maj. Lesly. &c.

vern'd it, upwards of 2000 Years: Whereas, according to their own Historians (d) *France* has lasted hitherto but 1300; *Spain* 1306; *England* 918; *Poland* 719; *Denmark* 920; *Sweden* 900; The Empire of the *Romans* in *Germany* 831; and that of the *Turks* but 420. The Empire or Kingdom of *China*, 'tis own'd, is of an Older Date than *Scotland*; but then, six several times, upon their own Records, (e) the Race of their Kings has been chang'd by Civil Wars, and they have been four times Conquer'd by Foreign and Barbarous Forces; Nay, at this very Day, a *Tartar* Race sits on the Throne instead of a *Chinese*. Since therefore *Scotland* has such a Pre-eminence over the very Pretensions of all other Nations, with reference to their respective Antiquities and Races of Kings; 'tis no great wonder that some of our Neighbours, (and these are but few, and but late Authors,) have, through Emulation and Jealousy, attempted to strike out of the Catalogue of *Scots* Monarchs, no less than 39, and to Date the *Scots* Government in *North-Britain* from about the Year of our Lord 503. This Controversy was started by *Luddus* in the Year 1572; *Cambden* took the Hint from him, as did afterwards the Bishop of *St. Asaph*; and Dr. *Stillingfleet* from both: The last Three were Men Eminent for their Learning and Parts; but, as *English-Men* in all Ages, prejudic'd against a Rival, but lesser Nation; which nevertheless the immense Treasure, refin'd Policy, nor Numerous, well Disciplin'd and better paid Forces of mighty *England* could never Deject from Equality in all things, but Wealth. Arch-Bishop *Usher*, a Man whose Excellencies the Learn'd and Pious will ever Respect, and the *Irish* of late (for of Old they thought otherways) have made the like Attempts upon the *Scots* Antiquities, and the Race of their Kings. Men of such a Character, both *English* and *Irish*, could not fail to proselyte some few Foreigners, as *Du Chesne*, *Pere L'Abbe*, and *Thomas Bosius*, into an Opinion, which, by depressing but one Nation, flatters the Pride, and raises the Pretensions of most others, their own in particular: But all in vain: *Scots* Writers have maintain'd with their Pens the Rights and Territories, *Scots* Heroes first gain'd, and then preserv'd with their Arms; and what these effected by Dint of Sword, those have made good by dint of Thought, and force of Argument. Thus *Dempster*, *Camerarius*, *Buchanan*, *Sir George Mackenzie*, *Sir Robert Sibbald*, *Sir James Dalrymple*, &c. have foil'd the contending Party in each Rencounter: Their Reasonings are so many Demonstrations, at least such as the Subject allows of, to the impartial Reader. So that 'tis Matter of Wonder, that amidst such Light, any one should be found to remain in the Dark: Yet there is such an one (f) but just now sprung up, Anno 1705. Dr. *Matthew Kennedy* an *Irish-Man*. I am loath to Detract from the Merits of any Person or People: The *Irish* in general are endow'd with Qualifications, I more incline to Magnify, than to Impare; but, *sine vitii nascitur nemo*. They have also their Failures, and I'm sorry that Stealing and Robbing,

The Antiquity of the Scots Nation. contraverted.

Particularly by Dr. Kennedy an Irish-man.

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(d) Vid. Tablettes Chronologiques presentees au Roy de France par Pierre Mortier Ann. 1680. (e) Vid. Sir Will. Temple's Essays. (f) Vid. Kennedy's Chronol. Genealog. and Hist. Dissert. of the Royal Family of the Stuarts.

I mean not Herds of Cattle, but Crowds of Worthies, should be reckon'd among those of that Nation. He's justly thought Poor, who Boasts of a Stock, not his own; and the Bird of the Fable was but meanly set out, when Adorn'd, or rather Disfigur'd with the *Peacock's* Feathers. The Doctor's Scope, next to the Honour he designs to his own Country, is certainly to Illustrate the Genealogy of the Royal *Stuarts*: 'Tis true, he begins with cutting off Thirty Nine of their Predecessors and Progenitors Kings of *Scotland*. This, one should think is no very obliging Compliment past upon them; but see how liberally he afterwards atones for the inconsiderable Dammage, in lieu of 39 *Scottish*, he favours them with 61 *Irish* Progenitors, reckoning from *Fergus II*, the first of the *Scots* Monarchs in *Britain*, as he supposes, back to *Milesius*, who reign'd in *Ireland* 1300 Years before the Birth of our Saviour; and ' This *Milesius* he ' makes the 26th Degree inclusively from *Noe* the 21st from *Niul* a Son ' of *Fenius-farsa* King of *Scythia*, a Prince very knowing in all the ' Languages then spoken; the 20th from *Gaedhal-Glass* a Cotemporary with *Moses* and *Pharaoh*, the 17th inclusively from *Heber-Scot* an excellent Bow-Man.

This is certainly a most ancient illustrious Origine, and a wonderful amazing Descent; but, How is it made good? ' Thus; *Ireland* is ' an Island divided from all the Earth, tho' four several Colonies ' came into it, before that of *Milesius*; yet all those four, as well as ' this last, were originally *Scythians* sprung from the same common ' stock *Magog*, the second Son of *Japhet*, -- spake all one Language, -- had ' the same Customs, -- had *Druids*, *Bards* -- Poets and Antiquaries: the ' *Milesians* were never invaded by the *Romans*, and, tho' afterward ' brought to be govern'd intirely by the *English* Laws, -- yet they had ' their own Rules for Registring and preserving their Records. The ' *Jews* were able to preserve exactly the Pedigrees of Families: -- the ' Genealogy of a Carpenter is carry'd back to *David* a King -- People ' were appointed to write down all the men of Quality's Pedigrees; & ' that by Laws grounded upon the wise Constitution of *Olave-Fodbla*, ' who died 927 Years before the Birth of our Saviour. All Princes ' and Chiefs of Noble Families were allow'd One or more Antiquaries; -- the Monarch *Tudal-teachbevar*, towards the middle of the 2d Century of Christianity, made a Law that all Antiquaries should produce their Historical and Genealogical Collections; which were to undergo a strict Examination by a Committee of nine Persons of the National Assembly, three Kings, three Druids, and three Antiquaries; and what was by them approv'd, was transcrib'd into the Royal Book of *Tara*. After the Conversion of the Kingdom to Christianity three Learn'd Bishops, instead of the three Druids were appointed to be of this Committee; of which number *St. Patrick* himself was one: Transcripts and Copies of this Royal Book were kept in several Churches; as the Books of *Armagh*, *Cashel*, &c. The Monarch *Tigernmas*, who died *Anno* before Christ 1207. ordain'd that the Professors of Learning should wear seven Colours in their Garments, one less than the Kings, and one more than the

great

‘greatest Nobles were allowed to wear. *Ollave-fodbla*, who died above
 ‘900 Years before the Nativity of our Lord, erected the first publick
 ‘School at *Tara*, furnish’d it with Professors and Stipends, &c. --- The
 ‘Monarch *Ugane-more*, Anno before Christ 520 wrote several Volumes
 ‘of the Laws, &c. --- *Ængus Ollave*, another Monarch, who died
 ‘Anno before Christ 449, was call’d *Ollave*, or Doctor, for his great
 ‘Ability in the Sciences. --- The Monarch *Cormac-Ullfada*, who
 ‘died in the Year of Christ 293. wrote an excellent Treatise, of the
 ‘Education of Princes, which is still extant in *Odugan’s* Collections,
 ‘now in the House of *Clan-Ricard*. --- The *Irish* had their Letters
 ‘or Characters before the *Romans* were a People; several Manu-
 ‘scripts quoted by *Usher*, *Waræus*, *Lynch*, *O Flaherty*, &c. cannot be Prin-
 ‘ted, the miserable Condition the *Irish* are reduc’d to, making them
 ‘incapable to support the Charge.

These are the Arguments and Vouchers adduc’d to arraign
 the Veracity of *Scots* Historians, to Un-nation a Kingdom, and to
 Annihilate its Kings. *Spektatum admissi, risum teneatis, Amici.*

I would be serious, but am afraid, lest I should seem to jest
 with Mr. *Kennedy*: When I only transcribe his Words, I need not
 attempt to confute them: They resemble not so much the Fictions of
 Poets, as the Dreams of the Sick: These are equally false and im-
 probable; those have, or should have an Air of Truth. Sir *George*
Maikenzie has already, in a great measure, evinc’d from *Irish* Manu-
 scripts; and the Right Honourable, the Earl of *Cromarty* promises
 (and what one of his Lordships eminent Quality, and more eminent
 Parts, is pleas’d to promise, sure he will perform) to shew from Records
 and Writers of the same Nation, that the *Scots* were settl’d in *Al-*
bion, long before the Birth of our Saviour. Since therefore this
 Truth is, and will be so plainly made out by the Learn’d Men I have
 mention’d; and since the Writings of most of them are such, as will
 stand the Shock of Time and Obloquy; ’twere in vain for one of my
 inferior Reach and Reading, to attempt what they have already ef-
 fected, to the Conviction of all Readers, not altogether wedded
 to Prejudice or Envy. Nevertheless, because every one has not
 had the Leisure, or Opportunity, or Curiosity, to peruse their Works;
 and more particularly, because ’tis necessary to lay down a solid
 Foundation and Ground-work to such Structures we mean should last:
 And in fine, lest I my self should be thought to take up with Fables,
 and to build upon Fiction, I beg leave of my Reader, to hint, once
 for all, at a few of the many Authorities, Arguments and Vouch-
 ers, that ascertain the Being of these Worthies, and the Truth of
 those Things, with which I am about to entertain him.

Cæsar tells us, (a) “That before his Time, *Britain* had its
 ‘Priests or *Druids*, that the *Gauls* ow’d their Discipline and Lear-
 ‘ning to them, and that they had the use of Greek Letters or Cha-
 ‘racters. To the *Druids* succeeded the first Monks, and, as ’tis certain, that
 these last did Record the Transactions of their Times; so ’tis not im-
 probable, but that the first had done the like in the more early Ages:

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(a) *Cæsar. Bell. Gall. lib. 6.*

But I shall suppose, the *Druids* neither could, nor did write, yet the Tradition contraverted is at most about Eight Hundred Years; and Men liv'd so long, at that time, that Ten or Twelve Generations might have transmitted it to one another: 'Tis own'd that this was the Province of the *Sanabies* and *Bards*; besides, 'tis unquestionably true, that at the Coronation of the *Scots* Kings, one appear'd and recited their whole Genealogy (a) back to *Fergus I.* Witness the Old *Highland* Gentleman in *Alexander III's* time. The like Custom was observ'd at the Interment of Princes, and is to this Day in most *Highland* Families, not only at Burials, but when the Ceremonies of Baptism and Marriage are perform'd. The *Scots* were, among the first of Nations, blest'd with the Knowledge of Christ. 'Tis own'd, (b) that the Monastery of *Hy* or *Icolm-Kill*, was founded about the Year 560; that the *Scots* Kings were Buried, and their Records kept there, till the Reign of *Malcom Can-more*; neither did the Religious in *Paisly Scoon*, *Plascardin*, *Abercorn*, and *Melrofs* fail to compile and preserve the History of *Scotland*, and *Scots* Kings. From those, and from the *Druids*, *Verimundus* a *Spaniard*, Arch-Deacon of *St. Andrews*, Anno 1076, owns that he compil'd his History of *Scotland*. And if any one should pretend that *Verimundus* is perhaps but a supposititious Author, since now no where to be seen, he'll find his Mistake, by perusing not only (c) *Chambers* of *Ormond*, a Senator of the College of Justice, who wrote his History Anno 1572; but also *Sir Richard Baker*, who cites *Verimundus*, and *Joannes Campellus*, another *Scots* Author, who wrote the History of his Nation Anno 1260, and *Turgot* Bishop of *St. Andrews*, who did the like Anno 1098. These Three are likewise cited by *Chambers*, nay, and by *Hollinshed* (d) an *English*-Man. Now, as the first Monks Copy'd from the *Druids*; and *Verimundus*, *Turgot*, *Campbell*, &c. from the first Monks; and from these, *Richardus de Sancto Victore*, *Fordon*, &c. so did *Boethius*, *Lesly*, *Buchanan*, *Spotiswood*, &c. compile their excellent Histories from all the former; as also from the Chronicles of Abbacies, publick Records, and private Charters extant in their Time. Hence 'tis, that the Learn'd Foreigners, and the best Antiquaries among them, do pay the *Scots* Historians, (*Boethius* in particular, tho he seems to border the nearest of any of them upon Fable and Fiction) that Respect, and to give them that credible Assent, that's due to the Veracity of Grave and Judicious Historians: Witness *Gesner*, *Erasmus*, *Paulus Jovius*, *Vossius*, *Sixtus Senensis*, &c. And how could they in Reason do otherwise? Especially when they observ'd that the earliest *English*, down to the latest (except the few Adversaries, with whom I debate) must, tho dissonant from one another, as to Circumstances of Time, Place, and Persons, yet all agree in this, That the *Scots* Establishment in *Britain*, is of a very old Date, anterior by far to King *Fergus II.* Thus *Gildas* a *Britain*, who was born in 498, and so wrote about the 540, after the Ruin and Dissolution of the *British* Kingdom, declares, (e) That he knew nothing of

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(a) Fordon. Major. Baldredus Abbas Rynalis. (b) St. Asaph. (c) Chamb. pag. 13. (d) Hollinshed pag. and 460. (e) De excid. Brit.

the Scots, but what he was forc'd to borrow from beyond Seas. Had not the Scots been settl'd in Britain till 503, (as is pretended) *Gildas* had not been so much in the Dark; nay, he had seen and witness'd their first Arrival. After *Gildas*, comes *Nennius*, also a *Britain*; he flourish'd in the Year 720, (a) and was, it seems, better acquainted with the Scots Nation than *Gildas*: For he tells us in the Preface to his History, (b) That he compil'd it from other Historians, and partly from the Scots. The Scots then had Historians in those Days; nay, whoever will cast his Eye upon this Author, will find that he makes the Scots Nation as ancient in this Island, as the suppos'd King *Brutus*. (c) *Beda*, the first English or Saxon Historian, brings down his History to 734, and, very fairly, places the Scots among the old Inhabitants of this Isle: Nay, he tells us (d) The Britains first possess'd the South Parts of the Island; that after them came the Picts to the Northern parts, and thereafter the Scots under *Reuda* made a Third Nation in that part belonging to the Picts. And having thus Settled the Scots and Picts with the Britains, he proceeds to Settle the Fourth Nation, viz. The Romans, beginning with these Words; But this Britain was unknown, and not enter'd upon by the Romans till Julius Cæsar's time. 'Tis plain then, that, according to *Beda*, the Scots had a Being, and that in Britain, before the Days of Julius Cæsar; and that they fought in Conjunction with the Picts, against the Romans, is as Evident: For he says elsewhere, That *Severus* built a Wall to Defend against the other unconquer'd Nations, viz. The Scots and Picts, two Over-sea or Transmarine Nations, so call'd, not because they liv'd and were settl'd out of Britain, but by reason that they were separated, from that part of Britain, the Romans had conquer'd, by two Seas, which did almost meet: And in this he agrees exactly with *Tacitus*, who tells us, That there being a Wall built betwixt these two Seas (the Forth and Clyde) the Roman Enemies were pent up as in an Island. But why should I dwell so long upon *Beda's* Testimony? Had the Scots settl'd in Britain only in 503, this Venerable Author had never dignify'd them, as he does, with the Appellation of *Prisci Incolæ*, nor rank'd them among the Ancient Inhabitants. From the end of *Beda's* History, which falls about 734, to the Reign of *Henry I. Anno 1110*, the English have no certain Historian, and but few Writers, as is and must be acknowledged by themselves. (e) For this and other Reasons 'tis, that their Testimonies, with Reference to the early Ages they never saw, and from whence they had no proper Means of Conveyance, deserve but little or no Credit: However, such as they are, in this Point they're on our side. (e) *Hollinsbed* says, That Scotland had in the Days of *Brutus* Two Kingdoms, the one call'd Pictland, and t'other Scotland, which I hope, adds he, no wise Man will readily deny. *Caxton* (e) in his old Chronicle of England, tells, That the King of the Scots assisted *Cassibelan*, King of the Britains against Julius Cæsar. In *Fine, Baleus*, (f) an Author, some have highly commended, is so just, as to own that the Scots Historians

(a) Tho. Gale. in his Preface ad Hist. Brit. Sax. &c. Script. XV. (b) Script. edit. a Tho. Gale Oxon. (c) Bede. lib. 1. cap. 1. Eccl. Hist. (d) Bed. lib. 1. cap. 5. & 12. (e) Vid. Scotland's Sovereignty asserted by Craig, pag. 31. 40. 41. &c. (f) Præf. part. post.

wrote -- *ex incorrupta Annalium fide.* But to proceed to more Convincing, because more Foreign Authors; *Eumenius* (a) in his Panegyrick on the Emperor *Constantius*, says, 'That the *Britains*, when *Cæsar* Conquer'd them, were a rude Nation, accustom'd to Fight only against the *Picts* and *Irish* of the *British* Country, Enemies half Naked; and that therefore they easily yielded to the *Roman* Arms and Ensigns. If so, there was another People besides the *Picts*, who then inhabited *Britain*, viz. The *Irish*, that is, *Scots*; for in the Language of that, and some after-Ages, the Words *Irish* and *Scots* were Synonimous, equally applicable to the *British* or *Irish Scots*: Whether these or those were the Eldest, is not the Question; One original People they certainly were. The same *Eumenius*, in the same Discourse, has these Words, *Neque enim ille, non dico Caledonum aliorumque Pictorum silvas & paludes, sed nec Hiberniam proximam, nec Thulen ultimam. — dignabatur acquirere.* Now, what is meant by *Caledonum silvæ & paludes*, we learn from *Latinus Pacatius Drepanius*, who, in his Panegyric Oration to *Theodosius* the Elder (b) tells us, 'That they were *Scotorum silvæ*, and that the Emperor had reduc'd the *British Scots* to their Marishes and Forrests. I very well know, how variously Adversaries have interpreted, or rather wrested the Sense of these Passages: But to speak nothing of *Buchanan*, who is own'd a Master of the *Latin* Tongue, we find that *Joseph Scaliger* a competent Judge, I humbly conceive, and *Guidus Pancirollus* (c) with many others, understand the above-cited Authors, in the Sense I have express'd; and generally, all Critics, Ancient and Modern are agreed, that when *Roman* Authors speak of the *Caledonians*, they mean the *British* or *Albin Scots*: Hence 'tis, that *Scotland's* Antiquity is prov'd by *Valerius Flaccus*, who speaking of the Emperor *Vespasian*, with whom the *Scots* were in War, the Year 70 after Christ, says,

— *Caledonius postquam tua carbasa vexit
Oceanus Phrygios prius indignatus Iulos.*

And by *Martial*. as follows,

*Quinte Caledonios, Ovidi, visure Britannos,
Et viridem Tethyn, Oceanumque patrem.*

I shall make no mention of *Tacitus* in this place, he's an irrefragable Voucher of the *Scots* Antiquities, as elsewhere I shall have occasion to shew. But why do not the *Roman* Authors design the *Scots* plainly by the Name of *Scots*, as they do the *Gauls*, *Spainards*, *Britains*, &c? The Reason is obvious, these last were Conquer'd by them, they had Access into their Countries, and could not be misinform'd of their Appellations: On the contrary 'tis certain, That

Romani Imperii fuit olim Scotia limes.

Besides, 'tis a Mistake that they were intirely ignorant of the *Scottish* Name, if we may believe the most Learn'd and Judicious (d) *Scaliger*, who reads the following Veries of *Seneca* thus,

*Ille Britannos ultra noti littora ponti,
Et cæruleos Scoto-Brigantes dare Romuleis*

Colla

Colla catenis jussit.

Florus the Poet is no less express in the Answer he made to *Hadrian* in *Spartian*.

*Ego nolo Cæsar esse,
Ambulare per Britannos,
Scoticas pati pruinas.*

Hadrian was never in *Scythia*, but is known to have made War upon the Northern *Britains*, and to have caus'd the *Vallum Hadriani* to be Built as a Frontier to Repel their Attacks: We cannot then with any shadow of Reason read *Scythicas* in place of *Scoticas*; nor is there any reason why *Scythia* should be thus join'd to *Britannia*; besides, the *pruina Scoticæ* were famous about that time; for so *Claudian*,

Ille Caledoniis posuit qui castra pruinis.

This last Author mentions so very often, and so expressly the *Scots*, as a People sett'd in *North Britain*, and stated in a constant Enmity with, and Opposition to the *Romans*, that he alone, were all others silent, is Proof against all the Cavils and Objections of Adversaries: But of him afterwards.

Hegesippus, (a) where he brings in *Ben Gorion* dissuading the *Jews* from fighting against the *Romans* the Conquerours of the Earth, makes him say, that even *Scotland Trembles* at the Roman Arms, *Tremmit hos Scotia, quæ terris nihil debet*, that is, which ow's Homage to no place, This cannot be meant of *Ireland*, as *Camden* would have it, since *Ireland* was never invaded by the *Romans*, much less by their Emperors in Person; we all know that *Scotland* was: For the same *Ben-Gorion* adds, that when Generals of the Roman Armies attack'd these Nations, they were repell'd, but that they submitted to the Yoke upon the approach of the Emperors. He adds that *Vespasian* comforted *Nero*, when discourag'd upon the Rebellion of the *Jews*, by telling him, that his Captains had Conquer'd all the *Western World*, *Gaul*, *Scotland*, &c. The original *Hebrew* word in the Text is *Veesh-kofiah*, and this *Munsterus* translates *Britannia*, instead of *Scotia*, as fairly, as some others, who, when they read *Scotia*, pronounce it *Ireland*; by what Rule of the Grammar or Syntax, is more than I know. *Scotland* was then a Nation, and was so call'd in the days of *Vespasian* and *Nero*, that is, not 68 Years after Christ.

Ammianus Marcellinus, (b) who wrote about the Year 360, tells us, that the *Scots* and *Picts* haras'd the Country; and *St. Jerome* (c) in his Letter, cites *Porphyry*, who liv'd in the 3d Century under *Diocletian*, consequently above 200 Years before the 503: His Words are. "Neither *Britain* a Province fertile of Tyrants, nor the *Scottish* Nation
"knew *Moses*, and the Prophets. He asserts elsewhere (and *Dr. Mackenzie* (d) has made it plain) that *Pelagius* was a *Scots-man* Born in the Neighbour-hood of *Britain*; a convincing proof in the Judgment of the most learn'd *Baronius* (e) that there were *Scots* in *Britain*, and that those were Christians at that time, viz. Anno 354, in which *Pelagius* was Born; else how could they have been *Pelagians* so very soon after.

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But

(a) De excid. Hierof. lib. 5 cap. 15. (b) lib. 20. (c) Lib. 2. ad Jovan. (d) His life of Pelag. (e) tom. p. 537.

But still it may be urg'd, that had the *Romans* known the *Scots* by that name, we should not only read it more frequently in their earliest Authors, but should have had some of their Emperors dignified with the Surname of *Scoticus*, as we find they have been, with those of *Germanicus*, *Parthicus*, *Britannicus*, &c. To this I answer, that the Name was not universally appropriated to the whole Nation, but rather to a part of it, at that time, nay, not till after *Kenneth II.* had about the Year 834 subdued the *Picts*, and incorporated them into one Nation with our Ancestors: But of this more afterwards.

I could fill up whole Volumes with Citations and Arguments, to the same purpose, but as I my self am tyr'd with the Drudgery of collecting, abridging and transcribing, so I fear I have weary'd my Reader with Proofs more than sufficient to convince him. I shall have done, how soon I have spoke a little to the Pretensions and Objections of the *Irish*.

The Objections of the *Irish* against the Antiquities of *Scotland* confuted.

There was a Period of time, wherein the *Scots* in *Ireland* and those in *Britain* were by Foreigners, who observed them both to speak the same Language, wear the same sort of Garments, and follow much the same Customs, almost indifferently call'd *Scoti* and *Hiberni*: Nay, 'tis reported, that *Ireland*, as being the larger Country (for a great part of North *Britain* was then possess'd by the *Picts*) was call'd *Scotia Major*, and *British Scotland*, *Scotia Minor*. As for this Distinction of *Scotia Major* and *Minor*, 'tis but of yesterday, and is nothing else but the mean Product of groundless Vanity: For as *Sir George Mackenzie* (a) very well observes, either ~~the~~ *Land* was call'd *Scotia Major* before the year 1000, or only since: If the first, then at that time *British Scotland* was also call'd *Scotia Minor*; but this is contrary to the Assertion even of *Usher* and *St. Asaph*: If the Distinction had its Rise after the Year 1000, sure it was then, if ever, a most ridiculous Invention; for by this time, to say nothing to the Detriment of the much obscurer *Irish*, *Scotland* properly so call'd, made no mean Figure amongst the other *European Kingdoms*, of whom a great many could not vie with it, either in Extent of Territories, or Numbers of People, or Military Fame; and yet after this time it was, that a petty Prince of *Ulster*, in a Letter (b) to Pope *John XXII*, had the front to express himself in these terms, *Besides the Kings of Lesser Scotland, who all came originally from our Greater Scotland. Who is oblig'd to believe him upon his word, or who told him so? And this is the first Testimony adduc'd by Usher, to evince the pretended Distinction. His second and last is a Patent of Sigismund the Emperor, to the Convent of the Scots and Irish of Greater Scotland in Ratisbon. Sure the Irish Monks must needs have drawn up that Patent, for who but Monks, and Monks of that Nation, could in the 14 or 15 Century, that is, I take it, but Yesterday, so far impose upon Foreigners, as to tell them that their Country ought to be call'd Scotia Major? I conclude then, that the Distinction is equally groundless and false, since Arch-bishop Usher, in all his Reading*
can

(a) *Antiq. of Scotland*, p. 167. (b) *Usher* p. 724. and 737.

can find no better Authority for it, than these borrow'd and magnifying names, us'd long after he himself acknowledges that *Ireland* had entirely lost the Name of *Scotia*, and that it was by all Ages and Languages appropriated to *North Britain*. But

That *Scotland* was by Forreigners call'd *Ireland*, and that *Ireland* was, for the Reasons I mention'd above, sometimes call'd *Scotland* of old, is undoubtedly true. Thus *Orosius* about the Year 417, calls the Inhabitants of *Ireland* *Scoti*; and *Isidor Hispalensis*, who liv'd in the Seventh Century, has these Words, *Scotia eadem & Hibernia*. That *Scotland* was also call'd *Ireland*, is evident from numbers of Testimonies: I shall instance in one; *Sanctus Beatus* is in the *Roman Martyrology* design'd *Episcopus Aberdonia in Hibernia*; now this *Beatus* was certainly a *Scots-man*, he is mention'd in the *Scots Chartularies* and *Histories*, and the Mortifications, granted to him by King *Malcolm II.* in 1010, of the Lands of *Murthblack, Cloveth, &c.* are yet extant; (a) nay, his Tomb is to be seen in the Cathedral of *Aberdeen*, at the postern Door of the Church.

That the *British Scots* were in the same manner call'd *Hiberni*, is equally evident; for *Eumenius*, speaking of them, has these Words, *Hiberni Soli Britanni*, the *Irish* of the *British* soil: Whether they were design'd so from a part of *North-Britain* call'd *Yerne*, now *Strathern*, or from *Ireland*, suppos'd to have been their Mother's Country, I do not enquire: 'Tis certain, that in that period of time, *Scotia* and *Hibernia*, *Scoti* and *Hiberni*, were synonymous Terms in the mouths of Foreigners: And hence 'tis, that in After-ages, the Modern *Irish*, to magnify themselves, laid hold on the Equivocation, to rob *Scotland* of its Country, Christianity, Kings, Saints, Writers, Monasteries, and what not; but this will not do.

I have already evinc'd, and afterward shall, as occasion offers of Course, that the *British-Scots* had a Being in *Britain* before the Birth of Christ, and that whatever is said that's great or glorious, by the *Romans* and others, of the Ancient *Scots*, is applicable to the Progenitors of those, and of those only that now inhabit the North part of *Britain*. I have also shewn that the *Scots* Historians are Men that have obtain'd, and deserve as much Credit as any whoever: Nay, the very *Irish* Records ascertain those of the *Scots*, or if they all do not, they must be forg'd and false, since contradictory to one another: For Sir *George Mackenzie* tells us, that he himself saw an old *Irish* Genealogy of the Kings of the *Albin Scots*, agreeing with that mention'd in our History at the Coronation of King *Alexander II.* and another old Manuscript, wherein the *Dalreudini, Albanach* or *Scots* are consider'd, as setl'd in *Britain*, six Generations before *Eric*, whom *Usher* calls the Father of our Kings. But to determine the Question in one Word, and to demonstrate the Vanity of such, who, like Dr. *Kennedy*, would have us to believe that there are, or ever were Old and Authentick Manuscripts, Histories or Documents of whatever kind, that vouch their modern Pretensions; I need but to cite that most accurate, judicious and laborious Antiquary

(a) Sir George Mackenzie's Detence, &c.

Sir *James Ware*; to his excellent Works, the World is oblig'd for all that can be with Reason deliver'd or credited concerning the *Irish* Nation: And, to be sure, if any such Manuscripts, Histories, &c. had been to be seen and rely'd upon, he had given us an account of them: He, I say, who wanted not the Means, and made it in a great measure the Business of his Life, to clear the Antiquities; and to write the Annals of that Country in which he was born, bred, and prefer'd to Honour, Riches and Trust; and who besides is so partial, to the Astonishment of the Learn'd, as to rank the most Eminent of the *Scots* Writers, Missionaries and Saints, from the Fifth Century down to the Sixteenth, amongst the *Irish*; and that for no other Reason I can see, but because they are said and own'd to be *Scots* or *Scoti*; an unpardonable Error in so great a Man, but such as the Learn'd Dr. *Mackenzie* has Confuted, to the Satisfaction of all that have perus'd his first Volume of the *Scots* Writers: I would not have mention'd this Mistake of Sir *James Ware*, but to shew that since, to honour *Ireland*, he has injur'd himself; 'tis not to be thought that he would have omitted to illustrate its real Glories. Now let us see what a People the *Irish* were of old, and, till of late, when they were Conquer'd by the *English*, in the Opinion of this great Man: And thence 'twill easily appear how vain their Pretensions are, either to Authentick History or solid Learning of any sort.

He tells us, 'That (a) in their Histories there's much Falshood, ' that 'tis probable they had their Origine from *Britain*, both by ' reason of the Vicinity of *Britain*, and the easiness of the Passage; as ' also from the Conformity of the Language and Customs with those ' of the Ancient *Britains*: And if so, for these very Reasons, that part ' of *Britain* which lyes nearest to *Ireland*, whose Language they spoke, ' and whose Customs they follow'd, must have been their Mother- ' Country; so that Dr. *Mackenzie* is in the Right to have deduc'd ' the *Irish* from *Scotland*, and not the *Scots* from *Ireland*: For 'tis not ' to be suppos'd that the *Britains* would have ventur'd their Lives in ' those times, when the Art of Navigation was so little known, and ' fail'd from the South-parts of *Britain* in search of unknown Lands, ' while the North of their own Island lay waste: But the North be- ' ing likewise Peopl'd, I see no Reason why from thence Colonies ' might not have pass'd over, tho' but in Corraghs or Fishing-Boats, to ' the enjoyment of Lands that lay in their View. But to return to ' Sir *James Ware*, he goes on and tells us, ' That to assign the exact ' Time when *Ireland* was first inhabited, cannot reasonably be ex- ' pected; that of old the most Potent of their Kings (for *Ireland* was ' then a Pentarchy) assum'd to himself the Government of the ' whole Island, and was call'd King of *Ireland*, and by some, King ' of Kings, as one to whom the other inferior Kings allow'd the Su- ' preme Rule; that they obtain'd the Monarchy, not by any So- ' lemnity of Coronation or Anointing, nor by any hereditary Right, ' or propriety of Succession, but only by force of Arms; that most of ' those

(a) Sir James Ware's Antiquities of Ireland Edit. Dubl, 1705. p. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, &c

those Kings died a violent Death, and as amongst the *Romans*,
Galba kill'd *Otho*, *Otho Vitellius*, &c. so many of those Kings of
Ireland, who had stain'd their Hands in the Blood of their Predecessors,
 were rewarded alike. That the Custom of creating Kings in the
 North of *Ireland* was this; The whole People of the Country being
 assembl'd, a white Beast was set in the midst of them, to which the
 Candidate making his Approach, like a Beast upon all four, pro-
 fess'd himself to be a Savage Beast, and presently the Beast being
 kill'd, cut to peices, and boil'd, he bath'd himself in a Chaldron of the
 Broth prepar'd for him, and together with the People feasted upon
 the Flesh of the Beast, and drank of the same Broth, wherein he
 had been wash'd, putting his Lips to it without any Vessel, or
 the use of his Hand; which done, his Kingdom was confirm'd to
 him. That in the Election of *Oneal*, a Shoe was thrown over the Head
 of the Elect: That *Legarius* was the Son of *Oneal*; that he Reign'd *Anno*
 463; that he purposely omitts the Predecessors of this *Legarius*, be-
 cause most of what is deliver'd of them, is either fabulous, or very
 much intermix'd with Fables, and without Chronology. That
 the petty Kings of particular Provinces are sometimes falsely call'd
 Kings of *Ireland*; (*He instances in severals.*) That what was taken from
 Strangers, as tho' done for the publick Good, was esteem'd Com-
 mendable, but that their Judges call'd *Brebons*; at certain appoin-
 ted times, in the open Air and usually on a Hill, seated on clods
 of Earth, determin'd what Controversies happen'd amongst their
 Neighbours, according to the Customs in use amongst them; (*and*
what strange Customs these were, I shall have elsewhere an occasion to tell.)
 That the Inheritance of the deceas'd was equally divided among
 the Sons, both lawfully and unlawfully begotten. That there were
 indeed in *Ireland* wall'd Towns before the coming of the *English* in
Anno 1170, as *Dublin*, *Limerick*, *Waterford*, *Wexford*, and *Cork*,
 but that they were built by the *Easterlings* or *Danes*, who had
 conquer'd those parts of the Island; but that the Native *Irish* had
 no wall'd Towns, and their Houses were neither Marble nor Brick,
 nor subterraneous Caves or Dens, but made of Hurdles, and co-
 ver'd with Straw or Rushes; that from this poor sort of Building
 among the ancient *Irish*, it comes to pass, that we have so few
 signs remaining of any Houses or Castles built by the Kings of *Ire-*
land, before the coming of the *English*, that therefore, when *Rode-*
rick O Conner King of *Conaught* in the Year 1161, (*not very long ago*)
 built a Stone Castle at *Tuam*, it was so new and unusual in those
 times, that the *Irish* call'd it the wonderful Castle. That when
Malachias O Morgair Archbishop of *Armagh*, who was cotempo-
 rary with *St. Bernard*, (*and St. Bernard is none of the Fathers of the*
Primitive Church, but a very Modern one) began to build a Stone
 Oratory at *Benchor*, like those he had seen in other Countries;
 it was the wonder of the Natives. And in fine, that at *Temoria*
 now *Tara*, (*the principal Residence of the Irish Kings, the seat of Ju-*
stice, the place appointed for National Assemblies, and where, if we believe
Dr. Kennedy, the Royal Book or Touchstone of all others was preserv'd)
 there

‘ there is not the least Sign or Remainder of an ancient Building to
‘ be seen.

I am heartily sorry that I have been forc’d thus to expose a People, tho it was done to my Hand, whom, for their Gallantry express’d, especially in Foreign Wars, their unconquerable Attachment to, and Zeal for what they think Justice, and their other good Qualifications, too numerous to relate, I Esteem and Honour ; but for this, they must blame the provoking Vanity of some of their own Country-men: And I must beg Pardon to think that the judicious Reader, who considers the Obscurity of their first Origine, which I own they need not be asham’d of, no more than their Neighbours, their Savage Customs never disus’d till the Reign of our King *James VI. and I. of England*, their lawless and ever unsettl’d Government, the Multiplicity of their jarring Kings, the confus’d unknown State of their Affairs, their long and great want of Commerce or Correspondence with Foreigners, their unsuccessful Wars with the Superior *Norwegians* and *Danes*, their Subjection to the *English*, their Sloth, and its Attendant, Poverty ; and in fine, their Negligence and Unskilfulness in improving their excellent Country, or so much as in Building an Oratory or House with Lime and Stone : I beg Pardon, I say, to think, that the Reader who considers all these things, will not be easily impos’d upon so far, as to ask seriously, as *Dr. Kennedy* does in his Preface, *What Nation in Europe can vie with the Irish in the point of Antiquity of Learning ?* Nay, rather what Nation in *Europe* does not out-do them in this Point ? And who, but they, did not before the Year 1161, contrive and build Towns, Fortresses, Castles, at least subterraneous Caves or Dens to preserve their own Persons, as well as the Records of their Country from the Injuries of the common Air ?

Thus I have, tho not in so few Words*as I design’d, endeavour’d to remove all reasonable Scruples that have been started in Opposition to the Veracity of *Scots* Historians,* my Vouchers in the subsequent Sheets. If what I have said, seems to any one not altogether satisfying, (for I pretend not to have exhausted the Subject) I must refer him to the Works of these Gentlemen I have cited above, particularly to *Sir George Mackenzie’s* Defence of the Antiquity of the Royal Line of *Scotland*, an Advocate, of whom it may be said, as of the *Roman* Orator *Cicero*, that he was never cast in Judgment, when he pleaded in Earnest : After him, I have but glean’d for the most part ; and now I hasten to my Subject.

Whether the *Scots* or *Picts* have the Honour of Precedency, with reference to their first Arrival and Settlement in the North parts of *Britain*, is uncertain ; neither is it known, as I said before, from whence they had their Origine. Some are of Opinion, that the *Picts* were originally *Germans*, and that they came to *Britain* from *Denmark* or *Cimbria* ; others derive them from the *Pictones* in *France* ; others from the *Scythians* or *Thracians* ; and others in fine contend (a) that they were properly *Britains*, that they spoke the same

Lat-

The Ori-
e of the
s, as that
he Scots,
ertain.

(a) Hist. of the Picts printed Edin. Anno 1707.

Language, had much the same Laws, Customs, and Manners; and that, as the *Britains*, they had an Artificial way of Colouring or Painting their Bodies; Whence they were in After-ages by Foreigners (for what Appellation they gave to themselves, no Author relates) call'd *Picti* or *Picts*. This seems evident from these Verses of *Claudian*,

————— *Nec falso nomine Pictos*

Edomuit. —————

And elsewhere,

————— *Ferroque notatās*

Perlegit exanimēs, Picto moriente, figurās.

For my part, I very much incline to be of this last Opinion, notwithstanding of all the Arguments that have been adduc'd to the contrary: Nor am I averse from thinking, that the *Scots* and *Irish* were also originally *Britains*, and that they, as the *Picts*, came but in After-ages by their respective Denominations: For 'tis remarkable, that the *Scots* Highlanders, to this day, neither design themselves (and sure they are the true *Scots*, if there are any such) nor those that inhabit the lower Countries, by the Name of *Scots*: So that, it seems, this Appellation, if ever it has been appropriated to our earliest Ancestors, was, as *Buchanan* conjectures, worn out by Time, and begun to be renew'd, at soonest, in the days of *Seneca*, but not riveted nor current till a little before *Claudian*. For,

*Multa renascentur, quæ jam cecidere, cadentque
Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus,
Quem penes arbitrium est, & jus & norma loquendi.*

Or it has been apply'd to the North *Britains* and *Irish* at first, only by Foreigners, for some peculiar Reason: As for Example, because these People were observ'd to make use of a particular sort of Shields, in Latine, *Scuta*, whence *Scuts*, and thence *Scot* or *Scoti* may perhaps have been deriv'd. Now, granting that the *Britains*, *Scots* and *Picts* were of Kin to one another, or rather one and the same People, originally *Gauls* or *Belgæ*, whose Language they all spoke, as *Buchanan* (a) has evinc'd, with some little variety, as to the *Idiom*: It does not at all follow from thence, that they had also the same Government, or were subject to the same Masters: On the contrary, we know (b) that they were divided by Factions and Tribes, gave Obedience to different Princes, had their various and ever-jarring Interests, and this, and nothing but this, brought them all successively, or to submit to the *Roman Yoke*, which was the Fate of those in *South-Britain*, or to relinquish their Native Soil, as the *Scots* were constrain'd to do: For, as *Tacitus* has it, *Dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur.** This was certainly no desirable State: However, it had at last this good Effect, that it gave Rise (c) to the *Scottish* and *Pictish* Monarchies, much about the same time.

D 2.

THESE

(a) *Rerum Scot. lib. 2.* (b) *Tacit. in vita Agricol.* (c) *Ford. Boeth. Less. Buchan. &c.*

These two People, who liv'd as yet without any orderly Form or Constitution of Government, were too near to one another, (the *Scots* possess'd the Highlands, and the *Picts* the lower and better Country adjoining to the *German* Sea,) not to have occasions of offering, and too fierce to forbear resenting Injuries: They quarrel'd about, I know not what, Trifles, and the *Britains*, glad of the long'd for Opportunity to suppress them both, first heightn'd the Quarrel by their Insinuations, then join'd in it, at least promis'd so much against the *Scots*. These saw from afar, and dreaded the approaching Storm; they wanted a Leader to command them, but found one in the person of *Fergus* I. a young Martial, and ambitious Prince; he help'd them out of the threaten'd Mischief, made them a Nation; (for hitherto they could not be call'd so) and himself a King. He reign'd gloriously, and was succeeded by a numerous Race of Sovereigns, all of his Blood, for the most part Brave and Good; tho' it must be acknowledg'd, that others were notoriously Vitious; and providence permitted that these last, were either Depos'd, or Murther'd by Men, generally more Wicked than Themselves: Yet as Bishop *Lefly* observes so deeply was Respect, Love and Loyalty rooted in the Hearts of the Nation in general, that as resenting, barbarous, and fierce, as they then were, no Provocation, Reason nor Force, could induce them, either to reject the *Fergusian* Blood, or to seclude the next legal Successor; I mean the nearest of Kin to the Royal Stock, if capable to command. For when the Heir of the Crown was, at the Death or Demise of his Father, as yet in his Non-age, in that case, his Uncle or nearest Cousin was appointed to Reign in his stead: But then, he fail'd not to reassume his Right, and to succeed preferably to the Children of the former Guardian King: I call so, such of the Kings as came to Reign, by reason of their Pupil's Minority; for they were really no more but the Tutors or Guardians of the righteous Heir; only they continu'd during Life in their Office, tho' severals are of Opinion, and 'tis most probable, nay, I'm told, that Bishop *Elphinston*, who knew as much of the matter as any other; in his *M.S. History of Scotland*, is positive, that those Kings, improperly so call'd, had no legal Right to Reign or Govern, beyond the ordinary time appointed to Regents and Governours; I mean the Majority of their Pupils: Accordingly we find, that some, as *Feritharis*, were willing to demit; and that others, as *Reutha*, did actually lay down their Administration, how soon their Nephews were of Age to rule by themselves: If so, 'tis plain, that who did otherwise, did it illegally and unjustly, and were by consequence so many Usurpers of a Throne not at all their own, and therefore accountable to, and punishable by the righteous Owner. But be this as it will, Authors generally agree, that upon the Death or Demise of a Prince, the Nobles or Chiefs of Clans were wont to meet in a solemn manner: And *Buchanan*, no great Friend to Monarchical Government, every where insinuates, and sometimes says, that they met in order to the Election of a new King; but this is evidently false (a) and I

Fergus I.
King of Scot-
land, Anno
before Christ,
330.

He was
succeeded
by a nume-
rous Race
of Kings of
his own
blood.

shall

(a) Mackenzie's jus Regium.

shall elsewhere have occasion to demonstrate the contrary. The true Kings of *Scotland* were never elected; nay, nor perhaps the Guardian ones, the Law was plain in favour of the Former; and, if we believe Bishop *Lefly*, (a) of the Latter also: So that 'tis probable, the Nobles met, not to Choose, but to Recognize the Right of, and offer their Submissions to that Prince, the Law had pointed out, and previously ordain'd to be their King, whether properly so call'd, as when the true Heir was Major, or improperly, as when he was Minor, and next in Blood, and not always the fittest, as *Buchanan* would insinuate, came to take place. This Law or Custom was probably founded upon the numerous Inconveniencies that ever attend the Non-age of Sovereigns, and on the necessity, those rude and barbarous People lay under, of having always upon their Head a Chieftain at once qualified to quell domestick Feuds, and to repel Foreign Insults. Other Nations, particularly the *English*, *French*, and *Spaniards*, have had the like Custom, as I shall elsewhere shew, but to their Loss. Experience the Mother of Wisdom has sufficiently taught After-ages, that Guardian Kings are dangerous Subjects; and that this mistaken Prudence of our Ancestors prov'd the Bane and Shame of the Nation; it being a fatal Seed, ever productive of Factions, Parties, Murthers, and Parricides. Thus *Ferlegus*, the eldest Son of *Fergus* I. hastning to the Throne he conceiv'd himself born to, found means to cut off his Uncle *Feritharis*, the first Guardian King. *Nothatus*, *Durustus*, *Eugene* III. *Dardanus*, *Lugtacus*, *Mogallus*, *Conarus*, *Satrael*, *Ethodius* II. *Romachus*, &c. had the like Fate, for the most part deservedly, says *Buchanan*, in their respective Lives, by reason of the Enormity of their Crimes and Tyrannical Government. He is perhaps in the right on't, if they were only Administrators or Guardian Kings, as indeed most of them were; for as such, they might be liable to the lash of the Law: And 'twere in vain, at this Distance of time, to offer any thing towards their Vindication; they stand upon Record arraign'd and condemn'd for the worst of Men; tho' after all, it may be, their Crimes have been aggravated by the Factions that wrought their Ruin. Those Factions were sometimes spirited, and always not only indemnifi'd, but approv'd of by those that succeeded to their murder'd Predecessors, and who by consequence reap'd the Benefit which accru'd to them from successful Rebellion, or forward Justice. Hence 'tis, that some Writers, particularly *Buchanan*, would give us to understand, that they suffer'd legally, and that Justice was done by the Nobles: Whereas we know, that none of them did ever suffer in the way of Justice, but were always cut off, or by clandestine Murtherers, or by open Rebellion. And these Authors, to make good their Assertion, ought to tell us, by what Law the Nobles could, or did fit Judges upon their Sovereigns, if really such; by whom, and when it was enacted. The truth is, that unlucky Custom, I have mention'd, concerning the Succession, was the original Cause, at least the Occasion of these Mischiefs. I shall not enlarge upon them, I wish the

The Scots Monarchy was never Elective.

The irregular Succession was the cause of so many of the ancient Kings of Scotland, being cut off by their Subjects.

(a) *Lell. in vita Feritharis.*

tragical, barbarous part of the *Scottish*, as well as of all other Histories, were, for the Honour of humane Nature, entirely forgot: But, for a few Instances of this kind, and some Broils with the Neighbouring *Picts* or *Britains*, not distinctly related, nor sufficiently documented by Vouchers, *Scotland* was generally blest with good Princes, a profound Peace, and as much Plenty as the nature of the Soil allow'd, or the Sobriety of those Ages requir'd, till about the Year 54 before the Birth of our Saviour, when *Julius Cæsar*, not yet satiated with the Lawrels and Triumphs he had acquir'd by the Conquest of, even then, *Mighty Gaul*, but rather animated to the Pursuit of new Glories, or incens'd against the *Britains*, by reason of the Supplies they had sent to *Gaul*, during the late Wars, or, as *Suetonius* writes, excited with the hopes of the *British* Pearls, then famous for their Numbers and Largeness, he thought fit to attempt an Expedition into this Isle: He did it with Difficulties equal to any he ever met with in his Life, yet with that Success, that never fail'd to crown his Enterprises. The *South-Britains*, twice overcome in Battle, promis'd Subjection, beg'd Peace, and gave Hostages for their good Behaviour and performance of Covenants: But upon *Cæsar's* return to *Gaul*, they withdrew their Allegiance, and so provok'd a new the relentless *Roman*. He made a second Descent upon them, the next Year, with a better Fleet and more powerful Army than before. By this time the *Britains* had come to some Concert amongst themselves, and they had by common Consent chosen *Cassibelan*; one of their Kings, for their Captain General or Commander in Chief: To him vast numbers of People resorted from all parts: They understood that the Danger was common to all; and tho' remotest from *Scotland*, 'tis nevertheless most credibly reported (a) that both the *Scots* and *Picts* thought fit to assist the *Britains* with Auxiliary Forces; *Cadallanus*, a Chieftain of the *Brigantes* in *Galloway*, is said to have had the Command of them, by an Order from his Sovereign *Ederus*. This is so much the more probable, because *Roman* Authors tells us, that four Princes, *Cæsar* himself calls them Kings, came against him from the Extremities of the Island; nay, some say, that *Cæsar* took so much notice of the more Northern People, that he sent an Embassy to King *Ederus*, with a view of detaching him from the Confederacy: He fail'd in the Attempt, but was more successful with the *Trinobantes*, a People in *South-Britain*, who dishonourably join'd with the Invader, and offer'd Subjection. Many other inferior States follow'd the scandalous Example, and the brave *Cassibelan* at length, seeing his Armies foil'd, his Designs blasted, his Country wasted, and himself abandon'd by the traiterous Revolt and unseasonable Divisions of a great many of his Allies, su'd for, and obtain'd a Peace upon Conditions, which rather encreas'd the Glory of *Cæsar*, than the Dominion of *Rome*: For, as *Tacitus* observes, these two famous Expeditions had only this effect, They shew'd *Britain* to the *Romans*, but did not give them the Possession of it.

The same Author and others, *Romans* (b) as he, do elsewhere insinuate, that

Ann. ant.
Chr. 54.
Cæsar in-
vades Bri-
tain.

The Scots
and Picts
join with
the South-
Britains in
opposition
to Cæsar.

Cæsar's
success in
Britain not
great, as
was given
out.

(a) Lefly Boeth. (b) Lucan, Orotius, Dion.

that the Victories *Cæsar* obtain'd in this Iland, were not by much so great or glorious as they seem, from his own Accounts: And there are those (a) who, in plain terms say, He was driven out of it. This is certain, the Conquer'd and Unconquer'd prov'd, after his Departure, almost equally troublesome to his Successors; the first by their frequent Revolts, the last by their continual Incurfions upon the first. This put *Augustus*, a Prince that could keep the rest of the World in profound Peace, upon Thoughts of going to *Britain* in Person, in order to quell its Commotions; but he was diverted, first by a Revolt in *Pannonia*, and twice afterwards by the disorderly unsettl'd State of *Gaul*, and other parts. Perhaps he had his own Reasons that kept him from any great Concern, with reference to *Britain*, the Empire was become vast and unweildy, and out of a State-Maxim, he was resolv'd to preserve it within Bounds; and the rather, because some of the *British* Potentates sent Ambassadors to him, while in *Gaul*, to beg Peace: And among others, the *Scottish* King *Metellanus* (b) omitted not to court his Friendship, by Presents offer'd in the Capitol, and other obsequious Addresses. *Tiberius* follow'd the Example of *Augustus*; but that stain of humane Nature, *Caligula*, who succeeded, threaten'd an Invasion, and came to the Ocean for that purpose, but contented himself with having debas'd his own Person and Army, so far as to cause them gather the Shells of Cockles, and such like Fishes on the Shoar, and so return'd, and shamefully triumph'd for the distracted inglorious Exploit.

Augustus

Tiberius

Caligula

Claudius V. of the Imperial *Cæsars*, set about the Work in good Earnest, and was encourag'd in, if not perswaded to the ambitious Project, by one *Bericus* a *British* King, who preferring the poor Satisfaction of indulging his own Discontents and Resentments, before the common Cause of his Native Country, became an active Agent towards its Ruin. The *Roman* Army, at first, express'd no small Aversion against the dangerous Attempt: They said, *That they would not make War out of the Compass of the World*: But *Plautius* the *Prætor*, having found means to prevail with them, at last set Sail, was driven back by contrary Winds, put to Sea again, and landed in *Britain* without Opposition. He was not long after follow'd by *Claudius* himself in Person, who besides his *Roman* Legions, and Auxiliaries of *Gauls* and *Germans*, march'd like an Eastern Monarch with arm'd *Elephants*, probably not so much to make a shew of Grandeur and Power, as to amaze the *British* Courage, with the Hugeness and Novelty of the terrifying Creature. With this Equipage, he embarks, crosses the Channel, joins *Plautius*, beats the *South-Britains*, takes one City and many Prisoners, and committed the Government of these to *Plautius*; as likewise the War with the *Scots*, *Picts*, and others as yet unconquer'd. He hastn'd back to *Rome*, where anniversary Games, triumphal Arches, and a noble Triumph were by the Senate decreed in his Honour. *Plautius* continu'd the War with various Successes; yet, such as procur'd him the Honour

A. D. 4

Claudius the Emperor, and *Plautius* the *Prætor* invade *Britain*.

The Success and Return of *Claudius*.

(a) Lucan, *Lelly*, Boet. (b) *Lelly*, Boet. in vita *Metellan*.

of an Ovation, and under him *Vespasian*, who now began to appear in the World, is said (a) to have subdu'd one Isle, two Nations, and twenty Towns, and to have fought no less than thirty Battles with the *Britains*. In one of these, when in imminent Danger, he was rescu'd by the pious Valour of his Son *Titus*, who serv'd under him, in quality of a *Tribune*.

To *Plautius* succeeded *Ostorius*, a wise and fortunate General, he routed and dispers'd those he found in Arms upon his entrance to the Government, disarm'd the Vanquish'd, plac'd Garrisons on the Rivers *Severn* and *Avon*, to prevent Incursions from the North, reduc'd most of the Southern Parts of the Isle into the Form of a Province, made a Military Colony of *Maldon*, and of *London* a Trading one, engag'd *Cogidunus*, a *British* King, in the *Roman* Interest, routed the Revoltd *Iceni*, fought with, beat, and afterwards took Prisoner the undaunted King of the *Scots*, *Caractacus*; I have reason to call him so, and shall afterwards make good the Assertion. In fine, *Ostorius*, wated with Fatigue and Trouble, Fortune beginning to change upon him, died, and was succeeded in his Government of *Britain* by *Didius Galdus*, He by *Veranius*, and He again by *P. Suetonius*, a Person of celebrated Valour. During the time of the Administration of this last, the whole Body of the *South-Britains*, excited by many Provocations, too numerous to be here related, and probably animated with the Hopes of Supplies from their Northern Neighbours, now more than ever terrified at the nearer Approach of the *Romans*, made a violent and famous Struggle to regain their Liberties, they unanimously took Arms under the Conduct of *Boadicea*, a Martial and injurd Princess, seiz'd upon the Fortresses and Garrisons of the *Romans*; nay, invaded their Colony, the Seat, as they conceiv'd, of Slavery, and destroy'd all before them with Fire and Sword, leaving nothing unacted, to which Wrath or Victory could prompt these fierce, haughty, resenting, and now united Nations: But all to no purpose. One Overthrow, they receiv'd not long after from *Suetonius*, taught them anew to wear their Chains with Patience, and to stoop, as before, to the Yoke they were unable to shake off. Such of the *Scots* and *Picts* as escap'd falling by the Sword, and these were but few, made the best of their way to their respective Homes.

In the mean time the Emperor *Nero* deliver'd *Rome* and the World of their greatest Plague, his odious Self, and during the short Reigns of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*, the unconquer'd, as well as the conquer'd *Britains*, continu'd quiet and peaceable; but when *Vespasian* had succeeded *Vitellius* in the Empire of *Rome*, he resolv'd to aggrandize himself and it, by the entire Conquest of Outmost *Britain*: Accordingly he took care to send thither great Armies and brave Commanders, first *Petilius Cerealis*, then *Julius Frontinus*, and lastly *Julius Agricola*, a Person inferior to none we read of in Story, either for Conduct or Courage. He perform'd Wonders, during his Abode of eight Years in this Country: The two first he spent, not so much

(a) Suetonius,

in reducing the Remains of *South-Britain*, as in securing it to the *Romans*: And this he effected, by causing Sconces or Fortresses to be rais'd with wonderful Art and Diligence, and Garrisons to be plac'd at convenient distances; but more particularly, by regulating Abuses, and reforming Corruptions, easing the poorest Sort from the Load of Exactions and Tributes, and alluring the great Ones to the Pleasures and Ornaments of Peace. With this View, he first brought in, and recommended the Customs of civil Life, caused the young Nobility to be Educated in the liberal Arts and *Latin Tongue*, whose Graces they now began to study and affect, and encourag'd the Building of Temples, Places of Resort, and stately Houses: For hence 'twas, that these People thus gently gain'd over to admire the Dresses, Modes, and Manners of their Masters, proceeded by easy Degrees to all their Softness and Incentives to Luxury, as beautiful Portico's, pleasant Baths and exquisite Banquets. These were in reality, but the Trappings of their Bondage and Slavery, tho' by them consider'd as the Effects of Civility and Politeness. The *Northern-Britains*, I mean the *Scots* and *Picts*, were not to be Tam'd by those Methods, and therefore *Agricola*, in the third Year of his Administration, pass'd the *Tweed*, and penetrated the next Summer to the opposite Firths of *Forth* and *Clyde*, which, being parted but by a narrow Neck of Land, he secur'd by Forts and Garrisons, and by this Means pent up the *Scots* and *Picts*, as it were within another Island. His next Work was to Rigg out a Fleet, in order to discover the Creeks and Harbours of the *Northern Seas*, and he is said to have sail'd over to the Islands of *Orkney*, yet learn'd not that *Britain* was an Island, but by an Accident, which happen'd thus: A Cohort of *Germans* mutiny'd against, and kill'd their *Roman* Officers, and to avoid Punishment, seis'd on three light Gallies, on Board of which they set sail and put to Sea: They had no Pilot to direct their Course, but by Tide and Weather were carried round the Coasts, exercising Piracy wherever they Landed, and after various Fortune return'd, and gave an Account of their Adventures and Discoveries to *Agricola*. Upon this his Souldiers, flush'd with a late Victory they had gain'd, cry'd out to be led into *Caledonia*, That with a continual Course of Conquest, they might find out the outmost Bounds of *Britain*. They were order'd to March accordingly, and halted not, till they came in view of a noble and numerous Army of *Scots* and *Picts*, and perhaps some of the yet undaunted *Britains*. The *Scots* King *Galdus*, by *Tacitus* call'd *Galgacus*, than whom no Barbarian Prince made ever a more shining Figure in the *Roman* History, had posted himself on the Head of his Army, somewhere in the Mountains, call'd *Grampian*, now the *Braes* of *Angus*, *Mearns*, &c. They fought desperately on both sides; but at last the *Scottish* Fierceness gave way to the *Roman* Discipline: And had not the Emperor *Domitian*, under whom great Virtue was Criminal, from a mean Principle of Jealousy or Envy, recall'd *Agricola*, not long after this noted Battle; 'tis not to be doubted but he had followed his Blow,

Agricola
great Con-
duct.He Invade
Scotland.

Builds Fort

Discover
the Islands
of Orkney.Defeats the
Scots and
Picts.

Is recall'd

and reduced all *Britain* into the Form of a *Roman* Province, as he did the greatest and richest Part of it. Henceforth all the succeeding Wars, the *Romans* carried on in this Island, were properly *Scottish* and *Pictish*; for these impatient of the dangerous Neighbourhood, ceas'd not to embrace all Opportunities of enlarging their own; and lessening the *Roman* Bounds. They prov'd so very uneasy to the Governours in *South-Britain*, that the Emperor *Hadrian* thought it necessary to come over in Person, to suppress their Incurfions into the *Roman* part. This he effected with great Difficulty and Opposition, and finding it impracticable to pursue Men, who retreating into Woods, Mountains and such like Recesses, were arm'd and guarded, with Hunger, Cold, and an obstinate Love of Liberty, against all further Attempts: He (a) contented himself to seclude them from his Provincial *Britains*, by means of a deep Fosse and mighty Wall he caus'd to be built of Wood and Earth, extending from the River of *Esk* on the Frontiers of *Scotland* and *England*, to the *Tine* in *Northumberland*, Eighty Miles in length. *Ælius Spartianus* a *Roman*, in his Life of *Hadrian*, and *Herodian* a *Græcian*, in the Life of *Severus*, make mention of this famous Rampier; some Vestiges of which are at this Day to be seen and admir'd. Having thus settled and secur'd, so far as was thought practicable, the *Roman* State, *Hadrian* return'd in Triumph to the World's Capital, *Rome*, where he gain'd the Title of *Restorer of Britain*, which, as a Motto, was stamp'd on his Coin: A flagrant Proof, that in those Days, it was thought no mean Performance, even in a *Roman* Emperor, to have preserved a Part of his own, from the then Invincible *Scots*: I say, a Part of his own; for 'tis observable, that this Wall, built by the Emperor *Hadrian*, was near a hundred Miles South from the Neck fortified by *Agricola*: So 'tis plain, he lost so much Ground, and yet was thought to have done Wonders.

Hadrian was succeeded by *Antoninus Pius*, whose Lieutenant, *Lollius Urbicus* retaliated upon the *Scots* and *Picts*, the Losses sustained by an Overthrow they had but lately given the *Romans* and Provincial *Britains*; and having recovered that part of the *Roman* Province *Hadrian* had given up to them, he drove them for the second time beyond their Firths, where, in pursuance of the Project first laid down by *Agricola*, he built a Wall over that very Neck of Land, *Agricola* had only Fortified with Castles and Garrisons. This is evident from the Inscriptions digged up, many of which are to be seen in the Library of the College of *Glasgow*. I shall set down two of them for the Satisfaction of the Curious.

IMP.

The Emperor *Hadrian* comes over into *Britain*, to oppose the *Scots* and *Picts*.

A. D. 121.

His Wall.

His Return.

Lollius Urbicus beats the *Scots* and *Picts*.

He built a Wall between *Forth* and *Clyde*.

(a) Camden's *Britan.* edit. Lond. 1695. p. 919.

IMP. CAES. TITO. AELIO. HADRIANO. ANTONINO.
 AUG. PIO. P. P.
 LEG. II. AUG. PER. M. P. III. D. C. LXVIS.
 Q. LOLLIO. VR. LEG. AUG. PR. P. R.

This Work, as appears by the Remains, was of Stone and Turf: It began near *Abercorn*, and passing by *Carriden*, *Kinneil*, *Inveravon*, *Falkirk*, along the South-side of *Forth*, it crosses the Land, and passes by *Castle Ruff*, *Kirkintilloch*, *Castlecary*, the *Barbie*, *Calder*, *Balmudy*, *Castlehill*, and *Duntocher*, and so ends above *Dumbarton*, near *Kilpatrick*, being in Length about thirty Miles. This is the very Ground, where *Beda* tells us, that the *Britains* long after built a Wall of Turf; but perhaps he had better said, that they repair'd that of *Lollius Urbicus*. This General had no sooner left *Britain*, but it appear'd what a weak Fence he had rais'd against so valiant Enemies: The *Scots* and *Picts* renew'd their Incurfions, got within the Wall, over-ran and destroy'd the South parts of *Britain*, as before: Nay, in the time of *Commodus*, they carried all before them, and with restless Fury knock'd down even the *Romans*, both Captains and Souldiers. This was the State of Affairs in *Scotland*, when *Severus* ascended the Imperial Throne: This Emperor divided the conquer'd part of *Britain* into two Governments or Prefectures; the South part was committed to *Heraclitus*, and the North, which was the most difficult to manage, to *Virius Lupus*, in quality of Proprætor, where the *Scots* and *Picts* so infested him, that he was oblig'd to purchase a Truce with Money. This Truce, glorious to the *Scots*, was religiously observ'd by their first Christian King, *Donald*, till the Fifteenth Year of *Severus* his Reign, when the warlike Emperor, tho very Gouty, and above Sixty Years of Age, resolv'd to come in Person, as *Hadrian* had done before, with a design to secure the South, by an entire Conquest of the North of *Britain*; and the rather, because of the Lewdness of his Two Sons, *Caracalla* and *Geta*, debauch'd by the Luxury of *Rome*, and the growing Effeminacy of the Souldiers, enervated by Plenty and Peace. An effectual Cure of these Distempers he doubted not to find in the hurry of Action and War. Upon his Entrance into *Britain*, he left his Son *Geta* in the Southern parts of the Province, and march'd with *Caracalla* against the *Caledonians* or *Scots*, where, with the cutting down of Woods, making of Bridges, draining of Boggs, the Enemies Ambuscades, and Sickness, he lost no less than Fifty Thousand Men. The aged Emperor encounter'd these Miseries, and unlookt-for Opposition, with that Bravery and Resolution he had exprest, when in the Flower and Vigour of his Youth or Manhood, yet could neither force nor flatter the *Scots* or *Picts* into a Surrender of their Liberties or Country: And therefore, as he had the same success in War, as his Predecessor *Hadrian*, so he

He leave
Britain.

A. D. 197
Severus.

A. D. 208

Comes
into Britain

His Suc-
cess not
great.

He make
Peace.

made Peace, much upon the same Terms, that is, He contented himself with having done what was possible for the Security of the Roman Province: And no doubt, seeing the Inconveniency of *Urbicus's* Fence, by reason of the easie Passage of the Firths to get within it, he came to this Agreement with the *Scots* and *Picts*, That upon their quitting the Country by South; the River of *Tine*, they should possess all that lyes North of it: And to secure this new Limit of the Province against future Incurfions, he first built a Wall from the Entry of that River, cros the Land to the West-Sea, on the same Ground, in all Probability, where *Hadrian* had made his Fence. This Structure was suitable to the Power and Grandeur of *Rome*, and was reckon'd one of the great Works of the Empire; and therefore by way of Excellency call'd *The Wall*, and to this Day, by the *Welsh*, *Gual Severe*: For which, and for his several Victories, *Severus* took upon him the Title of *Britannicus Maximus*; and not long after, weakn'd, partly with Age and Toyl, and partly with Grief for the scandalous Life of his eldest Son, he Sickn'd and Died at *York*.

Repairs
adrian's
Wall.

Dies.

From the Death of this Emperor to the Reign of *Diocletian*, and from thence to that of *Constantius*, we do not read of any memorable Wars between the *Romans* and the *Scots*: Nor shall I enlarge upon those carried on at these two times: For on the first occasion, the *Scots* acted only as Auxiliaries to *Carausius*, who usurped the Government of *Britain*, and laid Claim to the Empire; and on the second, we're only told of some Incurfions made into the *Roman* Province. So that for about the space of a Hundred Years, it seems the *Romans* made no direct Attempts upon *North-Britain*; they had Work enough beyond Seas, and their Ardour for remote Conquests relented daily, as their Ambition and Desire of domestick Power increas'd. For they were Oppress'd at one time, by no less than Thirty Tyrants that made War against one another: And afterwards *Constantine* the Great, who first establish'd Christianity in the Empire by Law, having imprudently, (I may say so, at least in one Sense) remov'd his Imperial Seat from *Rome* to *Byzantium*, or *Constantinople*, and drawing many Forces after him to the Eastern parts, made way for Invasions and Incurfions into the Western. In the mean time, the *Scots* and *Picts* now mollified and softn'd, in a great measure, by Learning and Religion, and secure from being Assaulted, as formerly, by the *Romans*, either liv'd quiet, or quarrel'd only among themselves. The *Picts* began to be so call'd about this time, and that for the Reasons I hinted at above; and the *Scots* formerly design'd *Caledonians*, *Brigantes*, *Scoto-Brigantes*, &c. and but seldom *Scoti*, were at the same time design'd chiefly, if not only, by this last Denomination. Whence 'tis, that some Foreigners, among others, Mr. *Echard* and *Pere D' Orleans*, seem to compute their first Arrival in *North-Britain*, from this period of Time, viz. About the Year 340. I have already evinc'd the contrary, and shall only observe in this place, how improbable 'tis, that those

very

D.340.

very People, I mean the *North-Britains*, who had so often withstood, and so bravely repel'd the *Roman* Attacks; against whom two Emperors came over and fought in Person, whom even *Julius Agricola* could not beat out of the Island, and who in fine, after an almost continu'd Struggle, of very nigh 200 Years, from the Reign of *Claudius*, to that of *Severus*, had compel'd the Conquerors of the Universe to set Boundaries to their Ambition: How improbable is it, I say, that a People so obstinately Fierce, would have yielded their Country, incorporated with, or tamely submitted to a Handful of Pirating Vagabonds, either from *Ireland* or *Scythia*? If such a thing had fallen out, we should have heard of it from *Roman* Writers. *North-Britain* was then divided only by a Wall from a *Roman* Province, where Learning flourish'd; and the *Romans* there could not but know, and take notice of an Event so very remarkable. Besides, it may not be impertinent to ask, What came of these numerous *North-Britains*, whose Fathers had engag'd with, and sometimes routed, not only Legions, but Armies of the *Romans*? The Answer is obvious, they continu'd in *North-Britain* as before, only now they were by Foreigners more expressly distinguish'd by the Denominations of *Scots* and *Picts*. These two People so near Ally'd to one another, by Blood, Religion, Laws, Language and Neighbourhood, had, while they dreaded any Danger from the *South-Britains* or *Romans*, continu'd to cultivate a strict and unviolated Friendship, till the Reign of *Crathilinthus*, King of the *Scots*, in whose time they first quarrel'd about a hunting Dog, which some *Picts*, of the Retinue of their King *Thelargus*, had stoln from a Domestick Servant of *Crathilinthus*, who, as he was a great Lover of Sport, so he cherish'd this excellent Dog in a particular manner. Upon the account of an Accident so very trifling, did these fierce People break out, first into Scuffles between Parties, as they chanc'd to Rencounter, and then into a National War. Their respective Sovereigns did all they could to crush the growing Mischief in the Bud, with which View 'tis probable, that they hearkn'd to the Overtures made by *Carausius*, the *British* Usurper: For since, to allay that Heat and unquiet Disposition of their Subjects, a War was necessary; 'twas certainly more Politick to wage it in the South, than in the North of *Britain*, and more reasonable to spend their Martial Ardour against the *Romans*, rather than to employ it to the Destruction of one another. Thus a Peace was concluded, and the Ancient Alliance renew'd at this time, but was again interrupted and broken about the Year 348. The manner thus.

Angustanus and *Romachus*, two young Princes, both Nephews, but by different Brothers, to the brave and wise *Crathilinthus*, put in their Claims to the Crown: *Romachus* carried it by Force and Fraud, supported chiefly by the *Pictish* Interest: He wore it three Years, and then was by the *Angustian* Faction cut off: Justly, says *Lesly*, upon the double Score of his Usurpation and Cruelty. However the *Picts* resent'd the Death, Murther they call'd it, of their Ally,

Unanimous
able Proceed
of the Scots
being sett
in Britain
before the
Year 348

A. D. 27
The Scots
and Picts
quarrel
about a hunting
Dog.

A. D. 34

Romachus
an Usurper
kill'd.
The Picts
espouse his
quarrel, and
make War
with the
Scots.

which to Avenge, they invaded the *Scottish* Territories, and fought with that Eagerneſs, that both their King *Nectanus*, and the *Scottiſh Anguſtianus* were kill'd on the Spot. For a conſiderable time after this moſt bloody Engagement, neither People had Peace nor War: This they could not carry on, by reaſon of the huge Loſs of their beſt Men; and that they would not condeſcend to, ſo furioſly were they bent upon mutual Revenge. They return'd to Action in the ſecond Year of the Reign of *Fethelmachus*, who after he had routed the *Piſts* in ſeveral Rencounters, and given them at laſt a total Overthrow in a pitcht Battle, where their King *Nectanus* had the Fate of his Brother, of the ſame Name, was, at the Inſtigation of *Hergiftus* another *Piſtiſh* King, Murther'd by two *Piſtiſh* Villains, and his own Harper or Piper. The Regicides were apprehended, and, if any earthly Punishment can be thought ſuitable or ſufficient to atone for the Murther of a lawful Sovereign, they receiv'd it; being torn to pieces by the contrary Motion of four Horſes, to whom they were faſtn'd with Ropes.

A. D. 363.
Anguſtianus
 the King
 of the *Scots*,
 and *Nectanus*
 King
 of the *Piſts*,
 kill'd in
 battle.
 A. D. 366.

Fethelmachus
 Murther'd
 by Traitors.

And now, *Magnus Maximus*, who commanded for the *Romans* in *South-Britain*, obſerving the implacable Hatred, and unrelenting Animofities of the *Scots* and *Piſts*, conceiv'd a Deſign, great as his Ambition afterwards appear'd to be: He reſolv'd to attempt the Conqueſt of the whole Iſland, and doubted not but by a feign'd Shew of Support and Friendſhip to one Nation, he ſhould ſoon effect the Deſtruction of both. In Purſuance of this Project, he makes his Application to the *Piſts*, as Matters then ſtood the weakeſt, and conſequentially the apteſt to be wrought upon. He was not Miſtaken; for this People allur'd by his fair Promiſes, improvidently enter'd into Meaſures, that were ſo exactly calculated for the preſent Diſpoſition of their angry reſenting Minds. And now the *Piſts*, reinforc'd with a promiſcuous Army of *Romans*, *Gauls*, and *Britains*, invade the *Scottiſh* Territories, ſet upon the frightn'd and inferior Enemies, nigh the River of *Cree* in *Galloway*, and obtain'd a Victory, eaſy as they could wiſh for, yet bloody in the Event: For while the *Romans*, contrary to their wonted Maxims of Diſcipline, purſue unwarily and diſorderly the flying Mob, behold another body of Men, from *Argyle*, and the more diſtant Provinces, appear all on a ſudden, charge the Victors, and repel them, with no ſmall Slaughtering of their wandring Souldiers. Nevertheleſs *Eugene* the *Scottiſh* King, after Enquiry and Deliberation, concluding it impoſſible for his ſmall Army, which was conſiderably leſen'd by the late Engagement, to ſtand another ſhock, Retreated into *Carrick*, now a part of the Sheriffdom of *Air*. In the mean time, the *Roman* General having Advice from the South, of great Commotions in thoſe Parts, found himſelf oblig'd to march back to his Government. His Retreat gave new Life to the dejected *Scots*, they gather'd again in great Multitudes, re-attack'd the abandon'd *Piſts*, and left no manner of Cruelty unacted againſt them, their Houſes, Lands, Children and Wives. This unexpected Turn of Affairs, was equally grat-

Maximus
 Governour
 of *South-*
Britain.

Assists the
Piſts againſt
 the *Scots*.

Fights
 and leaves
 the Victory
 uncertain.

grat-

grating and pleasing to *Maximus* : He had his own Reasons to rejoice upon the Losses of his Allies ; but then it was an Affront put upon the *Roman* Name and Arms ; and therefore the next Summer, he returns in Person, to wipe it off. The *Scots* were satisfied, that they must needs Fight upon this fatal Occasion, not at all for Plunder, Empire or Honour, but for the Preservation of their Fortunes, Lives, Country, and what else was ever held Dear or Sacred to Mankind. They came almost all in one Body to the Field, Women as well as Men, unanimously resolv'd to Perish or Conquer. They encounter'd the Enemy, not far from the River of *Down* in *Kyle* ; and as Men act'd by Rage and Despair, fought with utmost Fury, and therefore not long ; such Violence could not last. Their first onset put the *Picts* and *Britains* to the Rout, but they were constrain'd to fall back again, by the better Order, and fitter Arms, and greater Numbers of the advancing *Romans*. The whole Army of the *Scots* unwilling to fly, fell by the Sword, and their undaunted King, unable to survive the loss of his Subjects, threw off his Royal Robes, rush'd in where the Slaughter was greatest, and bravely died with his Sword in his Hand. His Nobles, lest it should be thought they had betray'd their Prince, courted, and had the Honour to meet with his Fate. And now, nothing remain'd in any Capacity to withstand the *Pictish* Rage and *Roman* Power : That su'd for, and this granted an Edict, commanding all *Scots* Men, Women and Children, into an eternal Exile. They obey'd and withdrew, whether their blind Fortune call'd them ; some to the Western Islands call'd *Æbuda*, others to *Ireland*, *Norway*, *Denmark*, &c. Where being generally well receiv'd, and humanely us'd by the Inhabitants, jealous of the *Roman* Power, which all Nations, at that time, had conspir'd to Depress : They multiply'd, (for Poverty is ever fertile in the production of Men) beyond Expectation, and from thence they never ceas'd, sometimes by themselves, and sometimes in Conjunction with others, to harass the *Romans*, where ever they found Opportunities ; and thereby to attempt the bringing about of their own Restoration: Which at last they effected, after an Interval of no less than forty four Years, tho some reckon fewer: But of these things afterwards.

This grand Revolution, or rather total Eclipse of the *Scottish* Monarchy, was effected about the Year 359 ; which was 689 Years after its first Establishment by *Fergus* I. 413 after the first Entrance of *Julius Cesar* into this Island ; 316 after the *Romans* first got Possession under the Emperor *Claudius* ; 275 after the full Conquest of *South-Britain* by *Agricola*, under *Domitian*, 238 after the building of *Hadrian's Wall* on the Frontiers of *Scotland* ; and 150 after it was Repair'd or Re-built by *Severus*.

Eugene I.
kill'd in
Battle.

The *Scots*
vanquish'd
and banish'd
out of the
Island.

T H E
Life of FERGUS

T H E
First King of Scotland.

His Birth
and Paren-
tage uncer-
tain.

AS most Scots Authors have done that Honour to *Ireland*, as to derive the more immediate Origination of the Scots Nation from thence, so they generally agree, that *FERGUS* the first *Albanian* King, was an *Irish-man* born, and that he was the Son of *Ferquhard*, an *Irish* Monarch. Others again, will needs have *Ireland* to have been first Peopl'd from *Britain*, and probably from the North of it, as being by Nature plac'd at no greater distance, than that of a few Miles from the *Irish* Coast; and these by consequence must think, that King *Fergus* was a Native of *Britain*, as indeed I am apt to believe, all the Scots, as well as *Picts* to have been. Those nevertheless, who are of the first Opinion, have Tradition and History on their side: But it must be own'd, that Reason and Conjecture plead strongly for the last. The like Uncertainties have attended the Birth and Parentage of several great Princes and Legislators, besides King *Fergus*. Who doubts but there was of old, as there is now, such a City as *Rome*, and such a Prince as *Romulus*? Yet if we may believe *Plutarch*, 'By whom, and for what Reason
' the City of *Rome*, a Name so great in Glory, and so famous in
' the Mouths of all Men, was so first call'd, Authors do not agree:
' Nay, these very Writers, who by the clearest Reasons make it
' appear, that *Romulus* gave Name to that City, do yet strangely
' differ concerning the Birth and Family of its Founder. For some
' write, he was Son to *Æneas* and *Dexithea*: Others, that *Roma*,
' Daughter of that *Trojan* Lady, who was Married to *Latinus*, *Te-*
' *lemachus's* Son, was Mother to *Romulus*: Others, that *Æmilia*
' Daughter of *Æneas* and *Lavinia*, had him by the God *Mars*: And
' others in fine, that he was begot by *Amulius*, one of the Kings of
' *Alba*. Nay, of late, the famous *Gronovius*, has by many Argu-
ments attempted to prove him a *Syrian*.

I could enlarge upon the like Difficulties that arise concerning the Birth of a great many of the Heroes and Legislators of distant Antiquity: For all Nations, I mean such as have been of any considerable Duration, must own a certain period of Time, *Beyond which, is nothing but monstrous Fictions. There the Poets, and there the Inventors of Fables delight to dwell; nor is there any further to be expected,*
ought

ought deserving of Credit, or that carries any Appearance of Truth. Hence 'tis, that the Scots Genealogists do not think they deserve the Blame Dr. Kennedy (a) Charges them with; because *They ingenuously confess, that they cannot trace or carry up their respective Genealogies any further, than to this Fergus.* And they are certainly in the Right, in referring themselves to the Irish, for a particular Account of the rest of the Pedigree, and Number of Generations from him to Milesius: For who but the Irish, can brag to have been so Circumspect, or at such Expence in Recording and Preserving Monuments, so many Hundreds of Years before Learning, or Letters were known in these Remoter, and consequently then more Barbarous Parts of the World.

Whoever this Prince was, as to his Country and Parentage, 'tis certain he was a great Man as to his Parts and Performances. The Scots were, in those Days, a wild, unruly, lawless Rabble, equally ignorant of Manufactures and Agriculture: They liv'd upon Prey, and rioted in Plunder; Vices but too Natural to some of the more unciviliz'd Highlanders, their Descendants, to this Day. If they had any Constitution or Form of Government at all, sure that could be nothing else, but what raw untaught Nature dictates to all Mankind. Fathers of Families, and Chiefs of Clans, had undoubtedly all the Sway: They were like so many Kings within their own Bounds: Their Persons were Sacred, their Wills were Laws, and all their Commands Despotick. Thus each Family was a petty State, and the Head of it an absolute Monarch. But Monarchs so stated, could not fail to Jarr with one another. As thrie Interests were ever different, so their Feuds were continual, none yielding where all pretended to have Right to Command. (b) Besides, they were attack'd and like to be undone by Neighbours more numerous, and as fierce as themselves. To quell domestick Feuds, repel Foreign Insults, and to fetch Order out of this Chaos of Confusion, was a Province fit for a Solon or a Lycurgus to enter upon. Fergus effected the noble Design: For at a time, when the Britains and Picts equally powerful by their Numbers and Union, were up in Arms, and just ready to fall upon, and by consequence to extirpate the Scottish Families; He set himself upon the Head of these last, and found Means to disunite the two former, and so struck up, not only a Peace, but a most firm and long lasting Alliance with the Picts: In Conjunction with whom, he afterwards gave a total Overthrow to the fraudulent and unquiet Britains; kill'd their King Coilus (from whose Name and memorable Death, the Country of Kyle is so call'd.) And having thus, by his equal Wisdom and Valour, secur'd himself and his People from Foreign Wars, he turn'd his own and their Thoughts upon reaping the Advantages and End of Peace. With this View he appointed Governours, no doubt the Chiefs of Clans, and such as had best deserv'd in the Wars, to reside and take Care of Tracts of Land, which he bounded by certain Limits, and design'd by the Names of their respective Governours.

H

Thus

The Manners of the Scots, before the Foundation of the Monarchy

The Britains and Picts quarrel with the Scots, Fergus sets himself upon the Head of the Scots.

Makes Peace with the Picts.

Civilizes the Scots.

(a) Kennedy pag. 60. (b) Boeth. Lell. &c. in vita Fergul. I.

Thus the Country of *Mar* was so call'd from *Marthac*, the Chief of those that inhabited it ; *Athol* from *Atholus*, &c. This done, his next Care was, to form and suit the Minds and Manners of his People to the Rules of Civility, at least of Society, and to discourage their domineering Vices, Rapine and Slaughter ; but more especially Theft, by reason that in those early and artless Ages, Locks and Keys were Things unknown ; and all had Access to the Wealth of each. In fine, He is said to have built a Castle, *Boethius* calls it *Berogomum*, on the Coast of *Lochaber*, and in View of the Islands, call'd *Hebrides*, where he appointed Judges to sit and administer Justice, both to the Islands, and In-land Continent. Now, if any shall ask, by what Right or Title he model'd the Infant State after this manner, I own I am at a loss to determine.

By what
means he
came to be
king.

That he was the First *Scots* King, and that as such he commanded Armies, and gave Laws, is by all *Scots* Authors acknowledg'd to be true : But the Question is, How he came to be King, and how far did his Royal Prerogative extend ? *Boethius*, *Lefly*, *Buchanan*, &c. tell us, That the *Scots* in *Britain*, sensible of the Ruine design'd them by their envious Neighbours, and of the Necessity they lay under of having a Leader, their Chieftains being unwilling to yield Obedience to one another, call'd *Fergus* over from *Ireland* ; and by reason of his Royal Birth, Valour, Justice and Prudence, unanimously Voted him King ; and that afterwards of their own Accord, he himself desiring no such thing, they solemnly Vow'd for themselves and their Posterity, Obedience and Submission to him and his Posterity for ever : Adding expressly, and obliging themselves and Successors, never to Own or Acknowledge as King, any one not begot by him, or the Heirs of his Body. These Promises seal'd by the most dreadful Oaths and Imprecations, in case of a Failure on the Subjects part, were Ingrav'd, say *Boethius* and *Lefly*, on Marble Tables, and consign'd for Preservation, into the Custody of the then Priests. If so, it must be own'd, that he was Elected and made King, I do not say by the People, for that is not, I suppose, by any Body pretended ; but at least, by the Nobles or Heads of Families, in whose Power 'twas to Un-king themselves in his Favour : And so he became with reference to all, what they had been, I mean each in his own Family, a Father and a Captain General ; that is, I humbly conceive, an absolute Monarch : For such all Fathers then were, and such a Captain General still is, where he has no Superior. In this Sense, King *Fergus* may be Parallel'd with the *Æmiliū* or *Fabii*, Dictators of *Rome* : The Senate and People of that City, tho' fix'd and riveted in a State of Enmity with the very Name of Kings, yet never fail'd, how oft their All was at Stake, to trust this All into the Hands of one Man, they call'd Dictator. On him they bestow'd an absolute, despotick, uncontrollable, and never to be accounted for Command : And to themselves they reserv'd nothing but the Glory of Obeying, and the Hopes of being deliver'd from the threatn'd Danger. A flagrant Testimony, that even in the Opinion of the most zealous

Repu-

Republicans, Monarchy, if Absolute, is the People's best Guardian, against Seditions within, or Insults from without the State. 'Tis true indeed, that the *Roman* Dictators were Limited, tho not in their Power, yet to a Time, their Office being but Temporary. Whereas King *Fergus* his Dominion was declar'd Perpetual and Unalterable, as I narrated but now. Nevertheless others, particularly *Fordon*, the oldest of the *Scots* Historians now extant, gives us a different Account of this most essential Point of the *Scots* History. He says, " That (a) *Fergus*, a noble Youth of vast Merits and royal Parentage, being inform'd, that a People by Descent of his own Nation, were by the *Picts* ejected from their Possessions, and that they wander'd thro' wild Desarts, and without a Ruler or Head, was enrag'd at the grating News: Besides, he was made to be much in love with the Soil, which by reason of its being all at that time cover'd and adorn'd with Trees, he believ'd to be very Fertile; and fir'd with Ambition, and perswaded by these Motives, he drew together a great many young Men, came over to *Albion*, separated the *Scots* from amidst the *Picts*, plac'd them and those he had brought along with him, in the Western Extremities of the Island, and there made himself a King, and was the first that Reign'd over them. Here is no mention either of a Call from, or Election made by the Chieftains of the People: Far from it, the King is plainly said to have made himself and them. Till now they had been Slaves to themselves, I mean to their savage Desires, to their Chieftains, whose Will was their only Law, and to their encroaching Neighbours, whose stronger Power they could not withstand. A single Person is rais'd, and undoubtedly acted by designing Providence, and he makes them Free; because he binds them with Laws, he delivers them from Oppression, by putting them under Subjection, and rids them of Tyranny, by Constituting himself their King.

As they enjoy'd no Liberty till now, so they knew not so much as the Name of Property: If their Goods were not in Common, 'tis certain however that they were expos'd to all the common Accidents that must needs fall out, where Covetousness, Ambition, Revenge, &c. are unbridl'd by Authority, and whetted by Power; so that no Man could call ought his own any longer than he had Strength of Body and Force of Arms to make it so. King *Fergus* by his Laws, set Bounds to Mens Avarice, and effectually restrain'd their inbred Inclination to Robbery and Stealth. And thus it appears, that *Liberty* and *Property*, Words that sound so Charmingly in all our Ears, and are in reality but Words and Sounds, as they're generally applyed, were at first gifted to the People, by this King *Fergus*: And after this he might say with *Solon*, who gave Laws to the *Athenians*:

H 2

What

(a) *Histor. Britannicæ Scriptorum* XX. 2. Vol. comprehen. p. 584. ubi Jo. Ford. habet hæc verba. Amatione regnandi stimulatus, magnam sibi juvenum copiam accumulans, ad *Albionem* progressus est, &c. Idem, Super eos Regem primum se constituit.

*What Power was fit, I did on all bestow,
Not rais'd too high, nor prest the Subject low:
The Rich that Rul'd, and ev'ry Office bore,
Confin'd by Laws, they could not press the Poor:
All Persons I secur'd from lawless Might,
And none prevail'd upon anothers Right.*

This was a Compliment, for which the then People could make no Returns, since they had nothing to give, but Obedience to the Laws and Form of Government prescrib'd; and on this their own Being and Existence depended: Had they done otherwise, they must again relapse into all the Mischiefs and Errors of Anarchy: Perhaps they might, by Means of a successful Rebellion, have Un-nation'd themselves, but they could not Un-king their Prince. The Right he had acquir'd over them was Indelible: And had it been otherwise, yet as before, so afterwards, he must be allow'd to remain a King, at least in his own Family.

Now, whether the whole Kingdom, and his private Family were not one and the same, is a Question decided, in a great measure, by Sir *William Temple*, and more positively by Sir *George Mackenzie*, in his Favour. The first (a) tells us, That “if we deduce (as
“certainly we must) the several Races of Mankind, in the several
“Parts of the World from Generation, we must imagine the first
“Numbers of them, who in any Place agree upon any civil Con-
“stitutions, to assemble not as so many single Heads, but as so
“many Heads of Families, whom they Represent in the Framing
“any Compact or common Accord; and consequently as Persons
“who have already an Authority over such Numbers, as their Fa-
“milies are composed of: For, if we consider a Man multiplying
“his Kind by Birth of many Children, and not only the Cares, but
“the Industry he is forc'd to, for the necessary Sustenance of his
“helpless Brood, either in gathering the natural Fruits, or raising
“those which are purchas'd with Labour and Toil: If he be forc'd
“for Supply of his Stock to Catch the tamer Creatures, and Hunt
“the wilder, sometimes to exercise his Courage in defending his
“little Family, and fighting with the strong and savage Beasts,
“that would Prey upon him, as he does upon the Weak and the
“Mild. If we suppose him disposing with Discretion and Order,
“whatever he gets among his Children, sometimes laying up for to-
“Morrow, what was more than enough for to-Day; at other times
“Pinching himself, rather than suffering any of them should Want,
“and as each of them grows up, and able to share in the common
“Support, teaching him both by Lesson and Example, what he is
“now to do as the Son of his Family, and what hereafter as the
“Father of another: And lastly, among the various Accidents of
“Life, lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, when the Earth affords him
“no

(a) Temple's Essay upon Government:

“ no Relief, and having recourse to a higher Nature, when he finds
 “ the Frailty of his own. We must needs conclude, that the Chil-
 “ dren of this Man cannot fail of being bred up with a great Opi-
 “ nion of his Wisdom, his Goodness, his Valour and Piety; and if
 “ they see constant Plenty in the Family, they will believe well of
 “ his Fortune too. And from all this must naturally arise a great
 “ Paternal Authority; and thus the Father by Authority, as well
 “ as by a natural Right, becomes a Governor in this little State:
 “ And if his Life be long, and his Generations many, (as well as
 “ those of his Children) he grows the Governor or King of a
 “ Nation, and is indeed a *Pater Patria*. Thus, the peculiar Com-
 “ pellation of the King in *France*, is by the Name of *Sire*, which in
 “ their ancient Language, is nothing else but *Father*; and denotes
 “ the Prince to be the Father of the Nation: For a Nation pro-
 “ perly Signifies a great number of Families deriv’d from the same
 “ Blood, born in the same Country, and living under the same Go-
 “ vernment and civil Constitutions, as *Patria* does the Land of our
 “ Father. And so the *Dutch* by Expressions of Dearness, instead of
 “ our Country, say our *Father-Land*. With such Nations, we find
 “ in Scripture, all the Lands of *Judea*, and the adjacent Territo-
 “ ries were planted of old: With such the many several Provin-
 “ ces of *Greece* and *Italy*; when they began first to appear upon the
 “ Records of ancient Story or Tradition; and with such was the
 “ Main-Land of *Gaul*, inhabited in the time of *Cesar*, and *Germany*
 “ in that of *Tacitus*. Such were the many Branches of the old *Bri-
 “ tish* Nation, the *Scepts* among the *Irish*. And such I conclude by
 a Parity of Reason the *Scots* to have been: So that as all the different
 Families or Clans among them were Originally of the same Stock,
Fergus must needs have been the Heir Representative of this Stock;
 and by consequence the Father of them all, that is their King by
 his Birth-right. Whether he was born in *Ireland* or *Scotland*, it is of
 no purpose to enquire: It seems however, that all the *Scots* in *Albi-
 on* knew and own’d him to be the Chief of their Families, and the
 Fountain of their very Being. Sir *George Mackenzie* is positive as to
 the thing, but expresses himself in other Terms. “*Garbelus*, (a)
 “ (says he) was not at all Elected by the People, but was himself the
 “ Son of a King, and all those descended from him and his Colo-
 “ nies, were by Law obliged to obey the eldest Son and Repre-
 “ sentative of that Royal Family. *Ferquhard* is acknowledg’d to
 “ have been his only Successor; nor did ever any of the *Scottish*
 “ Tribes pretend to have the Supremacy: And our Histories bear,
 “ That none of our Tribes would yield to one another, and the
 “ fatal Marble Chair that came from *Spain*; remaining with those
 “ that went to *Ireland*, does evince, that the Birth-right remain’d
 “ with them. And therefore when *Fergus* the Son of *Ferquhard*
 “ came over, he brought over with him the Marble Chair, which
 “ was the Mark of Empire. He adds, *And ’tis true*, — that we
 I read

(a) Mackenz. Just Right of Monarchy:

“ read nothing at all of the Consent of the People, but of the Heads
 “ of the Tribes, who had no Commission from the People, each
 “ of them having by his Birth-right, a Power to Command his
 “ own Tribe: And consequently the Royal Power was not deriv’d
 “ to *Fergus* from the People, but had its Original from this Birth-
 “ right, that was both in them and *Fergus*.— Nor can it be su-
 “ stain’d, that the People did in any Nation universally Consent to
 “ Election. In *Poland* the only Elective Monarchy we know, the
 “ Freeholders only Consent, and yet every private Man and Wo-
 “ man have as good Interest, according to the pretended Laws of
 “ Nature, as they have. Nor have the Commons and mean Peo-
 “ ple any Interest in the Election of our Magistrates: So that Po-
 “ pular Freedom by Birth, and the Interest of the People in Popu-
 “ lar Elections, are but meer Chimera’s, invented to Cheat the
 “ Rabble into an Aversion to the establish’d Government. *Fergus*
 “ came then to the Crown, not at all by Election, but he Succeeded in his
 “ own Right, and in the Right those Chiefs had to Command their respective
 “ Families.— “ And the Consent given by the Chiefs of the Clans
 “ and the People, did not give, but declare the former Right, as
 “ our Consent now does in Acts concerning the Prerogative, and
 “ as the Vote of the Inquest does in the Service of Heirs: And
 “ thus at the Coronation of our Kings, it is still said by our Histo-
 “ rians, that such a Man was declared King *Communi suffragio &*
 “ *acclamatione*. Thus far from *Sir George*: And thus I have shewn
 the most probable Means, by which the Prince, whose Life I Write,
 came first to be King of the *Scots* in *Albion*. As to the *second* Que-
 stion, How far his Royal Prerogative did Extend, I think I have in
 a great measure answer’d it already. I shall add, That ’tis most
 likely, that his Power was Absolute, from the following Remarks.
 As he either made himself a King by his own unusrp’d Authority,
 or was so by his inherent Birth-right; so we find that his new mo-
 del’d Subjects, tho they oblig’d themselves under the severest Pe-
 nalties and deepest Imprecations imaginable, to continue their Al-
 legiance to him and his Heirs for ever; yet they exacted no Oath,
 no Obligation, nor Guarantee whatever, for ought to be perform’d
 on his Part to them. Besides, he had not only the Command of all
 Persons, but was the only Proprietor and Lord of all the Lands and
 Seas then Possess’d or Inhabited by *Scots-men*: And this I shall after-
 wards have occasion to evince; and I believe I shall do it to a De-
 monstration. Lastly, The filial Love, respectful Aw, and zealous
 blind Obedience, with which each Branch of ancient Names, but
 more particularly those in the Highlands, do to this Day, Reve-
 rence and Serve their respective Chiefs, is to me a plain Proof of
 that absolute Sway King *Fergus* had over a People, by Gratitude,
 Duty, Conviction and Inclination, his Subjects.

How far
 his Preroga-
 tive did ex-
 tend.

Nor will this seem unreasonable to any one, who will but lay
 Prejudice aside for a Minute, and consider that no Man ever was,
 or is born Free, save a very few, who by reason of the anterior
 Death

Death of their Fathers, have been born Kings. In the Infancy of Time, and State of primitive Nature, all Children came to the World Subjects to their Parents: And since this Paternal Jurisdiction has in its Successions (lawfully or unlawfully I do not determine) branch'd out into the several Forms of Governments now establish'd among Men; 'tis plain, that every individual becomes by his very Birth a Subject to that Government, under which he first Breaths. Now, under all Governments, call them by what Appellation you please, *the Dominion*, as Sir *William Temple* judiciously observes, *is equally Absolute, where it is in the last Resort.* The *Czar* in *Muscovy*, and the *Sultan* at *Constantinople*, can do nothing where they Command, but what the Supreme Magistrates in *Holland*, *Venice*, *Poland* or *Britain*, may. There's every where some Power that is not to be controul'd, and on whose arbitrary Pleasure, when express'd or turn'd into a Law, the Death, Life, Liberty and Property of every particular Person depends. 'Tis true, these Powers that are Supreme in the more Polite and Civiliz'd Countries, do not so frequently degenerate into Acts of Injustice, Oppression and Cruelty, as those first mention'd: But this is owing only to their better Rules and Forms of proceeding in matters Criminal and Civil, which for the most part they follow; tho sometimes, we know, they can, and do dispense with these very Laws, or Forms, we think the Guarantees and Securities of all that's Dear or Sacred to Man. So that, since all Men are, and must be subject to Government, whether they will or not, and since all Governments are equally Despotic, and may prove equally Tyrannical in their Turns; If any shall ask, What Form or Constitution of Government one should incline to live under, I Answer, That, and only That, under which himself and his Ancestors from time out of Mind have been born, bred, and protect'd; That, to which he and they have been Sworn; and That in fine, which first made the People a Nation, and has since continu'd to make the Nation subsist. Such a Government, whoever goes about to Subvert by Force or Fraud, is undoubtedly a Rebel, a Traitor, a Parricide, and as such, deserves to be Punish'd. I say, by *Force* or *Fraud*, for to give Laws to a People that's Lawless, or to new-model an unhappy Constitution, by meer Dint of Reason, universal Consent, and thorow Conviction of all concern'd; This is to re-act a *Fergus* in *Albion*, a *Numa* in *Rome*, an *Athenian Solon*, or a *Spartan Lycurgus*: Such Men as these, *Poland* and *Hungary* very much want, and *Denmark* while Elective wanted. But again, if one should insist further, and enquire what Form of Government is in it self most perfect: That undoubtedly which is least imperfect: For 'tis equally true of Governments and Men,

— *Vitiis nemo sine nascitur, optimus ille est
Qui minimis urgetur:* —

And such an one, I take it, is Monarchy, when also Hereditary. To prove this, I shall grant a very liberal Concession to Republicans, and others the Abettors of Antimonarchical Principles. Their Plea is generally, and indeed I think 'tis to sum up in one Argument all the Arguments that can be adduc'd against my Assertion, That Kings are like other Men, Interested, Covetous, Insolent, Proud, Revengeful, Cruel, and what not, Witness the *Nero's* of old, and the *Castilian Peters*, and *Danish Christierns*, of a later date. Well, I own it,

Veniam dabimus petimusque vicissim.

Kings are of the Mass of Mankind, and therefore by Nature wickedly inclin'd: But then I contend, that they are no more so, than that whole Mass of which they make a part:

*Rari quippe boni, numero vix sunt totidem quot
Thebarum portæ, vel divitis ostia Nili.*

Of honest Men, we find so small a Store,
The Gates of *Thebes*, the Mouths of *Nile* are more.

That is, a good Man is a lonely Creature, he is a *Phoenix*, there's but one of the kind to be seen in the World at once: Nay, I shall suppose, that, as the Story of the *Phoenix* is but a Fable, so the Existence of a good Man is but a Chimera, *Nemo est justus, nemo usque ad unum*. If so (and who can doubt it?) the Senates of *Rome*, *Lacedemon* and *Athens*, were so many Conventions of Fools or Villains, or both. If we talk of the Assemblies of their inferior People, the Assertion is still the more uncontrovertible. Now, since on the arbitrary Power of these, or such as these, there's an absolute Necessity to depend, whether is the Condition of the People most hopeful, who depends on the mixt Multitude of all these, or of that other who is subject to one of them? The last to be sure: For as all in general, so that one Man in particular, who is suppos'd to have the supreme Power lodg'd in his Person, must needs be likewise suppos'd, because of the Viciousness of common Nature, to prefer his private Interest to that of all the People in general, and of each one in particular. If he does so, the People are generally secure under his Sway. The People are his Property, his Heritage; in a word, in every respect his own: And why should he destroy his own? If he extirpate them, over whom shall he and his Posterity after him domineer? If he impoverish them, who shall henceforth afford him Money to gratify his Passions, whatever they are? Who afterwards will support his Grandeur, guard his Person, fight his Battles, pay his Forces, reduce his Enemies, suppress Conspiracies, enrich his Favorites? In fine, what an Heritage must he leave to his Children? An empty Exchequer, a desolate Kingdom, an enrag'd People, and a tottering Crown. Hence 'tis evident, that a Hereditary

tary Monarch, tho never so Vicious, if he is not at the same time Phrenetick or stark Mad (in which last Case, *He may be*, according to Sir Thomas Craig, *debarr'd not from the Succession, but only from the Administration*) will, for the sake of his own private Interest, and that of his Posterity, take care of the publick Interest and Welfare of his People. Is this the Case of an Assembly of Men intrusted with the same supreme Power we have been talking of? By no means: Their Interest (and I suppose all Men are equally interested) is ever different from that of the People, their own Constituents. Such Men are not wont to allow Time, that's the more precious, because short, to slide away in vain: They very well know, that they're then, or never to be made; they post on to Employments, Pensions, and Trust, as fast as Avarice can drive. And were they liable to no other Vice, (and God knows, were their Lives sifted, as those of Princes are, we should find them in every Respect generally more Vicious than Princes;) I say, were they liable to no other Vice, but that of being Brib'd, as generally all private Men are, it must be concluded, that the People intrusted to their Management, are for this very Reason in a most hopeless Condition. All was Venal at Rome, whilst Rome continu'd a Republick: *Cæsar* usurp'd not, but bought the Empire with his Money: And of that State that's govern'd in the last Resort by many, it may be truly said, *O Regnum cito peritulum, si emptorem repererit!* How soon shall this Kingdom be undone, if a Buyer can be found?

From all this I conclude, that the Scots were in King Fergus his Days, happy upon a double Score: First, because Heaven gave them a good, valiant, and wise Prince: And next, because their Prince was Hereditary. They thought so themselves, and their Posterity, to this Day, are generally of the same Opinion. For tho the innate Bounty of most Scots Kings, and the various Circumstances of Affairs and Times have occasion'd a seeming Diminution of the Royal Prerogative, and made a sort of mixt Government of King and States; yet their Monarchs have in all Ages reign'd Absolute in the Hearts of almost all Scots-men; and are declar'd such, not only in the Writings of their most eminent Lawyers, but also in the publick Records of their Church and State: I say Absolute, so far as that they have neither an Equal nor Superior. 'Tis true, that all Parties and Nations have, in their Turns, been guilty of Rebellions and Insurrections against their respective Princes; and then they fail'd not to hire an Advocate who would plead the Equity of their Cause: And what Cause, tho ever so bad, can want Abettors, while Men remain Men, that is, prone to Sin? But in Opposition to these, How many Noble Assertors of the Royal Rights has Scotland produc'd, and Loyalty inspir'd. Popery boasts of a *Barclay*, Episcopacy of a Sir *George Mackenzie*, and Presbytery of a Sir *Thomas Craig*, than whom, a more solid Wit, nor an honest Man, no Age, no Nation perhaps has hitherto been blest with: His Book entitl'd, *The Right of Succession, &c.* as it fixes the Thrones of Kings beyond

all Possibility of being shaken, but by arm'd Force ; so it will prove a never failing Document to After-ages, That the Principles of that Church, of which he was a Member, are not, as is falsely asserted, Disloyal : He was too Wise to be ignorant of the Essentials of that Religion he profess'd, and too good a Man to dissemble or equivocate, much less to contradict the Dictates of his Conscience : He asserted nothing but what was long after acknowledg'd to be a Truth, and that in the most Authentick Form and Manner imaginable, I mean by the publick *Confession of Faith*, ratified Anno 1647, Where 'tis declar'd, That even *Infidelity (a)* or *Difference in Religion*, doth not make void the *Magistrate's just and legal Authority*, nor free the *People from their due Obedience to him*. Thus 'tis evident, that all *Scots-men*, however opposite as to their other Principles, agree nevertheless in this one concerning their Kings, and that after a Tract of Two Thousand revolving Years. They are not yet weary'd with the *Fergusian* Sway, a Blessing granted by Heaven to no one Prince or Family upon Earth, besides King *Fergus* and his Sacred Line. In what Sense the Succession was alter'd after the Death of this Prince, I have narrated above, and would avoid unnecessary Repetitions.

He goes
to Ireland

Is lost at
Sea.

A. A. Chr.
305.

His Cha-
racter.

After he had thus settl'd the Monarchy, strengthen'd it with Confederacies, and Fenc'd it with Discipline and Laws; the Fame of his Wisdom and Valour must needs be great : His Presence was therefore intreated, in order to Compose and Umpire some Differences between his Allies or Kinsmen in *Ireland*. Thither he went, and had the desir'd Success. He was upon his Return to *Scotland*, when being overtaken by a Storm at Sea, he was unluckily cast away near a Rock call'd from his Name, and that sincerely lamented Accident, *Craigfergus*. He had Reign'd Twenty Five Years, how long he liv'd is uncertain. His Character I shall transcribe from Mr. *Johnston* Professor of Philosophy, his *Inscriptiones Historicae Regum Scotorum*.

*Regali de stirpe satus, patriaque, domoque,
Scotorum primus Martia sceptrâ adiit :
Quæ legum stabilit justo moderamine & armis ;
Idem armis, animis, consiliisque potens.
Fœdere conciliat Pictos, belloque minaces
Brittonas invicto robore fundit agens.
Auspiciis fœlix, meritis illustribus aucta
Transcribit generi sceptrâ tenenda suo.
Tollere quem neque fraus potuit, neque Martius ensis,
Obruit Hibernis Ennosigæus aquis.*

T H E

T H E
 Life of Caractacus

T H E
 Eighteenth King of *Scotland*.

CARACTACUS makes so Noble a Figure in the Roman History, that 'tis no wonder that those who would deprive *Scotland* of so many of her ancient Kings, do not allow this One to have been of the Number. That there was such a Prince, and that he liv'd in that very Time, *Scots* Authors condescend upon, viz. in the Reign of the Emperor *Claudius*, is acknowledged by every Body: And I see no reason to doubt of his being a *Scots* King, save that *South-Britain* was the Theatre, on which he acted his Heroick Part, and that he Commanded the *Silures*, a People, say the *English*, who inhabited the *Southern* part of *Wales*. For these reasons 'tis, that *Buchanan* takes so little notice of his Actions, and tells us, That in his Opinion, *Galdus* who Reign'd about twenty Years afterwards, was the first *Scots* King, that fought against the *Romans* in Person: And the judicious and learn'd *Gordon* of *Straloch*, inclines to believe, that the Renown'd *Caractacus* was a *Provincial Britain*. They're both mistaken; yet their Ingenuity deserves Praise, and is a Proof that 'twas beneath them to Steal their Neighbour's Glories, wherewith to Adorn themselves.

Caractacus
 prov'd to
 have been
 King of
Scotland.

That *Caractacus* was not born a *Provincial Britain* is plain, for no part of *Britain* was reduc'd into the Form of a Province, till he appear'd in Opposition to the Design. But *Scotland* was not invaded by the *Romans*, till the Reign of *Galdus*. I have reason to think otherwise; and were it so, it does not from thence follow, that no *Scots* King before *Galdus* did think fit to place himself upon the Head of such Auxiliary Troops, as were sent from *North* to *South-Britain*. And if we shall suppose *Caractacus*, or any other, to have been a King or Sovereign in *North-Britain* at that time; I mean, when *Publius Ostorius*, (a) had Master'd the *Severn* and *Avon*, overthrow'n the *Iceni*, that is, the Inhabitants of *Northfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntingtown*; defeated the *Cangi*, a People about the *Irish* Sea; suppress'd the Insurrections of the *Brigantes*, a People, by *Echard*, plac'd in the *North* of *England*; and in a word had reduc'd all the *Southern* parts of the *Isle*, into the Form of a Province: If we shall suppose, I say, *Caractacus* or any other to have had Sovereign Power in *North-Britain* at that

(a) Echard's Hist of England. p. 16. Book. 1.

time: Have we not Reason to think, that in order to prevent the nearer approach of such a dreadful Enemy to his own Territories, he could not fail to Assist such of the *South-Britains*, as yet dar'd to Resist? I have already shewn, that Forces were sent from the Extremities of the Island, to oppose *Julius Cesar* his second Expedition: And now the Flame was nearer, and just ready to catch hold of his own Dwelling, is it not reasonable to suppose, that the *Scots King*, whoever he was, did contribute his Endeavours, in order to extinguish, or at least to remove it? If he was in his right Wits, he would certainly do it; and if he was a warlike Prince, he would also set himself on the Head of his Troops: Nay, if his Assistance was considerable, and his Person in Repute, 'tis not unlikely but that the *South-Britains*, considering the then broken State of their Affairs, and the ignoble Defection of so many of their Cities, and of some of their Kings, *Cogidunus* in particular, might be induc'd to pitch upon a neighbouring Prince, Powerful and Brave, to Command their Armies, in Quality of Captain General. And thus 'tis no Matter of Wonder, that *Caractacus* a *Scots King*, should have been, as he really was, prefer'd to all the *British* Generals; and have appear'd on the Head, not only of his own more *Northern* Subjects, but also of the *Brigantes* and *Silures* of *South-Britain*. But here again I must observe, that those Authors err, who say, that the *Brigantes* were a People in the *North* of *England*, and the *Silures* the Inhabitants of *South-Wales*: For tho both may have extended themselves to these Places; yet 'tis undoubtedly true, and I have elsewhere prov'd it from *Seneca*, that the *Brigantes* made a part of the *Scots* Nation; whence they were call'd *Scoto-Brigantes*, and that they Inhabited the Countries of *Nithsdale* and *Annandale* in *Scotland*, as well as *Cumberland*, *Westmorland*, *Yorkshire* and *Wales*, extending themselves all-along the West-Side of the Island, from *Galloway* to *Cheshire*. As for the *Silures*, as they were Neighbours, and of Kin to the *Brigantes*, (for *Roman* Authors derive them both from a *Spanish* Origination) so they also Inhabited a part of *Scotland*, as may be evinc'd from *Pliny* (a) who tells us, "That *Ireland* is but twenty Miles distant from the Nation of the *Silures*: If so, the *Silures* Inhabited the Countries adjacent to *Port-Patrick* in *Scotland*, which is indeed but twenty Miles distant from *Donachydee* in *Ireland*. The like cannot be said of any part in *South-Britain*, and the nearest of these *English* Counties, which *Camden* supposes to have been Inhabited by the *Silures*, is at least fifty Miles distant from any part of *Ireland*. So that, as we know not distinctly how far the *Pictish* and *Scottish* Dominions might, in those Days, have been extended over that part of *Britain*, which was afterwards call'd *England*: So we are not sure but the King of *Scots* had a just Title to Command the *Silures*, or as his natural Subjects, or as his Allies, both by Consanguinity and Treaties. I conclude then, that there's no reason to deny

The *Silures* and *Brigantes* were a part of the *Scots* Nation.

(a) Plin. lib. 4. cap. 16. Nat. Hist. habet hæc verba.— Super eam (Britanniam) hæc (Hibernia) sita, abest. revissimo transitu a Silurum gente XX. M. P.

deny the Scots King *Caractacus*, to have been one and the same with the so much Renown'd *Britain*, of that Name. And since *Buchanan*, as well as all other Scots Historians, not only reckon a *Caractacus* in the Catalogue of Scots Monarchs, but also place him in the very same Period of Time; when the *British Caractacus* is own'd to have liv'd; 'Tis, in my Opinion, injudicious and unconfesquential to divide their Persons, and to allow of two, where one suffices to Account for all the Performances and Atchievements of either.

This Prince was born in *Carrick*, a City, says *Boethius*, (a) taken notice of by *Ptolemeus Alexandrinus*, *Verimundus*, and others. It was the Capital of all those other Towns, which belong'd to the *Silures*, and has given its Name to the Country wherein it stood. He succeeded to the Crown in Right of his Mother *Europeta*, who was Sister to *Metellanus* the late King. The brave and wise *Cadallanus* was his Father. Of this great Man's and the Nation's Loyalty in those Days, we have a remarkable Document upon Record. About twelve Years before the Birth of our Saviour, *Scotland* was curst with a King, *Evenus* was his Name, in Tyranny equal to *Nero*, and to *Heliogabulus* in Lust. His own Palace he made a *Seraglio*, where no less than a hundred Concubines were entertain'd. He did more; for by a Law, not entirely Abrogated for many hundreds of Years afterwards, he gave all Men a Right to Enjoy at their Pleasure the Wives and Brides of their Servants, Tenants, and Vassals: And as he was Superior to all his Subjects, nay, and Proprietor of all their Lands; so by this Means he made it lawful for himself to Attempt upon any Woman, whatever unbridl'd Desire could Prompt him to, and unlawful for them to Resist. Thus, Chastity the Glory and capital Vertue of the lovelier Sex, became Criminal in Law, and 'twas their Duty to Sin. Nothing is more Rapacious, nothing more Cruel than Lust: 'Tis unsatiabie as well in Avarice as in Desire, and therefore this wicked Prince to defray the necessary Expence and Charges of Infamy, must needs seise upon the Wealth of his Subjects, when his own was exhausted. For this purpose, Crimes were Forg'd, rich Men executed, and their Goods confiscated to the King, that is to Prostitutes and Pimps. In a Word, *Evenus* came at last to that height of Wickedness, that he was reputed a Chiftain of Robbers, and a Co-partner with Thieves: So that in his Reign, no Man could call his Goods, his Child, his Wife, or his Life, his own. This was down-right Madnes: For we all know, that Lust is in some People a Disease, and a Disease retaining to Madnes. Therefore, even in the Opinion of *Sir Thomas Craig*, 'twas to be cur'd, by removing the Sovereign so Affected, not from the Title to, but present Use of the Administration. The then Barbarous and Pagan Scots understood this Distinction; they remoy'd their distracted King from the Helm of Affairs, appointed a Vice-Roy in his Room; *Cadallanus* was the Man, the King's own Brother-in-Law. To oblige and advance him or his Son so much nearer to the Crown, or to re-

Caractacus
his Birth.

He was the
Son of *Cadallanus*.

K. Evenus
a wicked
King.

Cadallanus
Vice-Roy.

L

tialiate

(a) Boeth. in vita *Caract.*

Evenus
Murther'd.

taliate some Injury receiv'd, a Villain, sure, as he thought, of Impunity, Murther'd the imprison'd Prince. But he was Mistaken, for *Cadallanus* Rewarded the Regicide as he deserv'd, that is, he put him to Death, and every one applauded the Act: *So much, says Lesly, (a) did our Ancestors resent the Death of a King, whose Life had been the Object of their Hatred and Contempt.* But to return to the Hero, that afterwards succeeded.

A. D. 29.
Caractacus
Succeeds.
He sup-
presses a
Rebellion.

Caractacus had no sooner attain'd to the Throne, but he fix'd it in Peace, by suppressing an Insurrection of the turbulent Islanders, whose Chiftains he cut off, partly in the Field, and partly on Scaffolds. The rest of his Reign was all *Heroick*, yet strangely vary'd with different Successes: For as *Tacitus* has it, *Innumerable adverse, and as many prosperous Events, had rais'd him to that height of Reputation, that he was prefer'd to all the British Generals.* *Arviragus* a *British* King at first oppos'd the Incroachments made upon his Subjects, with great Valour, but little Success. He was vanquish'd, yielded to the Victors, espous'd their Quarrel, and to secure their Friendship, after having ignominiously Divorc'd his lawful Wife *Voada* or *Boadicea*, who was *Caractacus* his Sister, He took *Genissa* a *Roman* Lady to his Bed. By this means, most part of *South-Britain* became Tributary and Subservient to the Invaders: They were Masters of *Camelodunum*, a City in *Essex*, now *Maldon*, say the *English*; in *Stirling-shire*, where the Remains and Vestiges of a large and not irregular Town are yet to be seen, say the *Scots*. However, they were advancing apace towards the *Pictish* and *Scottish* Frontiers;

His Sister
repudiated
by a *British*
King.

He resents
the Indig-
nity done
to his Sister.

and *Caractacus*, in good Policy, could not ly by an idle Spectator, till it should come to his Turn to be undone. Besides, he had other Incentives to push him on, the Indignity done to his Sister, the Danger his Nephew run of being outed from the Succession by the Children of *Genissa*, his own warlike Temper and aspiring Genius. 'Twas Glorious for one Prince to have the Command of so many distinct and independent Nations. Had he retriev'd their lost Liberties, who in *Britain* could have Rival'd him in Grandeur or Fame? Fir'd with these Motives, He made a vigorous and lasting Opposition, of no less than Nine Years Continuance, to the *Roman* Power, and *British* Treachery. He fought with, and sometimes foil'd *Vespasian*, *Plautius* and *Ostorius*, all three Commanders of celebrated Conduct and Courage. I have elsewhere hinted at their Exploits, and consequently at those of their noblest Antagonist, *Caractacus*. We have a particular Account of each Action from *Hector Boethius*: I doubt not but he had his Vouchers, but I hasten to Ages less distant from our own, and shall particularize no farther, than I am warranted by Authors uncontraverted, I mean the *Romans*.

He is in-
duc'd to
make War
upon the
Romans.

He joins
and Com-
mands the
Silures.

The most of the Nations in *South-Britain* were either conquer'd, or won over to the conquering side; nevertheless the *Silures* resolv'd to stand it out to the last: (b) They rely'd upon their own in-

(a) In vita Even. (b) Tacitus lib. 12. habet hæc verba ——— *Silures* ——— super propriam ferociam *Caractaci* tribus confisos.

innate Courage, but more upon the Auxiliary Forces of *Caractacus*. And He, tho his Army was Inferior, yet prov'd Superior in Conduct; so far as to remove the Seat of the War into the Territories of the *Ordovices*, as more convenient for his Designs. He encamp'd judiciously in a place where Access and Regress were equally unsafe, by reason of the craigy Rocks and high Mountains: Besides, he was Defended on the one side by a Wall of Stones, and on t'other by a River, not easily Fordable. And now the Chiefs of these Confederate Nations went about among their Men, Exhorting, Encouraging, giving Hope, removing Fear, and using all the Perswasives, they could think on to the purpose. *Caractacus* seem'd every where at the same time: He told the Souldiers, " That that very Day must needs retrieve their Liberties, or ascertain their Servitude: That their Ancestors had driven even *Julius Caesar* from the Isle: That to them was owing their Deliverance from Taxes and Tributes, as well as the Enjoyment of their unviolated Wives and Children. The Souldiers animated by this Speech, bound themselves by the most solemn and sacred Tyes, and unanimously Swore, that neither Wounds nor Weapons should make them yield. Their resolute Behaviour, and the Difficulties that must be conquer'd, I mean the Mountains, Rocks, and Rampiers, discourag'd at first the *Roman* General; but his Souldiers cry'd out to be led on, and that Valour would force a Way to the Enemies Camp: Their Officers us'd the like Expressions, and the Ardour of the Army was incredible. Upon this, *Ostorius* having taken a narrow Inspection of the Ground, march'd to, and got over the River, but at the Wall he met with more Opposition, and the *Britains* with their Darts did great Execution among his Men, while they fought at a distance: But these getting in at last, and coming to Blows, had the better of Men naked, and who knew not the use of defensive Arms, such as Breastplates and Helmets. They retreated to the Tops of the adjacent Mountains; and thither also did the *Romans* pursue them, and gall them so (the Legionaries with their Swords and Javelins, and the Auxiliaries with their broad two-handed Swords) that they could resist on neither side. Thus the *Britains* were intirely routed: *Caractacus*, his Wife, Daughter, and Brothers were made Prisoners, and He himself with great difficulty escap'd. He fled to his Mother in Law, *Cartumandua*, who had formerly been Married with his Father *Cadallanus*, and was now the Wife of one *Venusius* a great Man, says *Boethius*, but Cunning and Deceitful. One should have thought, that the distress'd Prince would have been safe here, at least till the Enemy had overtaken him, and master'd the Countrey; but no body can be safe in Adversity. *Cartumandua* treacherously bound and deliver'd him up to the Conqueror, after he had nobly resisted the *Roman* Power, Discipline and Valour, during Nine Years, since the War first broke out.

He encamps judiciously.

Makes Speech to the Souldiers.

Engages with the Roman Army commanded by *Ostorius*.

Loses the Battle and flies.

Betray'd to the Romans by his Step-mother.

Notwithstanding this Malheur, *Caractacus* his Fame spread much wider than before: This Island and the adjacent Provinces, nay *Italy*

and *Rome* it self celebrated his Praises : All coveted the Sight of that Man, who had so long contemn'd the *Roman* Forces ; and the Emperor *Claudius*, while he extoll'd his own, made the Captive's Glory shine so much the brighter. The People of *Rome* were summon'd as to the sight of some publick Games and Spectacles : The Emperor's Guards were ranked in Order, and he himself seated on his Tribunal ; the Vassals and Retinue of the captive King went first ; the Caparisons and other Spoils of War follow'd after, then his Brothers, his Wife, and Daughter ; and last of all *Caractacus* himself was brought before the People, in a Habit which to them could not but seem very odd. As that and his fierce undaunted Countenance drew all Eyes upon him, so the noble Bravery, with which he spoke to the Emperor, rais'd Wonder and begot Esteem.

Is brought
to *Rome*.

Is admir'd.

Tacitus tells us, that he deliver'd himself much in these Terms.
 “ If my Moderation in Prosperity, had been equal to my Birth and
 “ Fortune, I had come rather as a Friend into this City, than a
 “ Captive : Nor do I think you had Disdain'd to receive me, with
 “ Articles of Alliance ; since by Birth I was a Prince, and by For-
 “ tune prefer'd to the Command of several Nations. As for my
 “ present Circumstances, as they are Low and Dishonourable to me,
 “ so to you they're Triumphant and Glorious. I was once Master
 “ of Horses, Men, Arms and Wealth : What wonder is it, if I
 “ should struggle hard before I lost them ? But if the Destinies
 “ have Decre'd, that you should give Laws to the Universe ; 'tis
 “ certain that all Mankind must submit to the Yoke : Yet had I
 “ come under it without Resistance, neither my Fortune, nor your
 “ Glory would have been, as they now are, Conspicuous ; and Ob-
 “ livion would have attended my Disgrace. However, as Matters
 “ stand, if you are yet so Generous as to save me, I shall prove a
 “ never to be forgotten Document of your Bounty.

Claudius was mov'd with the pathetick Speech and noble Behavi-
 our : He pitied the hard Fate of so Brave a Man, and frankly Par-
 don'd him, his Wife and Relations : They were all unbound by the
 Emperor's Orders, and waited on the Empress *Agrippina*, with that
 Respect the present Exigency requir'd. After this, the Senate was
 assembled, and the Fathers fail'd not to Congratulate the Occasion,
 in Harangues as Pompous as Flattery could make them. The Praises
 heap'd on the *Roman* Emperor, came back by way of Reflection on the
Scottish King : For they declar'd, That his Captivity was no less Honou-
 rable, than when the Great *Scipio* expos'd *Syphax*, and *L. Paulus*
 brought *Perseus* to *Rome*. In fine, *Ostorius*, tho still in *Britain*, was
 decre'd the Honour of a Triumph ; and *Caractacus*, now a Friend
 and Ally to the *Roman* People, return'd to *Scotland*, where he was
 Welcom'd by the most sincere and hearty Acclamations, not only of
 his own Subjects, but also of all those *Britains*, who were not yet
 broken by the Weight of the *Roman* Yoke. But he liv'd not long to
 reap the Fruits of his Glories, and their good Wishes ; for he died
 within two Years after this, his Spirits being spent more by Fatigue
 and

He is fre'd
from Capti-
vity.

Returns to
Scotland.

A. D. 54.

•
Dies.

and Hardships, than by Sickneſs or Age. His Reign laſted twenty one Years; but his Reputation will ſtand upon Record, while Letters are known, or Courage is honour'd. His Actions, as deſcrib'd by *Tacitus*, after whom I have copied, Characterize him to the full: And I need add no Colours to thoſe of ſo fam'd a Maſter: For, as *Johnſton* has it, addreſſing the Diſcourſe to *Caractacus* himſelf,

*Quod ſi te vero Tacitus cognomine narrat,
Nemo in Romana eſt clarior Historia.*

The LIFE of
Corbredus Galdus,

T H E

Twenty firſt King of *Scotland.*

CORBREDUS the Second, was one of thoſe Perſonages, whom Birth, Education and Nature, ſeem to Cut out and to Shape into Heroes. He was Nephew to the Great *Caractacus*, by his Father *Corbredus* the Firſt; and his Mother was a Daughter of the *Pictiſh* King. To theſe he ow'd his Birth-right and Title to the Crown: But his Aunt *Voada* or *Boadicea* taught him thoſe Leſſons, and ſet before his Eyes thoſe Examples which made him Worthy to Wear it. This celebrated Lady, the Siſter of *Caractacus* and *Corbredus*; had been Married with *Arviragus* a *Britiſh* King of the *Iceni*; by the *Romans* call'd *Prasutagus*; He us'd her ill, as I obſerv'd elſewhere; but afterwards made Amends, by retaking her to his Bed, and rejecting her Rival *Geniſſa*: He did more, for Revolting from the *Romans*, he join'd his Brother-in-Law *Caractacus* his Forces, and ſhar'd in the Glories as well as Calamities of this Prince. But he was again forc'd to beg Pardon, and hold his ſubject Scepter of the Conqueror's Generoſity. By his laſt Will he made *Nero*, at that time Emperor of *Rome*, Co-heir with his two Daughters; hoping by this means to preſerve his Kingdom and Family from Oppreſſion or Inſults. But in this he was miſtaken, for his Kingdom was ſeis'd by the *Roman* Captains, his Houſe Pillag'd by under-Officers, his Daughters Ravish'd, and his Widow *Voada* Scourg'd. She had too high a Spirit to brook the inhumane Affront. The *Britains*

*Galdus h
Birth.*

all over the *Roman* Province, met with many the like Provocations: And she laid hold on the Opportunity offer'd, to raise that mighty Struggle they then made, about the Year of our Lord 61, to regain their Liberties, and revenge the Injuries sustain'd. Never were the *Romans* so hard put to it in *Britain*, nor perhaps any where else; above eighty thousand of them and their Allies were cut to Pieces, as *Dion* assures us, and I have already narrated. But that which is wonderful, *Dux femina facti*; *Voada* Commanded in Chief the Revolted *Britains*, and Auxiliary *Scots* and *Picts*. Her Army was almost Numberless, but Rude and Undisciplin'd; and therefore was at last Worsted by the *Roman* General *Suetonius*: His irritated Soldiers gave no Quarter, not so much as to the Women, for these too had come to the Field, and were plac'd in Carts in the outmost part of the Plain, to see the Battle; and by their Presence to Animate their Husbands and Sons, but in vain. About eighty thousand *Britains* were slain, and not above four hundred *Romans*, and *Voada* disdain- ing to survive her dishonourable Stripes, and fatal Defeat, Poison'd her self, according to *Tacitus*; or, as others say, died of Grief and Sickness. I could not forbear giving this short Account of the Life and Death of a *Scots* Heroine: And the rather, because all *Scots* Histo- rians agree in this, that *Corbredus* was indebted to her for these Rudiments of Heroicism, of which He shew'd himself afterwards so great a Master. For, when a Child, he was sent to her Court, where, by reason of its Neighbourhood to the *Roman* Province and People, Politeness was in Repute, and Arts began to be Modish. For this Reason 'tis, that he was ever afterwards firmam'd *Galdus*, or which is much the same, by *Roman* Writers, *Galgacus*: For in these Days, and since, the *Scots* call'd Foreigners, or such as had got foreign Education, *Galdos* or *Gallos*; which is as much as *Wales* or *Welsh* in the *German* Idiom.

His Edu-
cation in
South-Bri-
tain.

Whence
call'd *Galdus*
or *Galgacus*.

His Re-
tirement to
the Isle of
Man.

After, or not long before the defeat and death of his Aunt, he retir'd to the Isle of *Man*; and there under the Eyes of the *Druids*, and Conduct of fit Governors, was brought up in such a Manner, as the then Times and Circumstances prescrib'd. In the mean time *Dardanus*, firmam'd the *Fat*, reign'd in *Scotland*, by vertue of that abusive Law, which appointed the nearest Cousin of the Minor-Heir to sit on his Pupil's Throne. This was not sufficient to satiate the Ambition of *Dardanus*: He was one of those, (and many such are found) who would trample on all the Dictates of Nature and Reason, so he could securely enjoy, and by any Means whatever, transmit to his own Off-spring, the noblest Object of humane Desire, Royal Authority. But the *Scots*, ever impatient of Usurpation, were not like to break through their own Vows and Obligations, to rescind their ancient Constitution, to disinherit the Son of the Great *Corbredus*, and Nephew of the Greater *Caractacus*; and thereby to draw upon themselves, and entail on their Posterity, a War unjust on their part, and lasting as the Seed of the Righteous Heirs: And all this in Favour of a Prince, whose repeated Acts of Injustice,

stice, Covetousness, and Cruelty, had made him Odious to his Neighbours and Subjects. What *Dardanus* could not effect with Consent, he attempted by Fraud; for he sent fit Agents, among the rest, one *Cormorak* to the Isle of *Man*, with Orders to cut off *Galdus* and his two Brothers, *Fulcan* and *Brek*, that so none should remain in any Capacity to dispute his, or his Posterity's usurp'd Title to the Throne of their Ancestors. A remarkable Instance of what Ambition dares do, and such as would not be Credited, had not even Christian Ages beheld the same Scenes of Horror and Abomination: For it is not so very long, since a *Richard* King of *England* re-acted the unnatural Part, He Murther'd his Infant Nephews, and usurp'd the Crown; but Divine Justice dog'd him at the Heels, and he lost both it and his Life, too honourably indeed, since in the Field of Battle. As *Dardanus* was not so Successful in the Attempt, so he was yet more Unfortunate in the Event: For the Villain *Cormorak* was apprehended with his Dagger in his Hand, just as he was going about to give the Blow. He confess'd the Orders receiv'd, and Murther premeditated. Which how soon it was nois'd Abroad, the Loyalists arm'd, set their Natural King *Galdus* on their Head, march'd straight against the hated Court, and Titulary King. And he being now abandon'd by the Instruments of his Wickedness, and not being guarded from Punishment by Law nor Reason, since really no King, was by the Mouth of *Galdus*, the righteous Heir, commanded to Die.

He is in danger of being Murther'd by *Dardanus* the Guardian King of *Scotland*.

He puts his Guardian to Death.

This done, *Galdus* mounted the Throne with so much the greater Joy and Satisfaction of the People and Nobles, that he had been but lately rescu'd from the Danger of being, by a most inhumane Parricide, put by it. He gave publick Thanks to his Subjects for their affectionate Loyalty express'd to him: In return to which, He promis'd to Govern the Kingdom with the Advice ask'd of, and Consent given by his Nobles. Of these he is said to have call'd a Council or Convention, and in it enacted many good Laws, and abrogated others, particularly that infamous One, that gave Masters a Title to the Beds of their Inferiors: Then he Prosecuted and Punish'd the Minions and Accomplices of His and the Kingdom's unworthy Guardian, *Dardanus*. And lastly, having suppress'd some Commotions in the Islands, and taken effectual Measures for preventing Robberies, he gave Peace and procur'd Plenty to his Subjects. But this lasted not long, for the renown'd *Agricola*, after having settl'd and secur'd the *Roman* Province more by Conduct and Policy, than by force of Arms; and after having extended the bounds of his Command, in spite of all Opposition, as far North as the Firths of *Forth* and *Clyde*; He bethought himself at last, how to hem in the *Scots* and *Picts*, and to deprive them of all Correspondence with, or Assistance from such of the *South-Britains* as he had not won over to the *Roman* Interest. This he effected, by building Forts and placing Garrisons in convenient Places, particularly between these two Rivers. Which done, he Master'd the Seas with a

Is own'd King A. D. 75.

Makes good Laws

Agricola invades *Scotland*.

Noble Fleet, and march'd his Land Army to the Country, properly call'd *Caledonia*, by north the *Forth*. As *Galdus* had not been idle before, so, now the Enemy was not only at hand, but in the very Heart of his, and the *Pictish* Dominions, He thought it high time to exert his utmost Efforts towards their Extrusion. They advanc'd upon him, but still he disputed every Inch of the Ground: They gain'd, and now resolv'd to have at all. He drew such Numbers together, and made so formidable an Appearance, that most of the *Roman* Officers, equally terrified by reason of the huge Multitudes they saw from afar, and of the Vigour that's inspir'd by Despair, thought fit to Retreat. But *Agricola* was not to be Discourag'd. He was advis'd that the *Scots* and *Picts* were approaching in different and distinct Bodies, and therefore divided also his Army in three. This had almost prov'd fatal to him: For *Galdus* having got Notice of it, brought all his Men together in the Night, and on their Head charg'd and cut off a whole Legion: Nay, he had almost taken the *Roman* Camp, but was disappointed; for the remanent Bodies of the Enemy came up with him early in the Morning, and forc'd him to draw off to the adjacent Mountains. This fell out in the Seventh Year of *Agricola's* Administration.

The *Scots* and *Picts* (*Tacitus* calls them *Britains*, as indeed they were, since Inhabitants of *Britain*) were not dejected, notwithstanding their late Overthrow, and the Loss of so much of their Country. They attributed the *Roman* Successes to the good Fortune and Conduct of their General, and not at all to the Valour of his Souldiers: Wherefore they proceeded anew to arm their Youth, to convoy their Wives and Children into safe Places, and to implore the Protection of their Gods, by Assemblies and Religious Rites. And thus having nothing before their Eyes, but Revenge or Slavery, the following Year they Muster'd up their whole Power, to the number of about Thirty Thousand Arm'd Men, besides great Numbers of Youth and vigorous Old Men (who had been inur'd to War, and still retain'd the Scars and Badges of their Bravery) flock'd in daily to the Assistance of their Kings, and Defence of their Countries. They lay in the best order they were capable of, on the Edge of one of the *Grampian* Hills, when the *Roman* Army came in their View. Upon whose Approach, *Galdus* is, by *Tacitus*, said to have harangu'd his Souldiers, as follows. “When I consider the Cause of this War, and our present Urgency, I have Reason to presume that your Resolution, and the Work of this Day, will give Birth to the reviv'd Liberties of the whole Island. For all of us here present, have yet been unacquainted with Servitude, and there are no remote Lands, to which we can Retreat: Nay, the Sea it self, commanded by the Enemy's Fleet, can afford us no Means of Escaping. Wherefore, as brave Men will at any time, so Cowards, if there were any such among us, must Fight on this Occasion. The *Britains* by South of us, have fought against the same Enemy with various Successes, but all their
“ Hopes

Is oppos'd
by *Galdus*,

Galdus
Defeats a
Roman Legion.

His Speech
to his Souldiers.

“ Hopes of Victory or Relief were and are plac’d in our Arms :
 “ And the Reason is plain ; for, as we are the Noblest People in *Brit-*
 “ *tain*, so we are Seated in the innermost Regions ; and our Eyes,
 “ hitherto unpolluted, and free from the Contagion of Foreign
 “ Power, have not yet beheld their subject Shoars. This secret
 “ Recess, unknown to Fame, makes our Habitation the last, and our
 “ selves the only free Men that are to be found in the World. And
 “ now the *Romans* have the outmost Bounds of *Britain* in their
 “ View : What they know least, they value most : They fancy
 “ mighty Things to themselves from further Conquests ; but they’re
 “ mistaken : For beyond us is no Nation, nothing but Waves and
 “ Rocks, and on that side, nothing but Bondage and Slavery to be
 “ look’d for from them. No Submission, no Civilities can bridle or
 “ moderate their Insolence. Those Ravagers of the Universe, now
 “ the exhausted Earth can no more furnish their Rapines, endea-
 “ vour to Rife the very Ocean. Their insatiable Lusts, and un-
 “ bounded Ambition find every where some Matter to feed on.
 “ When they meet with opulent Enemies, their Avarice prompts
 “ them to Cruelty ; when with Poor, their desire of Conquest
 “ has the same Effect. The East and West, immense as they are,
 “ cannot satisfy their voracious Minds. They, and they alone,
 “ with equal Greediness, grasp at the Riches and Poverty of all
 “ Nations. Devastations, Murthers, and Rapines pass with them
 “ under the false Names of Empire and Government ; and they
 “ boast of establishing Peace in those Provinces, they have depopu-
 “ lated with War. Nature it self commands Love in all Mankind
 “ towards their Children and Relations ; and those the *Romans*,
 “ where they are Masters, pick out at their Pleasure, to be em-
 “ ploy’d in Foreign Services. The Chastity of Mens Wives and
 “ Daughters may be preserv’d from their Violence, when Enemies,
 “ but can be by no Means secure from their lascivious Friendship,
 “ how soon they come to be admitted as Guests. The Goods of
 “ the Conquer’d are their Tribute ; Corns, wherever found, are
 “ their Provisions : Nay, the Hands and Bodies of all other
 “ Men are made Tools of by them, in the Drudgeries of draining
 “ of Waters, and cutting of Woods ; and the Rewards of so hard
 “ Labour are Reproaches and Stripes. Other Slaves, whom Na-
 “ ture or Fortune has destin’d to Servitude, may be bought, but
 “ then they’re Nourish’d by the Purchaser ; but the *Britains* buy
 “ their own Bondage, and feed the Authors of their Misery. As
 “ in private Families new Servants are the Subject of Mirth and
 “ Laughter to the Old ; so in this old Family of the World, we
 “ being newly discover’d, and consider’d as Vile, are equally
 “ sought out, for Destruction and Scorn. We have no fields, Mines, or
 “ Ports, in which we may be reserv’d to drudge. The Valour and Reso-
 “ lution of Subjects are generally Distastful to their jealous Masters,
 “ and our Distance and Privacy, which have hitherto kept us Safe.
 “ will henceforth lay us the more open to Suspicion : So that if

“ we are Vanquish’d, we need look for no Mercy. Let us therefore
 “ act as Men, that value both Glory and Liberty. The *Brigantes*,
 “ led by a Woman, burnt the *Roman Colony*, took their Forts ;
 “ and had not Success made them Careless, they might have
 “ broken the hated Yoke. We are as yet entire, unconquer’d,
 “ born Free, and resolv’d to remain so. Our very first Onset, I
 “ hope, shall shew what Men *Caledonia* has yet in Store. Do not
 “ think, that the Enemies Prowess in War is equal to their Licen-
 “ tiousness in Peace : No, they’re Successful, only because we were
 “ not unanimous. Their Glory is all owing to the Faults and Over-
 “ sights of those they had to do with : And as the several Nations,
 “ which make up their Army, are kept together by Prosperity ;
 “ so they will Dissolve and Disband, how soon they shall feel the
 “ first Blows of Adversity. This must needs fall out, unless we
 “ suppose the *Gauls* and *Germans* ; nay, I Blush to name them,
 “ and most of the *Britains*, to be so villainously Prodigal of their own
 “ Blood, as to let it out in the Usurper’s Quarrel. It cannot be
 “ thought that Enemies, for such they really are to the *Romans*,
 “ will continue longer Faithful and Affectionate than Servants.
 “ The feeble Bonds of their Love are Fear and Terror ; were these
 “ remov’d, they’ll begin to Hate those Tyrants, they have no more
 “ Reason to Dread. All the encouraging Motives, which use to
 “ force Victory, are plainly on our side. The *Romans* have no
 “ Wives, no Parents to upbraid their Flight. And in fine, they
 “ have no Country to Defend ; or if they have, ’tis remote from
 “ this. They’re but few in Number, and their being unacquaint-
 “ ed with every thing about them, must needs distract them with
 “ Fear. Whatever they Spy, is strange to their Eyes, and terrify-
 “ ing to their Minds : They know neither our Seas, nor our Woods ;
 “ nay, nor the Firmament it self. And ’tis plain that the Gods,
 “ at last Propitious, have deliver’d them into our Hands, in some
 “ Measure pent up and bound. Do not fear the gawdy Shew of their
 “ Silver and Gold, that can neither Defend them, nor Wound you.
 “ We shall meet with Friends in the midst of our Enemies ; the *Bri-
 “ tains* will remember their Country, but lately lost, nor can the
 “ *Gauls* forget their former Liberty ; and, like the *Uspian* Cohort, the
 “ *Germans* will desert. We have nothing more to Dread ; their Garri-
 “ sons are Drain’d ; their Colonies are made up of old Men, some
 “ obeying but faintly, others commanding unjustly, while their
 “ Towns are at Variance and Disorder among themselves. To
 “ conclude, here you have a General and an Army, there you’ll
 “ find Tributes, Mines, and whatever else is Slavish or Base.
 “ Think whether you had best submit to all these irretrievable
 “ Miseries, or, now you have an Opportunity, to cut off all those
 “ that bring them to you, on this Spot. I very well know, that
 “ you’ll chuse to Fight : Fall on then, and at once remember your
 “ Ancestor’s Glory, and Posterity’s Fate.

This

This Speech, so much admir'd by Criticks, I have Translated almost Literally; not that I think it was really deliver'd by *Galdus*, (Fierce, tho' Polish'd by his Education, almost *Roman*) in such elegant Terms, as those *Tacitus* has wrapt it in, and transmitted it down to us. But to shew that this Author, whose Veracity in a Matter of this kind, is not to be doubted, understood *Galdus* to have been a *Scots* or *Pictish* King; or which is the same thing, a Prince in *North-Britain*, and his Army to have been compos'd of none but his Subjects or Allies of *North-Britain*. The whole Series of the Discourse makes this Plain; and I was surpriz'd to find the Sense of several Passages in it inverted and turn'd, so as to give but a vague and indeterminate Idea, at least of the Country concern'd, by two *English* Pens. From those I had transcrib'd it Word by Word, had they seem'd as fair Translators, as they are Elegant and Polite. However,

The Speech was deliver'd with great Fierceness, and receiv'd with universal Joy, and the confus'd Acclamations of the whole Army. *Agricola* on the other side, fail'd not to encourage his Men, with all the Force and Charms of that commanding Eloquence, the *Romans* were so much Masters of. He told them, " That this
 " was the eight Year, since trusting to their Valour, and the au-
 " spicious Fortune of the *Roman* Empire, he first attempted the
 " Conquest of *Britain*. That in so many Expeditions and bloody
 " Battles, where Nature it self oppos'd, and was to be Conquer'd,
 " he had abundantly experienc'd their Patience and Labour. That
 " it was his good Luck to Command such Souldiers; and he hop'd
 " they grudg'd not at his being their Leader. That on their Head
 " he had outdone preceeding Generals, by his farther Advances in-
 " to the Country. That now they possess'd the End of *Britain*,
 " not by Fame only or Report, but that they had actually seis'd
 " it with their Pavilions and Arms. That *Britain* was found be-
 " fore; but was now as good as Conquer'd. That when fa-
 " tigu'd with Boggs, Mountains, or Rivers, he had often heard
 " the Brave and most Daring cry out and complain, that they
 " could find no Enemy: That now they had their Desire: That
 " the Enemy was forc'd at last from their Recesses and lurking
 " Holes. That all things would prove easy and yielding to them,
 " if Victors; if vanquish'd, cross and destructive. That to have
 " finish'd such tedious Journeys, to have evaded such Forrests, and
 " cross so many Arms of the Sea, was Noble and Glorious: But
 " that if they turn'd their Backs, these Advantages would prove
 " their Danger, and their own Advances would intercept their
 " Retreat. That they had no knowledge of the Country: That
 " their Provisions were scarce. That it was in every Respect
 " safer to Fight than to Retreat. That an honourable Death was
 " preferable to an ignoble Life. That Safety and Honour went
 " Hand in Hand. That they had Swords and Hands, and there-
 " fore All. That after all, it could not be inglorious to fall, if Fate

Agricola's
 Speech to
 the *Romans*
 before their
 engaging
 with the
Scots.

“ had decre’d it so, on the outmost Confines of Earth and Nature. That they had not a new Nation, nor an untry’d, for to deal with. That the Enemy they beheld was the same, who, by Stealth, and under the Shades of Night, had but last Year assaulted the Ninth Legion; but was frighted and foil’d, with the very Noise of their Arms and Voices. That these were of all the *Britains* the aptest to fly; and were therefore as yet alive. That the Bravest and Best had fallen already: And that the base ignoble Rest would never stand their Ground, against Men accustomed to vanquish. In fine, he exhorted them to put an end to their Labours: To finish in one Day the Work of fifty Years; and to convince the Republick, that neither the Causes, nor the length of the War, could be charg’d upon the Army.

Agricola’s Words heightn’d the Desire his Army had of ending the War, glorious indeed, but fatiguing and unprofitable. For to tell the Truth, *Scotland* in those Days can scarcely be thought to have been worth the contending for; especially at the Expence of so much *Roman* Blood. The General took Care to have as little of this expended as was possible: For he placed the Legions before the Trenches, and kept them as a Reserve, in case of a Repulse: Eight thousand Auxiliary Foot he Rank’d in the middle, and two thousand Horse on the two Wings. *Galdus* drew up his Army on the higher Ground, both for Shew and Terror. His foremost Battalions stood on the Level, the rest rising one above another with the Hill. The Chariots and Horsemen fill’d the middle part of the Field with their Din and Clatter as they whirl’d up and down. This Disposition of the *Scots* made *Agricola* to observe the Superiority of their Numbers: And therefore fearing to be Flank’d, he drew out his Front to the outmost length, and advanc’d himself at the Head of his Foot. The Battle began, while both Armies were yet at some distance from one another; and the *Scots* shew’d a great deal of Art, as well as Resolution: For by means of their broad Swords, and short Bucklers (Weapons peculiar to the *Highlanders* to this Day) they at once bore off the Darts of their Enemies and upon them pour’d down repeated Showrs of their own. To prevent this Inconveniency, *Agricola* order’d three *Batavian* Cohorts, and two *Tungrians* to advance, and to engage in a close Fight. These were old Souldiers, and had a double Advantage, first by Reason of their Order and Discipline, but more particularly because the small Targets, and broad but pointless Swords of the *Scots*, were unserviceable against their better Weapons. The *Batavians* gave furious Blows with the Bosses of their Bucklers, and so battered, bruis’d and mangl’d the Faces of such as oppos’d them, that they began to give way, and to abandon the even Ground, retreating up the Hill. This Success was seconded by the Emulation and joint Vigour of the other Cohorts, who furiously bore down all before them; and were so eager in the pursuit, that to hasten the Victory, they would leave Men half dead behind them,

and

A Battle between *Galdus* and *Agricola*.

and others untouch'd. The Horse were afterwards constrain'd to flee : For tho the Chariots, which it seems the then *Scots* made use of, after the Manner of the *South-Britains*, gave at first a new Terror by mingling with the *Roman* Infantry ; yet their Carrier was soon stop'd by the unequal Ground and close Ranks. The Drivers were by these means displac'd, and wandring Chariots with loose and frighted Horses, over-run Friend and Foe. Those of the *Scots* who had been posted on the Tops of the Hills, and had not yet shar'd in the Engagement, began now to descend by degrees, with a Design to Envelop the hitherto prevailing, but otherwise inferior Army. But their General perceiv'd the Contrivance, and detach'd four Squadrons of Horse, which were kept for a Reserve, to oppose them. They did it with that Skill and Success, that the *Scots* at last over-power'd, retir'd with Precipitation. Some Squadrons who fought in the Front; were commanded to pursue the Chase. There was a dismal Spectacle to be seen in the Fields, whilst many unarm'd ran desperately upon their Enemy's Swords : Others betook themselves to Flight, leaving the Plains and Mountains dismally strew'd with heaps of Arms, Carcasses, mangled Limbs, and Torrents of Blood. Many, tho breathing their last, yet retain'd in their Eyes and Faces, an Air of Fierceness and Bravery. Neither were the surviving entirely daunted : For as they approach'd the Woods, unknown to the Pursuers, they rally'd, fac'd about, surrounded and cut off the most forward. But, as *Galdus* on the one side, so *Agricola* on the other, was always present, where the Danger was most apparent. He order'd some of the Horse to dismount, and search the thickest, whilst the rest scour'd the thinnest Parts of the Wood. The Foot came up regularly and in good Order ; and *Galdus* being no longer able to contain his flying Souldiers in Troops as before ; they began now to separate, and to take each apart, such Path or By-way for his Security, as Danger or Fear directed. Night and Weariness put an end to the Chase, and Victory made it pleasant to the *Romans* : But the *Scots* and *Picts*, Men and Women, wandring in a deplorable manner, spent it in calling their lost Friends, dragging along the Wounded, burning their Houses out of Despair, and shifting from Corner to Corner. Sometimes they consulted together, and began to entertain fresh Hopes : Then again they were broken with Pity and Sorrow ; but oftner with Rage and Madness, at the sight of their Wives and Children. And those many were so Mad, as to dispatch with their own Hands, out of a Principle, as they thought, of Compassion. The next Day made a fuller discovery of the Victory gain'd, and Losses sustain'd : A profound Silence reign'd every where ; the Mountains were desolate ; the Smoak of the burning Houses was seen from afar ; and the Scouts of the *Romans* met no Body in the Fields : Nor could they descry any thing, but the uncertain Tract of their Enemy's Flight. The Loss of the *Scots* and *Picts* was computed to be ten thousand Men. But,

Galdus loses
the Battle.

This Victory, signal as it was, did not, as Mr. *Echard* (a) is pleas'd to express himself, put a stop to all future Resistance; nor was the further part of Britain left to the Barbarians, as neither Pleasant nor Fruitful. For we all know, and I have already shewn, that after this, Emperors in Person have thought it worth their while, to attempt the Conquest of that barren and unpleasant Part. Nor did *Agricola* himself imagine, that he was to meet with no future Resistance: For *Tacitus* tells us, (b) That the Summer being spent, He could not then extend the War any farther. Hence 'tis evident, that he thought not the War to be quite finish'd: And had he dreaded no Resistance at all, he might, even in that Season, have march'd his Army by Land much farther North, at least, through the low Countries, as easily as he sent a Fleet by Sea, with Orders to sail round the Island. But instead of this, he led his Men back to the Borders of the *Horvistians*, that is to *Angus*, by slow and gentle Marches; that he might thereby strike the but lately conquer'd Inhabitants with the greater Fear. I doubt not after all, but another Campaign would have completed the Conquest of *Scotland*, had *Agricola* been left to manage the War. But his Successes were become Criminal in the Eyes of his envious Master *Domitian*, and he was recal'd in shew to Triumph, and in effect to Die: So dangerous 'tis sometimes to Excel, and so improper in a *David* to kill more of the *Philistines*, than his Master *Saul*.

Agricola recal'd from Britain.

Galdus retrieves his Losses.

Domitian's Injustice to *Agricola*, gave an Opportunity to the unwear'd *Galdus*, of retrieving his Losses: For he was advis'd, that the Roman Souldiers had in several places mutiny'd against their Commanders: That these last had not that due Subordination that's so necessary in Armies; and that their Discipline was lost with their General. Encourag'd with the glad Tidings, he not only rous'd up the dejected Courage of the *Scots* and *Picts*: But likewise found means to engage severals of the *South-Britains*, in a Cause that was Common to them all. His first Attempts were made by few, but the most daring of his Men: And these being Successful, were so many Incitements to greater; and now he attack'd the Roman Fortresses, and put several Garrisons to the Sword. And lastly, he drew Armies together, and had the good Luck to give three great Overthrows to the declining *Romans*: The first near the River of *Tay*; the second not far from *Dunkeld*: And the last, where *Garnadus* King of the *Picts* was present, in *Kyle*. The Enemy lost about thirty thousand Men in these Battles, and were fain to sue for a Peace. *Galdus* granted it upon their evacuating all the Places they were possess'd of, within this and the *Pictish* Territories. And thus having by his indefatigable Diligence, undaunted Courage, and Conduct, beyond what could have been expected from a Barbarian Prince, reduc'd all things to their pristine State. He died in the Thirty fifth Year of a Reign, troublesome indeed, but glorious as any anterior or succeeding. From the many Victories (c) he obtain'd

His death.

(a) *Echard's* Hist. of England. p. 25. (b) *Tacit. in vita Agricol.* (c) *Chamb. dans la vie de Galdus.*

tain'd among the *Scoto-Brigantes*: Their Country is said to have been call'd from him *Galdā*, and from thence *Galloway*.

I need give no further Character of him: 'Tis enough we know, that he was the great Object of *Agricola's* Valour. In this he was happy upon many Accounts; for by this Means he has the good Fortune to have *Tacitus* for his Panegyrist and Historian; to have his Actions credited by latest Posterity, and his Fame extended as wide as that of a Rival; by whom 'twas honourable for a Prince of his small Command, and smaller Revenues, to be worsted. Mr. *Johnston* speaks thus of him.

And Character.

*Marte gravis valide Aufonidum legionibus instat;
Et pene in castris hostica signa capit.
Ancipitique diu pugnatur Marte, resumptis
Viribus, instaurant praelia utrinque duces:
At pulsos hostes sociorum viribus auctus,
Exigit, & patriam vindicat interitu.
Patat & Æbudas, jus, fas dictatque facitque;
Nemo armis major, consiliisque prior.*

And again,

*Victrices Aquilæ atque acies, quas maximus orbis
Obstupuit, vires obstupere meas.*

CHAP. II.

From the Restoration of the SCOTS MONARCHY, to the Destruction of that of the PICTS.

Containing the space of about 479 Years.

THE same concurring Causes, which shook and tore into peices the Roman Empire, and on its Ruins rais'd so many Noble, and to this Day flourishing States in Europe and elsewhere, made way to the Restoration of the Scots Monarchy in Britain.

The Causes of the Restoration of the Scots Monarchy.

The Roman Provinces overrun by barbarous Nations.

Britain. The Northern Countries, ever Fertile in the Production of Men, were overstock'd with Numbers: The barren and uncultivated Soil could no longer furnish the Necessaries of Life: And craving Nature forc'd the Inhabitants upon means of Subsistence. They Starv'd in the midst of their frozen Seas and uncomfortable Mountains, whilst the too happy Roman Provincials wallow'd in Plenty, and fatten'd with Ease. Hence 'tis, that huge Swarms of Men, equally Emboldn'd by their own Wants, and their Neighbours Wealth, pour'd in upon the Roman Territories, under the various Denominations of *Goths, Vandals, Franks, Huns, Saxons, &c.* 'Tis true, that the standing Armies, which the Emperors kept always on foot, were sufficient to secure them and the Provinces they Commanded, from any Encroachment whatever: But those very Armies, that should have guarded them from Harm, were the principal Agents in their Destruction. They were Weak on certain Occasions, because too powerful on others, accustom'd to make and unmake their own and the World's Master at their pleasure. They would set up whom they pleas'd, and they were seldom or never pleas'd with the same Person: So that more Blood and Treasure was often exhausted, before one *Caesar* could be fix'd, without a Rival, on the Imperial Throne, than had been necessary to have subdu'd the known Universe. Besides, the Constitution, bad as it was in the Beginning, was grown worse, and became crazy with old Age: And the publick Spirit of Ancient *Rome*, had degenerated into the interested Effeminacy of Modern *Greece*. 'Tis probable, that GOD Almighty, who out of His unsearchable Wisdom, had bestow'd that Constancy, Magnanimity, Conduct, and Forecast upon the first *Romans*, which from the meanest Beginnings, enabled their one City to give Laws to so many Kingdoms and Commonwealths, Commanded them in their Turn, when at the Height of humane Grandeur, to stoop below Men, they could scarcely allow to be of the same Nature or Kind with themselves; and all this for Ends as great as good. To instance in one: Had those vast Countries, and numberless Inhabitants that were Subject to the Roman Empire, been as much divided in Interest, Language, Customs, and Government, as they now are: Or had they been United, as they were formerly, under the Command of a Senate and People; Christianity had, in all probability, struggl'd much harder and longer e're it had conquer'd so many, and so widely dissenting Nations, or principal Rulers. 'Twas therefore fit, that one Monarch should Govern all, that all might be sav'd through the Conversion of that one. But there were other Nations besides that, still remain'd in Ignorance and Barbarity; and these must needs be tam'd by Conversation, Civility, and Society, before they could be made capable of higher Matters. They were by no means fitted for Christianity, till they learn'd Humanity: And they had no sooner subdu'd the Power of *Rome*, but they themselves submitted to that of the Gospel. Thus it appears, that whatever vain Debauchees, or emptier Wits, may talk

of an unactive Providence, or of a lazy unconcern'd Deity : 'Tis still true, there's a designing and over-ruling Power, who at last brings Order from Confusion, Light from Darknes, and Good from Evil. But to return to my Subject.

About, or a little before this time, the *Hunns*, a Nation hitherto almost unknown, inhabiting that part of *Scythia* which lay beyond the Fens of *Maotis*, now *Tartary*, attack'd their Neighbours the *Alans*, a People as inhumane and unpolish'd as themselves. After they had exerted all the Barbarities Fancy can imagine upon one another, they united their joint Forces, and fell with incredible Impetuosity upon the *Gothick* Nations. And these, after the Death of one of their Princes, and the Flight of another, withdrew from the irresistible Storm, seiz'd on the Banks of the *Danube*, and beg'd leave of the Emperor *Valens* to be admitted into *Thrace*, promising all peaceable Submission, and a perpetual Supply of their Men, towards the Recruiting of his Armies. He catch'd at the imaginary Prospect of Advantage, and they came over in such Multitudes, ~~as~~ exceeded, saith *Ammianus*, the Sands of the *Libyan* Shoar. As it was most impolitick to receive such swarms of Barbarians into the Heart of the Empire ; so it was an equal or great piece of Madness to Provoke and Exasperate them, after they were admitted. The Provocations they met with animated them to Revenge : They gave a signal Overthrow to the *Roman* Commander *Lupicinus*, near *Martianopolis*, furnish'd themselves with the Arms of the Slain, then march'd, and laid Siege to *Hadrianople*. But being unaccustom'd to make War with Walls, they afterwards thought fit to turn the Siege into a Blockade. And in the mean time growing daily stronger by the Accession of fresh Numbers that came into them, they rang'd all over *Thrace*, plunder'd that wealthy Province, put all the Inhabitants to the Sword, Men, Women and Children, in so much that they seem'd most Miserable, whom Fortune permitted to Die last. Not long after this, the *Goths* prevail'd with the fore-mention'd *Hunns* and *Alans* to join with them, and then like a mighty Flood they bore down all before them, forc'd all Opposition, and scatter'd Destruction on every side. To oppose this Torrent, the Emperor *Gratian*, who Commanded in the West, as *Valens* did in the East, detach'd some Forces from *Gaul* ; and the *Germans*, believing the *Roman* Frontier on that side to remain unguarded, took Arms to the Number of Forty Thousand, past over the *Rhine* upon the Ice, and broke into the Borders of *Gaul*. But *Gratian* met them at *Colmar*, and gave them so entire a Defeat, that not above Five Thousand escap'd. Then he march'd upon the Head of his victorious Army to the Assistance of his Uncle *Valens* : But this last would not stay for him ; either because he thought his own Reputation eclips'd by that of his young Nephew, or because the Passion he had to be Reveng'd on the insulting *Goths* made him Deaf to good Counsel. The *Goths* took Advantage of his Imprudence, defeated his Cavalry in an Ambuscade, and charg'd his Infantry in a

A. D. 376

The *Goths* admitted in to the Empire.Make War upon the *Romans*.Are join'd by the *Hunns* and *Alans*.And seconded by the *Germans*.The Emperor *Gratian* defeats the *Germans*.

narrow Pass, of whom the greater part were Slain, and the rest put to the Flight: *Valens* himself being Wounded, retir'd into a House, to which the pursuing *Goths* set Fire, and the Emperor by this Accident was burnt to Death. *Gratian* receiv'd the unlucky News as he was on his March to the East, he prosecuted his first Design, and being arriv'd at *Constantinople*. He call'd *Theodosius*, the Son of that other *Theodosius*, who Commanded with Success in *Britain* and *Africk*, out of *Spain*, and gave him the Command of an Army against the *Alans*, *Hunnis*, and *Goths*. When this General had made War with all the Success that might be expected from one of his Reputation, he was declar'd *Augustus* by *Gratian*, who gave him the East with *Thrace*, and went himself from *Hungary* to *Gaul*, where he began to neglect all Affairs of Importance, preferring Hunting and Gaming to the most urgent Business.

The Em-
peror *Valens*
defeated.
A. D. 378.

Theodosius
made Em-
peror.

Maximus
sets up for
Emperor.

Drains
Britain of
its Youth
and Soul-
diers.

Kills *Gra-*
tian.
A. D. 383.

Maximus who Commanded at that time in *Britain*, and had but lately expel'd the *Scots*, after the manner I have already narrated, thought his mighty Services undervalu'd, and consider'd the Honour done to *Theodosius*, as an Affront put upon himself: Spurred on by Envy, and willing to make his Advantage of the Negligence of *Gratian*, and Distance of *Theodosius*, he assum'd the Purple, was saluted Emperor, and not only quitted the Isle in order to secure his Usurpation by the Overthrow of his Master, but drew over most of the *Roman* Forces from thence, and the best of the *British* Youth to his Assistance. *Gratian* was in a Condition to Repel him: But his *Roman* Souldiers distast'd by reason of his having preferr'd some Mercenary *Alans* to them, were wrought upon to Desert him, and revolt to *Maximus*. This Defection of the Army made the Emperor flee from *Triers* to *Paris*, and from thence to *Lions*. *Maximus* follow'd him close upon the Heels, but cou'd not destroy him by plain Force, and therefore had Recourse to a Stratagem, in which he succeeded. He order'd *Andragathus* his Admiral to go and meet *Gratian*, after he had spread a Report that the Empress *Constantia Faustina* was coming to see the Emperor: And as he went to receive her, *Andragathus*, all on a sudden, sprang out of the Litter where *Gratian* expected to have seen his Wife, and kill'd him. This done, *Maximus* pass'd the *Alps*, and surpris'd *Valentinian* the Younger, who Reign'd in *Italy*, and was still legal Co-partner in the Empire with *Theodosius*. From this last, the former, now at *Theffalonica*, whether he had fled from the raging Storm, ask'd and obtain'd Assistance. *Theodosius* re-accompanied him back to *Milan*, sought out *Maximus*, defeated his Army, pursu'd his Victory, and found the Usurper shut up in *Aquileia*. The Garrison defended themselves at first with much Bravery, but observing *Maximus* to Despond, and as it were to shake off that Sovereignty he had so tyrannically assum'd, they seiz'd upon him, stript him of his Imperial Ornaments, bound and presented him to *Theodosius*; who, they say, out of a feeling Sense of Fortune's Inconstancy, would have Pardon'd him. had he not been

remov'd from his fight, and Beheaded by those about the Emperor. *Andragathus* hearing of the Tyrant's Defeat, as he was Cruizing to and fro upon the *Ionian* Bay, lost all Hopes, and in Despair threw himself headlong into the Sea, and so receiv'd part of the Reward that's due to the infamous Ministers of Rebellion and Parricide.

Is Slai

Eugenius a *Gaul*, who afterwards usurp'd the Empire of the West, and *Argobastus* a *Goth*, who having first Murther'd the Emperor *Valentinian*, encourag'd him to it, and was the prime Author of all his Violences and Cruelties, had much the same Fate. After their Army had been routed in Battle, the first was taken and Beheaded by *Theodosius* his Orders, and the second Kill'd himself. The Victory obtain'd over *Eugenius*, was in a great measure owing to the voluntary Succours of Barbarians inhabiting the other side of the *Danube* and *Euxine* Sea, under the Conduct of *Alaric* the *Goth*. This Prince, afterwards so Famous, had on this occasion an Opportunity of viewing the *Roman* Territories, of observing the most advantageous Passes, the Fruitfulness of the Soil, strength of the State, and Number of the Inhabitants; and therefore was not long after this the more easily wrought upon by the secret Practices of *Ruffinus*, to invade the Empire. *Ruffinus* had his own Designs, perhaps he aim'd at the Purple himself, at least he hop'd to bear down the growing Authority of his Rival in the Ministry, *Stilicho*; who under *Honorius* govern'd the West with as Despotick a Sway, as *Ruffinus* rul'd in the Name of *Arcadius* in the East. Whatever were *Ruffinus* his Incitements to the most horrid Treachery, *Alaric* reap'd the Fruits of it. He quitted *Thrace*, enter'd through *Macedon* into *Thessaly*; pass'd the Straits of *Thermopylae*, and easily took the most considerable Cities of *Peloponnesus*. *Stilicho* upon this News embark'd, and join'd his Army to that of the East; and had undoubtedly repell'd the Storm, but was diverted from Fighting by prohibitory Letters, procur'd by *Ruffinus* and sent by *Arcadius*, who recal'd the Oriental Troops, under Pretence of restraining the *Hunns*, and defending the Seat of the Empire *Constantinople*, against their Menaces.

A. D. 39
Eugenius
an Usurper
of the Em
pire kill'd

Alaric the
Goth invades
the Roman
Territories.

This redoubl'd Villany cost *Ruffinus* his Life, which he, and afterwards his Persecutor *Gaines* lost; by Means too tedious to relate, and too forreign to my Subject. And now *Alaric* emboldn'd with Success, after he had haras'd and depopulated all *Greece*, *Epirus*, and *Pannonia*, began to bend his Thoughts towards *Italy* it self. Accordingly he quitted the Lower, and march'd into the Upper *Pannonia*, now *Austria*; from thence to *Noricum* or *Bavaria*, and so on to *Liguria* and to *Ast*, where he was inform'd the Emperor *Honorius* then lay. *Stilicho* reliev'd his Master; first by breaking through the Barbarian Camp; and afterwards by giving them two considerable Overthrows, one at *Pollentia*, t'other at *Verona*. Upon this a Peace was concluded, and *Alaric*, tho' vanquish'd, was nevertheless receiv'd into Confederacy with the *Romans*. This encourag'd *Radagaisus*, another *Gothish* King, to the like Attempt: He advanc'd as

Is defeated
by Stilicho,
and makes
Peace.

A. D. 404

Radagaisus
also.
A. D. 406

A Goth de-
eated by
Stilicho.

Godegisil a
Vandal in-
vades Gaul.

A. D. 407.
The Bri-
tains set up
several Em-
perors.

Constantine
the British
Usurper in-
vades Gaul
and Spain.

Alaric
breaks the
Peace.

Stilicho put
to death.

Alaric in-
vades Italy.

far as *Florence*, and there *Stilicho* fell upon his Rear, with such Con-
duct and Bravery, that no less than an hundred thousand of his Men
were cut off, without the Loss of but one Man on the *Roman* side.
Radagaisus, while he endeavour'd to make his Escape, was taken-
and put to Death. In the mean time *Godegisil* King of the *Vandals*,
seeing *Italy* distracted with Wars on every side, thought he had
now a fit Opportunity to invade *Gaul*. Accordingly he march'd a
numerous Army of his own *Vandals*, and others; particularly the
Alans and *Quadi* from *Scythia*, through *Sarmatia* and *Germany*,
pass'd the *Rhine*, and over-run *Gaul*, as far as the Sea-coasts about
Calais and *Bologne*, Sacking and Pillaging all the Towns and Villa-
ges he met with in his Way. This Misfortune brought on another;
for the Inhabitants of, and the Troops that were Quarter'd in *Brit-
tain*, fearing to be also attack'd, in a Sedition elected one *Marcus*
to be their Emperor; but soon after dispatch'd him, and set up
one *Gratian*, whom, after four Months Reign, they also depriv'd of
his Life and Empire. After this *Constantine* a common Souldier,
for no other Reason nor Merit, but that of his Name, which the
Britains consider'd as Fortunate, was declar'd Emperor: And he
taking with him the Remainder of the *British* Forces, and Strength
that *Maximus* had left, pass'd over into *Gaul*, took *Bologne*, and made
himself Master, in a short time, of all *Gallia Celtica*, and a great
part of *Aquitain*. *Omenius Præfectus Prætorio*, and *Cariobandes* Ge-
neral of the Foot, unable to resist both the revolted *Britains*, and
invading *Vandals*, fled into *Italy*, and left *Gaul* a Prey to the double
Plague. The Usurper *Constantine* and Invader *Godegisil* enter'd
into a private Agreement: Both enter'd *Spain*, tho by different ways;
and whilst *Constans* the Son of *Constantine* over-run the Eastern Parts,
the *Barbarians* seiz'd on the West. The *Vandals* took and settled
themselves in *Gallicia*, as the *Sueves* and *Alans* did in *Portugal* and *An-
dalusia*. About the same time, *Alaric* impatient of Ease, and per-
haps forc'd by the Clamours of his necessitous Souldiers, advanc'd
in a hostile Manner from *Epirus* to *Bavaria*, and sent to demand of
the Emperor Money to Pay his Army, and defray the Charges of
his Expedition. By *Stilicho's* Advice, the Request, tho unmanlier-
ly, was granted. But *Stilicho* being suspected to have created all these
Wars, with a View of making himself Necessary, and of Meriting,
by his unequal'd Service, no less than a Seat on the Imperial
Throne, was soon after kill'd, together with his Wife *Serena*, and
Son *Eucherius*, at the Command of *Honorius*. The Souldiers that
were Quarter'd in *Italy*, no sooner heard of this Turn of Affairs at
Court, but they flew to Arms, and inhumanely Murther'd all the
Goths, who upon *Stilicho's* Account had enter'd into the Emperor's
Pay. This Cruelty was universally Resented by the *Barbarians*; and
Alaric upon the Head of a mighty Army, made up of several
Nations, enter'd *Italy* a second time: And his Overtures of Peace,
being by *Honorius* his imprudent Councils rejected, he march'd di-
rectly to *Rome*, but was prevail'd with to raise the Seige, by means

of an immense Sum of Money he received from the Citizens. All this while *Honorius* would hearken to no Terms of Accomodation: Wherefore *Alaric* again besieg'd the City, and the perishing Inhabitants at last consented to his Proposals: Which were, That *Attalus* Prefect of *Rome*, should be declar'd *Augustus*, and himself General of the Army under the upstart Emperor. But this last, proving unequal to the Charge, was by his Creator *Alaric* depos'd, and a Peace patcht up at the same time with *Honorius*. The Accomodation was eluded by one *Sarus*, who had Reasons of his own for prolonging the War. Upon this *Alaric* once more besieged, and at last took *Rome*: And that City, which for so many Ages had given Takes Rome Laws to the Universe, Pillaged the rest of the World, and Enrich'd her self with the Spoils of other Nations; was now in her Turn Subjected and Sack'd by Barbarians. Nevertheless, they quit- A. D. 410 ted it on the third Day, of their own accord: And being loadn'd with Plunder, they follow'd King *Alaric* into *Campania di Roma*, where he died. He was succeeded by *Adolphus* his Sister's Son, who married his Prisoner *Galla Placidia*, *Honorius's* Sister. This Dies was a lucky Match for the declining *Romans*: For *Adolphus* was resolv'd to have raz'd *Rome* to the very Foundation, and by the Name of *Gothia* to build it in another Place; had not *Placidia* by her Entreaties dissuaded him from the barbarous Design. She did much more; for she prevail'd with the King her Husband, to leave all *Italy* to *Honorius*, and to go and settle himself in *Gallia Narbonensis*.

This had secur'd the publick Peace, at least for some time; but the Usurper *Constantine*, whom *Honorius* constrain'd by Necessity, and allur'd with fair but false Promises, had receiv'd into a Partnership of the Empire, broke out anew, in Hopes of seising *Italy*, in the midst of so many Confusions. *Honorius* sent *Constantius*, a noble *Roman* with a powerful Army against him: And this fortunate and brave General, not only seisd him at *Arles*, but also reduc'd *Maximus* another Tyrant, who had set up in *Spain*, and *Jovinus* a *Gaul*: Constantius is seisd. Who by the Assistance of the united *Franks*, *Burgundians* and *Germans*, had in Imitation of others, made bold with the Imperial Title. *Heraclian*, who at the same time usurped in *Africk*, had the A. D. 4 like Fate: And *Adolphus* the *Gothish* King made *Attalus* to re-act the Emperor a second time. But both these were forc'd to flee into *Spain*, in which they seisd on *Barcelona*, where *Adolphus* was slain by his own Souldiers; and *Attalus* laid in Chains and sent to the Emperor. Upon this the renown'd *Constantius* was married to *Placidia* the A. D. 4 Widow of *Adolphus*, and created *Augustus*: A Reward as great as Ambition could desire, or Merit obtain.

Not long after this, the *Franks*, who inhabited the Coasts of *Friezeland*, and who had already made themselves known, took *Treves* or *Triers*; having been call'd in by a Senator, whose Wife had been taken from him by *Lucius* the Governour of the City. A. D. 4 The now *French* date their Monarchy from the taking of this City. Their

first King was *Pharamond*, according to most Historians, tho others say he was but the seventh.

I have dwelt much longer on these important Transactions, than I at first intended: Not so much to shew, by what Steps the noblest Empire that ever gave Laws to the World, was brought to receive them from others: But more particularly, by Reason that to all these jarring Circumstances, but concurring Causes, were owing the Restoration of the *Scots* to *Albion*, their consequential Successes against the *Roman* Provincials, and lastly, the Establishment of their ever since over-topping Rivals the *English* in *Britain*. For, as the first Invasions of the *Hunns*, *Alans* and *Goths* made way to the Preferment of the Great *Theodosius*; so this again gave Rise to the Usurpation of *Maximus*, who having exhausted *Britain* of its Soldiers and Youth, left it more open to the *Scots* Attempts. Nevertheless, 'tis not probable they could have resettl'd themselves, had not *Constantine*, encourag'd by the after and greater Confusions of the Empire, re-acted *Maximus* his Rebellious Part. By these Means, 'tis plain that the *Roman* Province must needs be extremly weakened. The *Scots* dispers'd through *Norway*, *Denmark*, *Ireland*, and the Islands adjacent to *Scotland*, fail'd not to Catch at all Opportunities. Some of them, particularly the Heir of their Crown *Fergus II*, assisted and signaliz'd themselves in the various Expeditions of the *Francs* and *Goths*; while others, tho they wanted a Chiftain, made no small Efforts to regain their native Country.

Gillo, Lord of the Western Islands call'd *Æbuda*, (a) was the first that dar'd to Resent the Ruin of the Nation: His Men were then, as now, Fierce, Turbulent, and at the same time Poor, because Lazy; and therefore the fitter for such an Exploit as he design'd. Great numbers of these came over in long Boats to *Argyle*, where, only intent upon Plunder and Booty, they over-ran the depopulated Country. The *Pictish* Garrisons gave way to the Devastations they made; but in the mean time seis'd their Boats, and cut off their Retreat, so that not one got Home again, to give an Account of their ill Conduct, and deserv'd Punishment. Not long after this, the *Irish* were prevail'd with to Assist their banish'd Neighbours and Kindred, with an Army of ten thousand Men. They landed in, or near *Kintyre*, ravag'd the Country, and enrich'd themselves with Booty. The *Scots* acquainted with the *Roman* Discipline and Conduct, and perswaded that such an Enemy might be harass'd by frequent Onsets, but was not to be foil'd by open Force, advis'd the *Irish* to return contented with their present Advantage. But these flush'd with Victory, and back'd with the concurring Opinion of some *Scots*, who urg'd, that they came not thither to Retreat, but to Repossess their own, resolv'd to stand their Ground, and to make good their Conquests: But to their Cost, for they were overthrown near *Stirling*; and the Body of the *Irish* Nation dreading the Resentment of the as yet prevailing *Romans*, sent Ambassadors

to

The Scots attempt their Restoration.

to *Maximus*, and su'd for Peace. He granted it, because now aspiring at higher Matters than the Reduction of a new Kingdom, he was satisfied with securing the Subjection of that he had already Conquer'd.

• He was succeeded in his Government by *Victorinus*, who desirous to equal the Glory of his Predecessor, began to pick Quarrels with the *Picts*, whom he us'd no more as Allies, but as Subjects to *Rome*. He prescrib'd new Laws to them, press'd their Youth for Recruits to his Legions, and impos'd Tributes upon a People accusom'd to serve their Natural Sovereigns more with their Persons than Goods. Their King *Hergestus* now sensible, when 'twas too late, of the Error he had committed by the Breach of his Alliance with *Scotland*: And unwilling to Obey where he was wont to Command, kill'd himself in a Rage. *Victorinus* upon this, issu'd out his Orders to the *Pictish* Nation, commanding them to own no King henceforth but *Cesar*. Notwithstanding which, they acknowledg'd *Durstus* the Son of *Hergestus*, and so broke out into an open Rebellion, as the *Romans* term'd it. The *Scots* from *Ireland* and elsewhere, assisted their formerly injurious, but now injur'd, and therefore repenting Friends: And the Struggle they made to regain their Liberties, must needs have been Great and Violent; since it seems that no meaner Personage than the great *Stilicho* was able to suppress them. He or some other sent by him did it effectually. The *Pictish* King *Durstus* was taken Prisoner at *Camelodunum*, and sent in Chains to *Rome*. Several of his Nobles were first Scourg'd, then Executed. The Commonalty were employ'd in servile and laborious Works, particularly in the building of a huge Rampart between *Abercorn* and *Dumbartoun*. Thus their Kingdom was made a Province, and they the Instruments of their own Subjection. One should have thought that these Methods would have broken the Spirits of the *Picts*, and cut off all future Hopes of the *Scots*: But they had a quite contrary Effect. The Reputation of *Fergus*, Heir of the *Scottish* Crown, was spread as wide as the *Roman* Empire, or *Gothick* Invasions. The *Picts* invited him over to the Throne of his Ancestors, and he landed in *Argyle*, with a numerous Train of his own Subjects, and some Foreigners, before either the *Romans* or *Britains* were aware of the Design. These last astonish'd to see their ancient Enemy at hand, and that in such a Juncture of Time, when the Country was destitute both of its own Inhabitants and *Roman* Legions, endeavour'd by Negotiation to detach the *Picts* from a Nation, they had so highly injur'd before, that no Atonement could ever suffice to work a hearty Reconciliation; but in vain. The *British* Envoys had no sooner return'd, but they got notice, that a considerable Army of the Confederate Nations had taken the Fields, and that Destruction and Desolation attended their March. The Consternation of the *Britains* was Universal: (●) Wherefore they sent and beg'd Assistance from their old Masters the

Hergestus
King of the
Picts oppress'd by
the *Romans*
kills himself

The *Picts*
subdu'd by
Stilicho.

Fergus II.
by the In-
vitation of a
few *Picts*
A.D. 412;
Landed in
Scotland.

Attacks
the *Britains*.

(a) Lell. in vita *Fergus*. II.

Romans. And altho *Honorius* had formerly discharg'd them of their Allegiance; yet luckily for them, *Aethus*, a noble Commander, who having but yet lately driven the *French* from *Gaul*, found himself able to spare a Legion; which accordingly came over to *Britain*, and gave a Ruffle to the *Scots* and *Picts*. But the Legion being instantly re-call'd, by reason of the then Urgency of Affairs, they enter'd the Province anew; and being join'd by some revolting *Britains* under the Conduct of *Dionethus*, who had taken upon himself the Title of King, they resolv'd to divide the whole Island amongst themselves. They had effected the Thing, had not fresh Supplies from the *Roman Army* in *Gaul* been sent against them. These gave Vigour and Life to the dispirited *Britains*, and the united Kings lost a Battle, wherein *Fergus* King of the *Scots*, and *Durustus* King of the *Picts* were kill'd. This Defeat struck the Minds of all People with incredible Terror; and they began to fore-bode to themselves all the recurring Miseries of Exile or Slavery. But the brave *Græme*, who was made Guardian to the young King *Eugene II.* rous'd up by his Wisdom and Valour their drooping Courage: And the *Romans*, unable to pursue their Victory for the Reasons abovemention'd, were constrain'd to take their last Farewell of a People, they could no longer Protect. (a) But before they went off, they caus'd re-build the famous Wall of *Severus*, not of Turf, as before, but of solid Stone, twelve Foot high, and eight in Breadth, with many Towers, crossing the Isle in a direct Line from East to West. And, that nothing might be omitted, towards securing the Nation from Incurfions, Descents, or Conquists; Fortresses and Block-houses were also built, at convenient Distances, in several parts of the Sea-Coasts. This done, the *Romans*, who came not to Govern or Reside, but to lend their Charitable Assistance to the distress'd *Britains*, let them to understand: That they were not to expect any more Succours from them: That the State of the Empire could not allow of it; that therefore they must needs for the future stand up in their own Defence, learn the Art of War, and give early Lessons of Courage and Fortitude to their Youth. For this purpose they left Patterns of their *Roman Arms* and Weapons behind them, and so Embark'd for *Spain*, whether they were call'd by Orders from the Emperor.

The Removal of the *Roman Forces*, and the Disorder of their Affairs in *Africk*, made the *Scots* and *Picts* forget their former Losses, and hope for future Successes. They were not mistaken, for the *Britains* never express such cowardly Weakness, as on this occasion: Their Guards stood trembling on the Wall at the Approach of their Enemy, and tamely suffer'd themselves to be pluck'd down headlong, with the long Hooks of the half Naked *Picts*: So Mr. *Echard*, after the Angry *Gildas*, is pleas'd to express himself, as if he knew not that the *Scots* Highlanders, tho half Naked, even in our Days, put

to

Is kill'd
in Battle.

A.D. 435.
The Romans
leave Bri-
tain.

A. D. 435.

to the Rout well arm'd, and well pay'd regular Forces, both *Scots* and *English*. They are not asham'd of a Garb that fits their Bodies for all Sorts of manly Exercifes and Exploits. The same Author tells us, (a) *That the Scots and Picts, like Flies and Vermin in the Heat of Summer, in prodigious Swarms issued out of their narrow Holes and Caves, and without Resistance took possession of the Wall.* We must excuse *Gildas* for these and the like Expressions: He was in Wrath when he wrote his doleful Story, and could neither Pardon the *Scots*, because Victorious, nor the *Britains* his Country-men, because they were vanquish'd. But to me 'tis surprizing, that an Author of so eminent a Character as Mr. *Echard*, should now a-days when National Animofities are laid aside, and good Manners are fashionable, descend so low from the Majesty of his Subject and Stile, and Sully his own otherwise polite Pen, to indulge the mean Humour of reviling present Friends, because Foes of old. But to the purpose, these Nations so Despicable in his Eyes, were not so in the Eyes of the then *South-Britains*. They raz'd the Fortresses, and level'd the Wall with the Ground: From which Action, and the Author of it *Græme* 'tis to this Day call'd *Græmes Dyke*. They did more, for piercing into the very Heart of the Country, they drove the Inhabitants before them, and return'd more wearied than satiated with the Spoils and Miseries of the Enemy. And now, (b) they began to entertain Thoughts of a lasting Settlement in those fertile Parts they had already depopulated: For this Purpose, huge Swarms of the formerly exil'd *Scots* and other Foreigners, whom either Poverty pinch'd, or Ambition fir'd, flock'd from all Places to share both in the Danger and Profit of the intended Conquest. Nevertheless, *Græme* (c) prefer'd a solid Peace to the uncertain Events of a War, which perhaps he consider'd as none of the justest. Besides, he was willing to gain Time for reviving of Laws, and reducing the disorder'd State, and confus'd Multitudes into Form and Rule. The *Britains* by these means began to Breath in a free Air: But this lasted not long; for *Eugene* having taken upon himself the Administration of Affairs, and seeing the uncultivated Soil in some measure overstock'd with the multiplying Youth, he resolv'd to try their Courage, and beget Esteem to himself. With this View, he sends an Embassy to the *British* Nation, requiring that they would yield to him such Lands as had formerly belong'd to *Græme* his Grand-father. Upon this the *Britains*, never in any thing well united among themselves, had almost come to an open Rupture and Civil War. *Conon*, a Man of eminent Quality and Parts, advis'd them to comply with the Requests of the *Scots*, but was by the dissenting Rabble inhumanely Murther'd on the Spot. Nevertheless, after more mature Deliberation, they sent and offer'd advantageous Terms of Peace to the *Scots*. But the King was certainly inform'd, that this was but a Trick, and that while Peace was pretended, a War was design'd. For this Reason the *Scots* and *Picts*, equally encourag'd by the *British*

Græme the Governor of *Scotland*, makes Peace with the vanquish'd *Britains*.

Eugene II. makes War upon the *Britains*.

R

tish

(a) *Echard*. Hist. of Eng. pag. 35. (b) Hist. Gild. Edit. Oxon. (c) *Buchan*. in vita *Eug.* II.

tish Calamities, and their own Successes, enter'd the Borders with their joint Forces: And the *Britains* now daring to meet them in the open Fields, a Battle ensu'd near the *Humber*, which was fought with incredible Obstinacy, and no small Conduct on both sides. At last the *Scots* and *Picts* prevail'd, with the Loss of about Four Thousand of their Men: That of the *Britains* was computed to Fourteen Thousand: The bravest of their Youth were entirely cut off. And we may judge of the miserable Condition of their Affairs, by the moving Letter they wrote to *Aetius* on this occasion; wherein they once more beg'd his and his Masters Protection. 'Twas directed thus, (a) *To Aetius thrice Consul, The Groans of the Britains.* The Words of the Letter it self are these: " In this the most deplorable State we were ever reduc'd to, we beg Assistance from you to the *Roman* Province, to our Native Country, our Wives and Children. The Barbarians drive us to the Sea, and the Sea drives us back to the Barbarians: Plac'd as we are between two Deaths, we can only choose whether we had best be Slaughter'd by the Sword, or Drown'd in the Ocean. Against these inevitable Mischiefs, we can look for no Remedy; but from your Compassion and Goodness.

Some suspect that *Aetius* was at Bottom no Friend to the Emperor *Valentinian*, and that pleas'd with the Misfortunes of his Reign, he deny'd the Succours desir'd. But this is an improbable Conjecture, and altogether unworthy of the Character of so great a Man, who still continu'd to shew the most lively Remains of *Roman* Heroicism. The Truth is, that the Empire, grievously infested at that time by the *Hunns* and *Vandals*, was in no Condition to support the *Britains*; who not daring either to keep the Fields or defend their Villages and Towns, either lurk'd in hidden Recesses and Mountainous Places; or, as 'tis own'd by the best of *English* Historians, (b) yielded themselves to the Disposal of the Enemy. The *Scots* and *Picts* might have settl'd themselves in, and compleated the Conquest of *South-Britain*. But whether mov'd by Compassion, or that they had not sufficient Numbers to secure a Dominion of so large an Extent, and bear down a Nation, by far more Populous than their own; they contented themselves to make these Tributaries, who offer'd Subjection or any thing, so they were but allow'd to live. The Articles of Accommodation were these; " That henceforth the *Britains* should call in no *Romans*, nor any other Foreigners to the Island. That they should make no War nor Peace with, or send Auxiliaries to any State whatever, without Liberty granted by the *Scots* and *Picts*. That they should be ready to give Assistance to these last when requir'd. That they should yield to them all the Country by North the River *Humber*. That they should pay the Sum of Sixty Thousand Crowns ready Money, to be distributed among the *Scots* and *Pictish* Souldiers, with a yearly Tribute of Twenty Thousand in all Times coming: And lastly, That a Hundred Host-

Gains a
battle.

The *Brit-
ains* have
gain Re-
course to
the *Romans*,
but in vain.

A. D. 446.

*South-Bri-
tain* con-
quer'd by
Eugene II.
and made
Tributary
to the *Scots*
and *Picts*.

(a) Gild. Echar. Buch. P.D'Orleans, &c. (b) Echar. Hist. of Eng. p. 36. & vol. 1. of the Hist. of Eng. print. Lond. in 8vo. 1701. p. 35.

“ Hostages should instantly be deliver'd as Guarantees and Pledges
“ of their good Behaviour.

• These Conditions were hard, yet tolerable as Matters stood, and Necessity, which forc'd them to be accepted, exacted likewise the Observation of them for some Years. (a) All the Scots Historians give the same Account of this Transaction, so Glorious to their Ancestors. And since the *English* acknowledge, that all the *Britains* submitted, save those that retir'd to Caves and Woods: And since even these last are call'd Rebels by *Gildas*; for his Words imply no less: (b) And the rather, because he makes it plain, that the Scots were at that time absolute Masters of the whole Country; and that all the Magazines, Granaries and Stores, were in their Hands, and by them dispos'd of; else *How should Hunger have compell'd the Britains to submit*, and to crave no other Conditions, but *Victuals to entertain their Lives?* Since in fine, *Alcuin* an *English-man*, who flourish'd in the Year 780, tells us plainly, (c) That the *Britains* at this time, *lay under the Weight of Servitude, and were of themselves unable to retrieve their Liberties*; I see no Reason to doubt but the Terms of their Submission were such, as I have transcrib'd from my Vouchers.

That the *Britains* did soon after get free of the Yoke impos'd upon them, is certain; but by what Means is not so plain. Mr. *Echard* (d) and others of the *English*, unwilling to own their total Subjection, tell us, “ That the more Hardy and Resolute
“ supported themselves with what Woods and Forrests would afford: And oftentimes as their Necessities urg'd, or Advantage
“ united them, would make Sallies upon their Enemies, and that
“ with good Success, led on, as may be conceiv'd, by some worthy
“ Commander; who advis'd them not to confide in their own
“ Power, but in the divine Assistance. And that the *Scots* and *Picts*
“ finding such stout Resistance, retir'd Home; the latter to their
“ new Habitations about the Wall, and the former to *Ireland*. He cites *Gildas* for this, as if the *Scots* had not at this time of the Day been settled any where but in *Ireland*: An Innuention so Groundless, that it scarcely deserves to be taken notice of. For whoever doubted of the *Scots* Monarchy's being fairly and finally establish'd and fix'd in the *North* of *Britain*, by King *Fergus* II. And this fell

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out

(a) Boeth. Less. Buchan. Chamber's, &c. in vita Eugen. II. (b) *Gild.* ubi hæc verba, Interea fames dira ac famosissima vagis ac nutabundis (*Britanni*) hæret, quæ multos eorum cruentis compellit prædonibus (*Scotis & Pictis*) sine dilatione victas dare manus, ut paucillum ad refocillandam animam cibi caperent; alios vero nusquam, quin potius de ipsis montibus, speluncis ac saltribus dumis confertis, continue rebellabant. (c) *Scriptor.* XV. Edit. Oxon. p. 703. ubi *Alcuinus* de Pont. & Sanct. Eccl. Ebor. habet hos versus.

—gens pigra Britonum,
Quæ fere continuis Pictorum pressa duellis,
Servitii pondus, tandem vastata subivit;
Nec valuit propriis patriam defendere scutis,
Vel libertatem gladiis revocare paternam.

out, about the sixteenth Year of the Reign of his Son *Eugene*. As to the Expression made use of by *Gildas*, (a) it proves no more than what I have elsewhere asserted, *viz.* That about this Time, *Scotland* and *Ireland* were Terms applicable to either of the Countries: Or, if the *Irish* must needs be said to have return'd Home, that may be allow'd in a literal Sense; since 'tis probable severals of them might have come over, and for Motives of Interest, join'd with the prevailing *Scots* their Allies and Friends.

Pere D'Orleans in his History of the Revolutions of *England*, gives a more satisfying Account of this Turn of Affairs. He says, That the South-Britains, when reduc'd to the last Extremities, had recourse to their Kinsmen in Little-Britany or Bretagne. For 'tis true, that great Numbers of those *Britains*, who follow'd the two Usurpers, *Maximus* and *Constantine* into Gaul, settl'd in that Part of it, call'd *Armorica*; which afterwards from them had the Name it still enjoys. *Aldroene* reign'd in Little-Britany at this time, who mov'd with Compassion at the Calamities of a People, to whom he and most of his Subjects own'd their Origine, promis'd all the Assistance in his Power; upon Condition, that his Brother *Constantine*, should be declar'd King. The Bishop of London Plenipotentiary for the *British* Nation, agreed to the Proposal: And *Constantine* came over to Britain with a considerable Reinforcement of Men and Arms. Upon his Arrival, the dispers'd *Britains* flock'd in to him from all Parts, and in a short time he had the Pleasure to see himself upon the Head of a gallant Army, with which he routed the *Scots* and *Picts*. The *Scots* assert the contrary: They say, That as this *Constantine*, having a due regard to the State of *Britain*, equally broken by foreign Wars and intestine Broils, thought fit to cultivate Peace. (b) So the *Britains* remain'd Tributaries (c) full thirty Years: When another *Constantine* King of *Scotland*, a Prince in every Respect undeserving of the high Post his Nephew's Nonage had advanc'd him to, sold the annual Tribute for a present Sum, and basely gave up these Fortresses he possess'd in *Northumberland*. However, this is certain, that the *Scots* and *Picts* ceas'd not long after this to renew their Pretensions upon *Britain*. They invaded it again and again (d) threatening Destruction to the whole Island, and designing to Plant themselves from one End to the other. *Germanus* Bishop of *Auxerre* in *France*, who had come over into *Britain*, in order to defeat the *Pelagian* Heresy, is said to have also defeated an Army of the Confederates. They return'd soon after with greater Preparations than ever: And it was lucky for the *Britains* on this Occasion, that a most dreadful Pestilence rag'd in the Country: By it vast Numbers of the Inhabitants were swept away; yet the Land was preserv'd to those that surviv'd: For the victorious Invaders dreading the Contagion, durst not engage too far in the Inland Countries.

Constantine
made King
of South-Bri-
tain

About

(a) Hist. Gild. ubi sunt hæc verba. Revertuntur impudentes Graffatores ad Hibernas domos post non multum temporis reversuri, (b) Buchan. in vita Eugen. II. (c) Less. in vita Constant. (d) Echard. Hist. Engl. p. 37.

About this time *Vortigern* had by Election, or Treason, or both, ascended the *British* Throne. This Prince, who had great Vices, was not quite destitute of good Qualifications. At first, says *Pere D'Orleans*, (a) "He evidenc'd himself worthy of the Scepter he Sway'd: For he defeated the *Scots* and *Picts*, (which by the by, the *Scots Historians deny*) and the *Britains* might thereby have got Leisure to breath in Peace, had they had to do with an Enemy less obstinately bent upon their Ruin. These victorious Nations return'd again with fresh Vigour, and pursu'd their Advantages so closly, that *Vortigern* finding it impracticable to preserve the perishing State without Assistance from abroad, took the fatal Resolution of introducing a foreign Power into the Island. With this View, (b) he summon'd a grand Council, (adds *Mr. Echard*) where all being in a manner Infatuated, they agreed upon such a Defence, as after prov'd their Destruction: Which was, That the Heathen *Saxons*, then hateful to God and Man, whom absent they dreaded like Death it self, should be sent for to repel the Northern Nations.

Vortigern
King of
Britain.

Is worried
by the *Scots*.

Invites the
Saxons to his
Assistance.

Thus the *Scots* and *Pictish* Valour constrain'd the *South-Britains* for the third time, to have Recourse to different Foreigners: Happy if those last had prov'd as the *Romans*, Charitable and Disinterested: Or like those of *Little-Britany*, Moderate and Just. But as this was not to be expected from a barbarous Multitude, whose Bodies were fitted for their wonted Employment, Piracy and Slaughter; and Minds, for want of Education and Religion, dispos'd to all the Excesses of lawless Power: So the *Britains* deserv'd no better Treatment, than that they receiv'd from them.

This wretch'd Nation, whose Enormities of all Kinds, the long-suffering Justice of Almighty God could no longer endure, was not only harass'd by a foreign War, 'twas not impossible to have put an end to, on Terms such as they had once accepted and now rejected; but was also divided into two domestick Factions. *Vortigern* had found means to cut off his Predecessor *Constantine*, and get himself elected King in his Stead, to the Prejudice of the lawful Heirs. (c) The more loyal *Britains* had still an Eye to their exil'd Princes, and their Return from beyond Seas was as much wish'd for by one Party, as 'twas dreaded by t'other. To prevent this, as much as to suppress Invasions from the North, the *Saxons* were sent for from *Germany*. They yielded immediately to the pleasing Request, rigg'd out three long Gallies: And a chosen Company of their most warlike Youth, under the Conduct of two Brothers *Hengist* and *Horsa*, set sail and landed in the Isle of *Thanet*: And the Consequence of their welcome Arrival was this. The *Scots* and *Picts*, who after all had, by a just War against the *Romans*, a Right to Conquer, and by Conquest some Title to the Dominion of *Britain*, were repuls'd to the North of *Severus's* Wall. The undoubted Heirs of the late

A. D. 4.

The *Sax*
repel the
Scots.

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law-

(a) *Histor. des Revol. d' Angl.* p. 12. & 13. (b) *Echard* p. 37. (c) *P. D'Orleans. Buchan. Lell. Matth. Westminst. &c.*

lawful Sovereign, were at first kept from, and at last, notwithstanding their noble Efforts and violent Struggles, dispossest'd of the Inheritance due to their Blood and Merits. The Usurper *Vortigern* and his Posterity; were depriv'd of the Fruits of their Treason; the *British* Nation was extirpated, and a new Race of People that had no Right to so much as an Acre of Land in the Island, by Fraud, Violence and Irreligion, came at last to Possess the better Part of it. They purpos'd no less to themselves, upon their first Arrival, but not daring as yet to attempt any thing by Force, *Hengist* very usefully employ'd that Cunning and Policy, of which he must be own'd to have been a great Master. He affected a singular regard for, and attachment to the King's Person; and having dextrously remov'd all Occasions of Diffidence or Jealousy, he render'd him incapable of Precaution or Forecaſt. *Hengist* his great Design was to appear Necessary, and so to get more Forces call'd over, under Pretence to Support, but in Effect to Over-turn the State. With this View, he took all Opportunities of Insinuating to the King, " That he had more than one Enemy to deal with; and that the
 " *Scots* and *Picts* who were thought so very terrible, were not
 " really so, if compar'd with others. You sit upon a Throne, Sir,
 " said he, by the Peoples Choice; which tho' Glorious to you, and
 " Just in it self, yet may be attended with dangerous Consequences.
 " Your Predecessor left Children behind him, and these Children
 " make no mean Appearance where they reside. Your Subjects
 " talk of their pretended Deservings with Pleasure; and no Body
 " thinks they'l live quiet abroad, while the Scepter their Father
 " held, is in the Hands of another. I must tell you something
 " more, and am surpriz'd, those about you are so Ignorant them-
 " selves, or so Treacherous, as to keep you in the dark. *Aurelius*
 " *Ambrosius* the eldest of these Princes has a Party at Home; nay,
 " there are in your Court, who Flatter his early Ambition with fu-
 " ture Hopes. You stand in need of Persons devoted to your In-
 " terest, such as I am my self, and such are those under my Com-
 " mand: But our Numbers are inconsiderable, and we cannot sup-
 " press Insurrections, and repel Invasions at once. Your Security
 " calls for larger Supplies. *Germany* has store of Men at your Ser-
 " vice: You run the greatest Hazard imaginable, if you call them
 " not, and none at all if you do. As for us, whom you have alrea-
 " dy so highly Oblig'd, and so nobly Rewarded, let us but know
 " your Pleasure, and, as 'tis our Interest and Duty, so we shall
 " reckon it our Glory to Obey.

These Suggestions fail'd not of the intended Effect: For as Usurpation is ever attended by that cruciating Tyrant Jealousie, so the King went headlong into the Sentiments of *Hengist*: And this last, immediately sent home to invite greater Numbers of his Country-men to share in his future Success and Expectations. He did more; for adding a second piece of Policy to the former, he appointed his Daughter *Rowena*, a Lady of admirable Beauty, to be brought

Hengist a
 sprain of
 the
 Saxons
 leave to
 for
 re Men
 of Ger-
 ny.

brought along with the Fleet. He had observ'd *Vortigern's* Inclination to Love, and doubted not but the fair Heathen would charm the feeble Heart of so dissolute a Christian, into a Compliance with what further might be desir'd.

The Orders of *Hengist* were punctually obey'd, Seventeen fresh Vessels arriv'd in *Britain*, and in them great Numbers of new Adventurers, who came over with Joy into a Country, where they were to find a healthful Air, pleasant Habitations, and a Land abounding in all things conducing to Pleasure, or necessary to Life. *Rowena* was not forgotten; she had with her a Train of Women suitable to her Birth, which was truly Illustrious: For *Hengist*, as all the Royal Family of the *Saxons*, was descended from the Ancient *Woden*; whom for his great Actions that Idolatrous People had plac'd in the Number of their Gods.

His Daughter *Rowena* comes over to *Britain*.

The King would needs see and welcome his Guests upon their first Landing. *Hengist* invited him to a splendid Entertainment; in the midst of which, when Wine and Mirth had predispos'd and fitted the Mind of the unfortunate Monarch, for those Impressions design'd by the *Saxon*; *Rowena* appear'd, and display'd such Graces, as dazzl'd the Eyes of all present. Never had Poison a more present Effect: *Vortigern* suck'd it in greedily, and, altho a Christian, and already Married, immediately offer'd and gave his Hand to the enchanting Heathen.

Is Married to *Vortigern*.

This Mirth had all the Success *Hengist* could wish for, that is, it made him, and ruin'd the King: The latter became in an instant the Object of Hatred and Contempt of all good or thinking Men. He was Excommunicated by the Bishops, and abandon'd by the Nobles. Nay, his own Son *Vortimer* deserted him, and under the plausible Notion of defending the Christian Faith, took upon him the Management of Affairs, and Title of King.

Vortigern deserted by his son and Nobles.

This unnatural Usurpation seem'd necessary at the time, and therefore Just: For *Vortigern*, whose Interest was now linked to that of his Father-in-law, suffer'd himself to be over-rul'd by him in every thing. More *Saxons* were call'd over, and a secret Peace was made with the *Picts*. (a) This done, the *Saxon* Commanders began to find occasions of Quarrels with their Landlords the *Britains*; and suddenly turning their Arms against them, wast'd the Country with Fire and Sword, after a barbarous and unheard of Manner. Those stately Edifices the *Romans* had built with such Art and Cost were demolish'd. The Cities (and *Beda* tells us, that there were in these times Twenty Eight most noble ones in *Britain*) were turn'd into Rubbish, the Christian Priests were slain at the very Altars, and the Bishops Massacr'd without Respect, together with infinite Numbers of People of all Ages and Ranks.

The *Saxons* turn their Arms against the *Britains*.

Vortimer pretended King of *Britain*.

Vortimer oppos'd this Torrent of Confusion and Desolation: He fought and obtain'd Assistance from the *Scots*, (b) and in a short Time put himself on the Head of an Army which had nothing of the

British Weakness. The War was long and bloody; and as the Events were various, so they are uncertainly related. The Saxons it seems were worsted in four Battles, but recruited again upon the Death of the brave *Vortimer*, who had he not assum'd the Title, had all the Reason in the World to Exercise, as he did, the Office of the distracted King his Father. Nevertheless, *Vortigern* rous'd, I know not by what Means, from his Lethargick Madness, re-assum'd the Government, and for some time maintain'd the War, but was wheel'd into a Treaty, and the Treaty brought on an Interview with the treacherous *Hengist*. This last appointed those of his Retinue to be secretly Arm'd, and acquainted them to what purpose. The Watch Word was, *Nemet eour Saxes*, that is, *Pull out your Daggers*; which they observing, the *British Nobility*, when heated with Wine, were stabb'd, to the Number of Three Hundred. *Vortigern* himself was kept alive, but put in Chains and constrain'd for his Ransom, to surrender to *Hengist* such Countries as he thought fit to demand, as an additional Strength to the new Kingdom of *Kent*, which he formerly possess'd. He might have extorted much more, but luckily for *Britain*, the long look'd and wish'd for *Aurelius Ambrosius*, the Son and Heir of *Constantine*, arriv'd from *France*, accompany'd with the Favour of Heaven, and a numerous Retinue of brave Volunteers. He claim'd the Throne of his Father, and, as *Buchanan* (a) relates the Story, immediatly suppress'd his Rival *Vortigern* in *Wales*. And *Lesly* (b) says, That having compel'd him, his pretended Wife *Rowena*, and their Children, to shut themselves up in a Castle; he set Fire to it, and they were consum'd to Ashes. But others tell us, That the avenging Fire fell from Heaven upon the Head of this Incestuous Prince: For to his other Crimes, he added that of begetting a Child with his own Daughter.

Aurelius his next Care (c) was to dispatch an Embassy to the *Scots* and *Picts*, desiring their Friendship and joint Assistance against the Heathens. The *Picts* rejected the Proposal, and continued their Alliance with the *Saxons*. The *Scots* took other Measures, they renew'd their Treaty formerly made with *Constantine* the Father of *Aurelius*. In pursuance of which, their King *Congallus* kept his Possession of *Westmoreland*, and sent Auxiliaries to *Aurelius*, and by frequent Incurfions from his own; upon the *Saxon* Territories, made such a Diversion, (d) as very much contributed to the Victories of his Ally.

Aurelius, whose Name and Origine were *Roman*, was also endu'd with Virtues equal to his Birth and Dignity. He was not long upon the Throne, before he gave a signal Overthrow to the *Saxons*. He is said to have beat them afterwards by North the *Humber*, and a third time near *York*. And, 'tis probable, that he had driven them out of the Island, had not one of *Vortigern's* Sons, nam'd *Pascentius*, by aspiring to the Throne, his Father and Brother had usurp'd,

(a) In vita. Constantin. (b) In vita Congall. (c) Buchan. in vita Constantin. & Congall. (d) Buchan. in vita Congall. & D'Orleans Hist. p. 21.

surp'd, diverted his conquering Arms. This shews how dangerous 'tis to set up another Sovereign in a State, besides the legal Heir: The Posterity of each never fail to keep up their Pretensions, and neither Party can miss of Favourers and Friends. *Gilloman* King of *Ireland* supported the Claim of *Pascentius*, but they were both defeated and kill'd in the first Battle they fought against *Aurelius*: Tho' others say, Uther Pendragon the British King supported by his Ally Goranus King of Scotland. that this fell not out till the Reign of his Brother *Uther Pendragon*. This last by some Historians call'd *Nazalod*, had shar'd in all the glorious Actions of the former Reign. Upon his first Accession to the Throne, he renew'd the Alliance *Aurelius* had made with the *Scots*. Their Pious and Wise King *Goranus* (a) gave a hearty Compliance. He did much more, for he prevail'd with the *Pictish* King *Lothus*, a Prince inferior to none of that Age in all those Qualities that adorn the Body or Mind, to break off from the Barbarians; and with *Uther* to give his Sister *Anna* in Marriage to *Lothus*. By this means a triple League was concluded between the *Scots*, *Picts*, and *Britains*, and the War was prosecuted against the common Enemy, with that Success, that the *Saxons*, foil'd in a great many Rencounters, had almost given their Conquests for lost; and *Uther* had been rank'd among the most Fortunate and best of Kings, had not his many Virtues been darken'd by a horrible Crime. Before he was King, he lov'd one *Igerne* the Wife of *Gorlois* Earl of *Cornwall*. But the Chastity of this Beautiful Lady was not easily Conquer'd. He left nothing unattempted, and at last by the Artifices of the famous Magician or Prophet *Merlin* prevail'd. Uther is in Love with Igerne, Debauches her. Some say, that he was Metamorphos'd into the Shape and Appearance of *Gorlois*, at least it was given out so, no doubt, to extenuate the Infamy of the thing. *Igerne* deluded by Magick, or overcome by Passion, Conceived, and was afterwards brought to Bed of the famous *Arthur*. In the mean time *Uther's* Wife Died, and his Love for *Igerne* continuing, he resolv'd to remove the only Obstacle that cross'd his Desire. With this View he went in Person, (such is the Fury of improvident Lust) Besieg'd the Earl in one of his Castles, and kill'd him: Some say, in a Sally; others, that the Castle being surrender'd, he caus'd him to be Executed in the way of Justice. And kill her Husband. Be this as it will, 'tis certain, that he Married *Igerne*, and acknowledg'd *Arthur* as his lawful Successor. This was an Injustice done to those Children, the *Pictish* King *Lothus* had by *Uther's* Sister. Accordingly he put in his Claim, and Complain'd, that a Bastard begot in Adultery, should be prefer'd to the righteous Heirs. But in vain: The *Britains* were Charm'd with the growing Excellencies of their Darling *Arthur*. They pleaded, That he was no Bastard, since fairly Legitimated by the subsequent Marriage of his Father and Mother. *Lothus* convinc'd by the Reason, or unwilling to enter into War, which must needs terminate to the Advantage of none, Lothus King of Picts lays Claim to the Crown of Britain. but the Infidel *Saxons*, gave up his Childrens Pretensions, and Recogniz'd the Title of King *Arthur*. The Confederacy was renew'd

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be-

(a) Buchan. in vita Gorani.

Arthur a
Bastard
prefer'd to
Lothus.

Two Bat-
tles fought
by Arthur
King of Bri-
tain, and
his Allies
the Scots and
Picts.

The Saxons
vanquish'd
again, and
again.

between the three Christian Nations, and *Arthur* back'd with the *Scots* and *Pictish* Auxiliaries, Atchiev'd such mighty Things, as have been darkn'd by the additional Fables of Romantick Authors; who, unluckily for his Memory, fix'd on him as the noblest Champion of the *British* Nation: And so by making an imaginary, unmade in some measure the real Hero. For such fabulous Nonsense has been written concerning this Prince, that some have doubted, whether there ever was such a Person. This Doubt is unreasonable after all, for (a) in the Reign of *Henry II.* of *England*, some Persons, directed in their Search by old *British* Songs, sought for and discover'd his Tomb in the Church-yard of *Glastenbury*, where some Remains of Bones were seen, with an Inscription or Epitaph applicable to none but him. Besides, (b) the generality of Writers agree, that there was such a Man, and that he made a powerful Resistance against the Pagan *Saxons*. *Buchanan* (c) gives an Account of two Battles wherein these last were foil'd. The first was fought not far from the *Humber*. The *Scots* and the *Picts* were plac'd on the Wings, and King *Arthur* with his *Britains* stood in the Center. The *Scots* had the good Luck to put those they engag'd with to the Rout at the very first Onset: For their Chieftain *Childerick* being kill'd, his Men betook themselves to the Flight. The *Picts* met with greater Opposition: Their King *Lothus* was by the sudden Charge of the *Saxon Colgern* dismounted from his Horse. But *Colgern* pay'd dear for his improvident Fury. He had advanc'd too far to escape, and was at the same time pierc'd on both sides with the Spears of two *Pictish* Soldiers. By these Accidents, both Wings of the Enemy gave way, and those in their Center, who had hitherto Fought with great Bravery against King *Arthur*, fearing to be Flank'd by the prevailing *Scots* and *Picts*, retir'd with Precipitation. *Occa*, the Son of another of that Name, who commanded in Chief, was dangerously Wounded, yet fled to the Sea-Coast with the Remains of his Army; where finding some Ships in Readiness to put to Sea, he set Sail for *Germany*. Such of the remaining *Saxons* as embrac'd the Christian Religion, were by the Conquerors preserv'd, the rest were put to the Sword. Nevertheless, the more Eastern parts of *South-Britain*, were still in the Enemies hands. Against those the Confederate Army march'd in three Bodies the next Summer. They advanc'd unwarily, and were in the Night surpris'd by the whole *Saxon* Army. *Mordredus*, the Son of *Lothus*, who Commanded his Father's Subjects, did Wonders, but at last was forc'd to take Horse and flee to King *Arthur*. This Prince and *Congallus* the Son of *Eugene II.* who Commanded the *Scots*, not at all terrified with the Overthrow given to their Allies, march'd in all Haste, and in their Turn surpris'd and cut to pieces the triumphing Enemy. The *Picts* irritated by their Losses, are said to have done the greatest Execution. 'Tis probable, that these were two of the twelve Victories gain'd over the *Saxons* by King *Arthur*. *Nennius*, who liv'd about Three hundred

(a) P. D' Orleans Pag. 26. (b) Echard. pag. 41. (c) In vita. Gorani.

hundred Years after him, reckons up no fewer: Which if true, what Mr. *Echard* writes from *Higden* to me seems most improbable: *viz.* That King *Cerdick* fighting often with *Arthur*, tho he was overcome; yet still he came on with new Forces, till *Arthur* being wearied out, at length surrendr'd those Countries; which made up the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons*: Or, if he did, he was it seems constrain'd thereto, not so much by the raw undisciplin'd Recruits of an Enemy, so often Foil'd, as by his unjust and impolitick Quarreling with the Authors of his Glories, the *Scots* and *Picts*. For if we may believe *Buchanan*, (a) he went about to deprive the abovemention'd *Mordredus*, of the Title he had to the Succession, in Right of his Mother *Anna* King *Arthur*'s Aunt, and to set up one *Constantine* in his Room.

This *Constantine* had no other Pretension to it, but that he was by Birth a *Britain*, and was therefore to his Country-Men the more acceptable. *Mordredus* was not of Humour to forgo his Birth-right for the second time, meerly because the Injustice of King *Arthur*, and Caprice of the People, would have it so. The more thinking *Britains* openly declar'd themselves in his Favour. They foresaw the Consequences of Usurpation, and dreaded domestick Pretenders, more than foreign Enemies. Besides, 'twas surmis'd, that *Vanora* the Wife of King *Arthur*, was no un-friend to *Mordredus*. He was a gallant Youth, and the Freedoms she allow'd him were the Subject at least of idle Discourse. Perhaps King *Arthur* had heard some Tales; and that Jealousy prompted his resenting Humour to that Act of Injustice, which cost him his Life. He persisted in his Resolution to have *Constantine* acknowledg'd his Successor. Upon which *Mordredus*, assist'd by the *Scots*, and join'd by not a few *Britains*, march'd to the *Humber*, where King *Arthur* met him. Both Armies were in View of one another, when Methods of Concord were propos'd by the Bishops of both Countries; but to no purpose: They engag'd with great Resolution, and at last the Confederates prevail'd. Two things contributed to their Victory: The first was, the Situation of the Ground; for the *Britains* had much ado to get over a Morass, which defended the Enemy's Camp: And then when they had made the best of their Way, and were now in the Heat of the Action, a fellow brib'd for that Purpose, cry'd out, that King *Arthur* was Slain, and that the Day was lost. The *Britains* struck with Terror at the dismal Sound, threw away their Weapons and fled. The Slaughter was terrible on both Sides, and the Conquerors had no great Reason to Rejoyce; for the brave *Mordredus* was kill'd in the Field of Battle, and the renown'd King *Arthur* died not long after of his Wounds.

As this unlucky Contest and fatal Engagement divided the Minds, so they weakn'd the Forces of the Christian Nations; and the *Scots* and *Picts* tho hitherto Victorious, yet by reason of the great Numbers of Men their very Victories had cut off, thought fit to stand Neuters for the future: Or, if at any Time concern'd in the

Mordredus
the Son of
Lothw lays
Claim to the
Crown of
Britain.

And in Con-
junction
with the
Scots defeats
the *Britains*.

Both he and
King *Ar-
thur* Slain.

A. D. 547.

(a) In vita Gorani.

Affairs of *South-Britain*, 'twas in Opposition to one another: The *Scots* for the most part siding with the *Britains*; and the *Picts* on the contrary with the *Saxons*. The *Britains* also divided among themselves, and as at other times, so now they set up and acknowledg'd several Kings, (a) and these generally Weak or Wicked. Thus *Britain* became the Field of Fortune: New Adventurers came daily from *Germany*, and being Conducted by warlike and daring Leaders, and meeting with little or but faint Resistance, by Degrees they Possess'd almost the whole Country, under the different Names of *Saxons*, *Jutes* and *Angles*; and in it form'd the famous Heptarchy, consisting of seven different States, or petty Kingdoms. As these had been Founded by different Conquerors, so they had each their respective Kings. By these the miserable *Britains* were gradually forc'd out of their ancient Seats. Some continu'd themselves in *Cornwal*; others fled to their Country-Men in *Armorica*, or *Little-Britain*; but most of them withdrew to the Craigy and Mountainous Places in the West, now *Wales*; which being naturally Fenc'd with Hills; and the Inlets of the Sea, their ravenous Enemies could not easily follow them. There they establish'd a Form of Government among themselves; and being inhardn'd in the midst of their Rocks, they seem'd Invincible, now that having nothing to Lose, they were no more apprehensive of being Vanquish'd. The poor Remains that were scatter'd among the *Saxons*, were made Slaves by their outragious Conquerors, and kept to the meanest and most servile Offices. After this Manner, a new Body of People possess'd themselves of almost all *South-Britain*, and introduc'd a general Change (b) of Names, Language, Customs, Manners, Arms, Discipline, Religion; nay, and of the whole Face of Nature throughout the Nation. *Saxons* succeeded to *Romans*, the *German* to the *Latin* and *British* Tongues, Barbarity to Politeness, Rudeness to Decency, Ignorance to Learning, and Idolatry to Christianity. Nevertheless, there were still some Remains of Learning and Religion preserv'd in *Wales*; and both these continu'd to flourish with no less, if not more Lustre in *Scotland*, than at any Time before or since. They had been driven by the prevailing Arms of the Barbarians, almost from the Western World, and may be said to have retreated into this unconquer'd Corner as to a Sanctuary, where they lurk'd a while, till the Storm being very near spent, they came Abroad again, Re-possess'd their old Habitations in *Italy* and *France*, and gain'd new Ones, not only in neighbouring *Ireland*; but which was a harder Task, both in old and new *Saxony*; I mean *Germany* and *England*. For to say nothing of the Universities of *Paris* and *Pavia*, Founded by *Scots-men*; (c) nor of the Conversion of *Ireland* by *St. Patrick*, whom *Dr. Mackenzie* (d) has so plainly prov'd to have been of the same

The *Scots* and *Picts* divided.

The *Saxons* prevail in *South-Britain*.

Barbarity introduc'd into *South-Britain*, by the conquering *Saxons*.

Learning and Piety restor'd in *South-Britain* by the *Scots*.

(a) Echard. p. 47. (b) Echard p. 42: vol 1. (c) Spotswood, Hist. of the Ch. of Scotl. p. 22. Mackenz. Lives of the Scots Writers vol. 1. in the Lives of Albin and Clement. (d) His Lives of the Scots Writers vol. 1. p. 346.

same Nation; nor of the *Bonifacii, Galli, Chilian, &c.* (a) the Apostles, for so they may be call'd, of *Switzerland* and *Germany*. 'Tis certain, that to the joint, tho in some practical Opinions, jarring Endeavours of *Austin* and his fellow Monks sent by Pope *Gregory*, and of the *Scots* Bishops, *Aidan, Finan, Colman, &c.* (b) sent Missionaries from *Scotland*, was owing the Conversion of the *Saxons*; and consequently the return of Letters, Civility and Humanity to *South-Britain*. These, and such Men as these, Eminent for their undoubted Sanctity, and unquestionable Erudition, had such Interest with the Kings, and so much Authority over the People, that nothing considerable was transacted without their Advice or Approbation. Hence 'tis, that the Minds of these blessed Ages being set upon religious Duties, as Wars broke out more seldom, so they were neither Bloody nor Lasting: So that together with Charity and Faith, Peace may be said to have dwelt in *Scotland*, for the Space of about two hundred and ninety six Years, viz. from the Reign of *Goranus*, to that of *Alpin*, and his Son *Kenneth II.*

Long Peace
in Scotland.

'Tis true, that the *Scots* and *Picts* having quarrel'd in the Reign of *Aidan*, as they were at other times wont to do, about Trifles, they had some sharp Rencounters; but their Fury was in a great Measure allay'd, by the Mediation and wise Conduct of *St. Columba*: And at length the *Picts* were overcome, as well as their *Saxon* Auxiliaries.

Colman was yet more succesful on a subsequent Occasion of the highest Importance. *Ferquhard II*, who ascended the Throne in the Year 646, prov'd a most wicked Prince: (c) His Avarice was insatiable as his Lust; his Cruelty spar'd no Man; nay, he attack'd the God-Head it self with his blasphemous and sacrilegious Acts: To say all in two Words, he Ravish'd his Daughter, and Murther'd his Wife. The pious Clergy of those Times did their Duty; they reprehended him, first privately, then openly: And when nothing else would do, they pronounc'd a Sentence of Excommunication against him, but all to no purpose. The injur'd Nobles and scandaliz'd People, began to meditate an Infurrection, and to talk of Deposing the King. They had done so by his Father *Ferquhard I.* for the like Enormities, who, unable to bear the Humiliation of his Confinement, had kill'd himself. But this was a Precedent rather to be detested than imitated, in the Judgment of the then Clergy: Neither did good Policy allow, what the Principles of Religion condemn'd. A civil War might have ensu'd, and with it, as is ordinary, more Mischief than Tyranny it self can Work. Wherefore *St. Colman* interpos'd that Authority with the Subjects, which the Sovereign despis'd. He told them, (d) *That the Punishment of Kings is reserv'd to God; and that he, ere it were long, would take Vengeance of the Prince's Wickedness.* He prov'd to be no false Prophet; for the King after a few Days being at Hunting, chanc'd to be Bitten by

Ferquhard II. a wicked King.

(a) Spotiswood p. 11, 19, 20. (b) Spotiswood p. 14 and 15. (c) Spotiswood's Hist. of the Church. Buchan in vita Ferchari II. (d) Spotiswood, *ibid.*

a Wolf: To the Wound succeeded a Fever; and to the Fever a Gangrene, which affected his whole Body. Reduc'd to this dismal Condition, he was struck with Remorse, recal'd St. *Colman* to the Court, made a publick Confession of his Sins, receiv'd Absolution, and shortly after yielded up the Ghost.

Dies Penitent.

Adamannus, another Bishop, by *Beda* said to be *Vir unitatis & pacis studiosissimus*, a Man most careful to preserve Unity and Peace, us'd afterwards the like Endeavours, and fail'd not of the like Success. As at other times, so in the Days of *Malduin*, about the Year 690, some learn'd and religious Monks (a) of the *Scots* Nation, continu'd with indefatigable Labour and Zeal to spread the Christian Doctrine among the *Saxons*. And now their Youth, in their own Conceit sufficiently Learn'd, began to vye with their Masters: They would give Lessons to their Country-Men, but scorn'd to receive any from Foreigners. In a word, their Envy and Ingratitude was such, that the *Scots* Monks were forc'd to withdraw. The Nation resented the Affront done to them: And had not the Christian Humility and Patience of the Persons injur'd interpos'd, a War had been declar'd: Nevertheless, Incurfions were made on both Sides, and some Dammage was done: When *Egfrid* King of *Northumberland*, having win over the *Picts* to his Interest, invaded *Scotland* upon the Head of a considerable Army, and ravag'd the Country of *Galloway*. But this cost him dear; for *Eugene* V. march'd against him, gave him, Battle near the River *Luce*; and the *Picts*, I know not for what Reason, thinking fit to ly by as unconcern'd Spectators, the *Saxons* were put the Rout, and are said to have lost no less than twenty thousand Men on the spot; (b) *Egfrid* himself was dangerously Wounded. The next Year, no doubt in order to revenge the *Pictish* Treachery, he invaded their Country, and they by counterfeit-ing Fear, and making a shew of flying before him, drew him into a disadvantageous Pass, where they fac'd about all on a sudden, and so cut off himself and his whole Army. This done, they enter'd *Northumberland* in Conjunction with the *Scots*, and reduc'd a great Part of it to the Obedience of their King *Brudus*. This Prince had either subjected the whole, or laid it waste, had not the Reasons and Intreaties of the Bishops *Cuthbert* and *Adamannus* restrain'd his Fury. They us'd the like (c) Endeavours towards composing of Differences betwixt him and *Eugene*, who at that time may be said, neither to have liv'd in Peace, nor to have had War with one another. For these jarring Nations were continually harassing one another with Incurfions and Depredations, yet Armies were not drawn out to the Fields, nor Battles fought, till afterwards: when *Garnardus* King of the *Picts*, laying hold on the Opportunity offer'd, through the Male-administration of the *Scots* King *Amberkeleth*, put himself on the Head of considerable Forces, with a sign to attack the *Scots*. But in the mean time *Amberkeleth*

Eugene V. defeats *Egfrid* King of *Northumberland*.

The *Picts* kill King *Elfrid*.

kill'd,

(a) Buchan. in vita Malduini. (b) Lessl. & Chamb. in vita Eugena. V. (c) Buchan. in vita Eugen. V.

kill'd, by whom is uncertain; probably by a Body of *Picts*, whom he had pursu'd too eagerly into a Wood. (a) His Brother *Eugene* VII. immediately succeeded, and a Peace was concluded, chiefly by the Mediation of the abovemention'd Bishop *Adamannus*; (b) and at the same time *Eugene* was married to *Spondana* the Daughter of the *Pictish* King. This young Queen had it seems, a great deal of Merit; for she was univ'rsally lov'd and respected, but unluckily was kill'd in her Bed by two Villains, who designing to Murther the King, gave her the Blow. The Circumstances of the Thing made the King himself to be suspected. Upon this the *Picts* threatn'd a War, the People murmur'd, and a Faction of the Nobles had the unprecedented Boldness (say some Historians, tho others, particularly my Lord *Ormond*, Bishop *Lesly*, and *Fordon*, deny or disbelieve this Matter of Fact) to compel their Sovereign to appear in Judgment, and plead his Innocence. 'Tis true, that before and since this Time, we read of many Kings imprison'd and put to death by their offended or rebellious Subjects: Nay, the Fact when done, has frequently been pardon'd, and sometimes by the Successor approv'd of. But I no where find, till now, that a *Scots* King was judicially Arraign'd and brought to the Bar in Quality of a Pannel. If this is allow'd, Contradiction must pass for good Sense, and Inconsistency for Reason and Law: For this is to be a Sovereign and no Sovereign at one and the same time. If Subjects can Sentence or Acquit their Kings, then those are no Subjects, and these no Kings: And this is another Inconsistency. Nay, the Nature of Government will admit of no such thing. For, as *Sir Thomzs Craig* very well argues; "With what Courage could such a precarious King punish Crimes, if he himself may be compel'd to undergo their Sentence; whose Parents, Sons, Brothers, and near Kinsmen he has punish'd, tho never so justly? Will he not be afraid of the People's Resentment? Will he not dare to displease that Multitude, to whose Judgment he himself is made subject?—To whom shall the Multitude be accountable for their Doings, if Kings are accountable to them? The Multitude are oftner in the wrong than the worst of Kings.—And can that be just in the Multitude, which is unjust in the King? Again, If so great Power be allow'd the People over supream Magistrates; by the same Reason, the same Power is to be allow'd of in lesser Families, and then Children will sit as Judges on their Father, Servants on their Master, and Souldiers on their General. I could say much more from the eminent Lawyer I have cited. But to return to the History:

Eugene is, by *Buchanan*, *Spotiswood*, and some others, said to have been compel'd to undergo the Indignity (c) I mention'd; but the Authors of the Crime being at the same time apprehended, condemn'd and punish'd, the Kings Innocence was thereby sufficiently declar'd. But his Majesty was les'd, and he resolv'd upon revenge:

U 2

This

Amberkeleth King of the *Scots* kill'd in a Battle against the *Picts*.

Eugene VII. makes Peace with the *Picts*.

Spondana his Queen Murther'd.

Eugene said to be brought into Judgment by his Nobles.

He refers to the Indignity.

(a) *Buchan.* in vita *Amberkeleth*. (b) *Spotiswood* p. 18 & 19.—*Craig* of the Succession p. 197. (c) *Boeth.* in vita *Eugen. VII.* *Spotiswood* p. 19.

This, adds Spotiswood, rais'd a great Stir, and had doubtless burst forth into a civil War, if Adamannus by his Wisdom had not mitigated the King, and wrought the Subjects Reconcilment. From these few Instances, it appears, that Churchmen in those happier Ages, were not the first Authors of Discord, Desolations and Wars: They stiff'd but never sow'd the Seeds of Dissention: They allay'd, in stead of raising the heat and vehemency of humane Passions, and that lovely inestimable treasure, Peace, was the grand Object of their Wishes, Vows and Exhortations.

From the Death of *Eugene* to the Reign of *Achaius*, I find no memorable War upon Record, and by consequence nothing suited to the Design of this Book. But by this time the Face of Affairs was mightily chang'd from what it had been all over the World.

There was now no such Thing as a *Roman Empire* in the West; (a) the very Name of it had fallen long since, viz. in the Year 576, in the Person of its Emperor *Momillus* or *Augustulus*, and he too was the Son of *Orestes*, by Nation a *Goth*. The *Saxons* had erected their Heptarchy in *South-Britain*; *Spain* was possess'd by the *Goths* and *Suaves*, or over-run by the *Saracens*; the *French* were Masters of *Gaul*, and the *Lombards* of most Part of *Italy*: The Eastern Emperors degenerating daily from the *Roman Fortitude*, had nothing left them in it, but *Rome* it self, and some adjacent Territories, then call'd the *Exarchate*. And even this small spot of Ground they could not easily enjoy. For the neighbouring *Lombards* laid hold on all Opportunities of seizing these inconsiderable Remains of the Imperial Sway: They had done it effectually; but the then Popes, pretending I know not what Title, to at least a part of the *Exarchate*, oppos'd their encroaching Designs: And to this effect, call'd into *Italy* the victorious Arms of *Pepin* the King of *France*. This great Monarch recover'd *Rome* and the *Exarchate* from the *Lombards*; and taking that to be at his own disposal, which he had purchas'd by a just War, made them over to the Apostles *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* (so did the Stile of these Times run) that is, to the Popes. And thus the Bishop of *Rome* became a Temporal Prince, with what Justice and Reason, I shall not determine: For 'tis not my Province to enter upon Controversies of this kind. However, the succeeding King of the *Lombards*, *Desiderius* or *Didier*, did not, it seems, account it a Sacrilege to make bold, with what was now call'd *St. Peter's Patrimony*. He renew'd the Attempts his Predecessors had made upon the *Exarchate*, but to his Cost. *Charles* the Great the Son of *Pepin*, espous'd the Pope's Quarrel, he routed *Didier* at *Vergeil*, afterwards took him Prisoner, banish'd him to *Leige* or *Lyons*, possess'd himself of the whole Kingdom; and lastly confirm'd the Donations his Father made to the See of *Rome*. He did much more in Favour of the See: For he afterwards went in Person to Quell the Sedition in the City against Pope *Leo III*. Upon his arrival, (b) he caus'd

Is appear'd
by Adamannus.

The Face
of Europe
chang'd.

A. D. 757.

Pepin King
of *France*
defeats the
Lombards, &
makes the
Pope a tempo-
ral Prince

A. D. 771.

Charlemaign
espouses the
Pope's quar-
rel, beats
the *Lombards*

A. D. 800.

an

(a) M. Chevseaux Hist. of the World vol. 3. print. Lond. 1703. p. 116. (b) Mr. Savage in his Life of Charles the Great. print. Lond. 1702. p. 23.

an Assembly of Bishops and others to be conven'd in St. Peter's Church, in order to the Tryal of the Pope, who had been accused of enormous Crimes: But no Prosecutors appearing, he was acquitted. In consideration of this, and the many Favours he and his Father had heap'd on the See of Rome, Leo inclin'd the Italians, who could hope for no further Protection from the Greek Emperors, to desire him for Emperor of the West. Accordingly he was by the Pope crown'd, and by the People saluted *Cesar Augustus* in St. Peter's Church on Christmasc-day: And some Authors tell us, that he was so little solicitous of the new Dignity, that he was heard to say, That *if he had known what the Pope would have done, and the People desir'd, he would not have gone to Mass that Day.* Mr. Savage gives us this Account of that remarkable Transaction, and Mr. Chevreaux (a) observes, That tho he had not deserv'd the Empire by his Piety, Justice, Courage and Understanding, yet his Right to it was unquestionable. For Irene the Empress made a Grant of it to him, and this Grant was confirm'd by Nicephorus and Michael her Successors. Besides, upon the overthrow of Didier, Italy became Subject to him, and the Romans, who must be own'd to have had as much Power, as either the Army or People of Constantinople, who Elected their Emperors, unanimously choose him.

Is by the Pope made Emperor.

His Title to the Empire reputed just.

I may further add, that the vast Extent of his Dominions made him in effect Emperor of the West, tho he had not been dignified with that high Sounding, but otherwise useles Title: For, besides his paternal Inheritance, (b) which comprehended all those Territories that ly between the Rhine, the Loire and the Ocean in France; And those in Germany, that reach from the Rhine to the Danube, he had Conquer'd (and all his Conquests were fair and just; since 'tis own'd, (c) That he never engag'd in War, out of Ambition, vain Glory or Avarice; but only to Protect the Christian Religion, and Defend his own Subjects) not only the Provinces of Aquitain, Gascony and Catalonia, as far as the River Ebro, together with the Kingdom of Lombardy, and almost all Italy; but also the Countries of Swabia, Bavaria, Franconia, both the Saxonies, Hungary, Transilvania, Istria, Croatia, Dalmatia, and part of Poland. So that it may be truly said, that the Roman Eagle extended her Wings farther in those Western Parts at this time, than she had done under any of the *Cesars*, who by Birth were Roman. Nor is it amiss to observe, that now again Rome had the Pleasure to see her self reveng'd on those insulting Nations that had humbl'd her: She re-conquer'd her own Conquerors, since by the Arms of her Emperor, themselves on the one, and their Mother-Countries on t'other side of the Rhine, were constrain'd to submit to

The large extent of his Dominions and Conquests.

oke.

The Saxons in Germany were those who with the greatest Vigour stood the irresistible Power of his Arms. He wag'd War with them full thirty Years, ere he could bring them to an entire Sub-

X

jection.

He reduces
the Saxons in
Germany.

jection. Upon the first Approach of his terrifying Forces (a) they yielded, and gave Hostages as Guarantees of their Fidelity. Notwithstanding which they Revolted again and again: Wherefore he march'd against them in the Year 775, (b) and in two notable Battles kill'd above eighty thousand of their Men; caus'd above twenty thousand of their best Families to be transported into *Italy* and *France*, and gave such Laws to the rest as he thought fit: The principal was, *That they should for ever renounce Idolatry, and become Christians.* They remain'd such, just as long as Necessity compel'd them: (c) For in 782, they not only Revolted, but cut off an Army he had sent to Reduce them, under the Conduct of his Cousin *Thierry*; but beg'd Pardon how soon he came in Person to their Country: He granted it to the Generality, yet thought fit to cause the Heads of some four or five thousand of the more Turbulent to be struck off. This terrible Execution had not the intended effect, they took Arms afterwards in the Year 783, 784, and 785, but were as often compel'd to submit. In fine, this obstinate and perfidious People, could not be tam'd till the Year 795, when *Charles*, so often incens'd, and but lately provok'd, made all *Saxony* to feel the Indignation of a victorious Master; who as he had always been able to Conquer, so at last had resolv'd to Destroy. They experienc'd it accordingly (d) to the loss of above thirty thousand of their Number.

Is oppos'd
by the Saxons
in England.

Several concurring Circumstances, too foreign to my purpose, contributed to the relentless Obstinacy of the *German Saxons*; but nothing perhaps more, than the Correspondence they kept with, and the Diversion made by their Kinsmen in *South-Britain*. For all the *Scots* Historians (e) tell us, that these last already aspiring to a Superiority over all other Nations at Sea, not only rigg'd out Fleets, and exerc'd all manner of Piracies upon the *German Ocean* and *French Coasts*; but also made frequent Descents into *France*, pillaging and laying waste such Countries as lay open to their IncurSIONS. By this Means the *French Trade* was very nigh ruin'd, and their Merchants were equally unsafe, whether they Traffiqued by Land or Sea. 'Tis probable the *Saxons* had some nobler End, than that of enriching themselves with Plunder and Rapine. Perhaps they did it out of a Maxime of State, by Politicians in all Ages thought just, to bear down the growing Power of an ambitious Neighbour. Perhaps they had enter'd in an Alliance with the *Spanish Saracens*, or at least the *Saxon Germans*: And that they meant not to Rob for the sake of Robbing, but to curb the *French Grandeur*, by Means of a fair War carried on in Conjunction with those States, that no doubt complain'd of bypast, and dreaded future Incroachments. Be this as it will, we certainly know from former Authors as well as *Scots*, that there was a Rupture between *Charles* and the *Saxons* in *Britain*: Nay, *Conradus Urspergensis* (f) tells us That he sent an Army into *Britain*, under the Conduct of *Audolph* against

(a) Savage p. 7. (b) p. 9 and 10. (c) p. 11. (d) p. 19. (e) Boeth. Buchan. Less. &c. in vita Achaii. (f) Ursperg. Chron. p. 174. ad. An. Dom. 786.

against the English and Saxons: That this General gave a sudden Check to the Insolence of that perfidious Nation, and compell'd them to give Hostages, whom, together with severals of their Nobles, he presented to his Master at Wormes. These Quarrels with the Saxons here and beyond Seas, as well as the other Wars Charlemaigne was ever engag'd in, occasion'd that Monarch, (who, according to the Character given of him by Eginardus (a) a cotemporary Writer, and generally believ'd to have been his Son-in-law, and Chancellour, " Was, of all Kings of that " Age, the greatest for Prudence and Magnanimity, uncapable " to decline any Enterprize whatever, or upon the account " of the Labour, or of the Danger attending it.) These Wars, I say, occasion'd Charlemaigne to enter into a great many Foreign Alliances, and amongst others to contract that early, and till of late thought indissolvable League with the Scots. These last say, (b) that to effect this, He sent Ambassadors both to them and to the Picts: That the Picts rejected the Overture: But that the Scots, after a great deal of Reasoning, at length, to the great Satisfaction of all Ranks of People, comply'd. The French, after Eginardus, acknowledge the Transaction, but relate it differently. For, say they, (c) The King of the Scots charm'd by the Magnificence and Liberality of Charles, devoted themselves to his Interest, and in their Letters (which by the by were extant when Eginard wrote the Life of that great Monarch) gave him the Title of Lord, and Subscrib'd themselves his most humble Servants. They add, (e) That the League was concluded in the Year 790, and that in Pursuance thereof, Charles sent Four Thousand Men to the Assistance of King Achaius: Another Proof that there was a War betwixt the French Charlemaign and the Saxons in Britain. Nevertheless the Scots Historians make no where mention of these Auxiliaries: And their Silence in that matter makes me incline to believe, that these Four Thousand Men were those that came, not to the North, but to the South of Britain, under the Command of Audolphus. That they're call'd Auxiliaries or Succours sent to Achaius, is no matter of Wonder, for since they gave a Check to the Insolence of the Saxons, they prov'd Effectual Succours to the Scots. However, 'tis undeniable, that King Achaius (e) in his Turn, sent Forces to France; that his Brother William commanded them; that they shar'd in all the Glories of his Reign, particularly in the numerous Victories he gain'd over the Lombards in Italy, (f) and Saxons in Germany. (g) And that in fine, they were nobly rewarded for their great Services, being, as Paulus Æmilius, an Eminent French Historian tells us, For their noted Fidelity and Valour, prefer'd to the most eminent Dignities and Magistries of conquer'd Saxony. For these Reasons 'tis that I humbly give I have not digress'd from my Subject, by giving an Account

He makes
a League
with the
Scots,)

A. D. 790

(a) In vita Carol. Mag. Edit. Colon. An. 1561. (b) Less. in vit. Achaii. (c) Eginard. in vit. Car. & Anonymus Arnulpho Imperatori equalis, cited by Bonavent. Strach. in his M S. German. Christian. (d) Mezeray at the Year 790. (e) Boet. Less. Chambers, &c. (f) Sansovino Origine e fatti delle famiglie illustri D' Italia from Umberto Locatus in the Chronicle of Placentia. (g) Paulus Æmilius de Reb. Gest. Franc. p. 42.

count of the Rise, Progress and End of these Wars; which, as they alter'd the face of Affairs over all *Europe* in those Days, so they gave an early beginning to that Reputation of Military Courage, the *Scots* have ever since been Possess'd of beyond Seas, as well as in their Native Island.

The *Scots*
and *Picts*
make War
with *Athel-*
stan King
of the West
Saxons.

They were engag'd in the Reign of *Achaius* in Wars less Foreign than the *Carlovegian*, first against *Ireland*, and afterwards against *Athelstan* King of the West *Saxons*. As the *Irish* War, had no just Cause, so it produc'd no memorable Effects. That, against *Athelstan* deserves to be Recorded. This Prince, (a) having Usurp'd upon severals of his Neighbours, and enlarg'd his Dominions by subduing the *Northumbers*, intended likewise the Conquest of that part of the *Pictish* Kingdom that lay next to his own. *Hungus*, a Prince whose Piety as well as Courage History very much commends, reign'd over the *Picts* at this time. He dreaded the approaching Storm, and apply'd to King *Achaius* for Succours. *Achaius* was no Favourer of the *Saxon* Interest, and therefore sent Ten Thousand Men under the Conduct of Prince *Alpin*, his Son, to the Assistance of his Ally and Brother-in-law King *Hungus*. Both Armies being United, march'd into the Enemies Country; where having made great Depredations, they return'd home loadn'd with Booty. *Athelstan* had not been an idle Spectator of the Damage done to his Subjects, he had rais'd a numerous Army, upon the Head of which, he followed the retreating Confederates, and overtook them at a Village not far from *Hadingtoun*. A great many of *Hungus's* Men (now the Expedition was over) had gone home with hopes of enjoying the Wealth they had purchas'd. This terrify'd the good King; nevertheless he saw that he must needs Fight, since it was impracticable and unsafe to Retreat: Wherefore he resolv'd to come to an Engagement the next Day. And having issu'd out his Orders accordingly, he betook himself to Prayer, in which Exercise he spent most Part of the Night. About the dawning of the Morn, he fell into a Slumber, and as *St. Andrew* was peculiarly honour'd by the *Picts*, since the Year 370, when, as *Spotswood* (b) tells us, His Relicks were brought by *Regulus* to *Fife*; so he Dream'd, that this Apostle stood by him, encourag'd him to Battle, and assur'd him of Victory. The Army was of purpose inform'd of the fortunate Omen, and the Souldiers thereby Encourag'd, prepar'd for Action with the greater Alacrity. The History adds, believe it who will, That they no sooner Engag'd, but there appear'd in the Air a Cross, in form of the Letter X. This strange Vision gave Vigour to the *Picts*, but struck the *Saxons* with Terror. These last were totally Routed; amongst the rest King *Athelstan* was kill'd: And from his memorable Death the Place on which the Battel was fought, retains the Name *Alstain-ford*.

And de-
feated him.

Hungus, to express his Gratitude for the Victory obtain'd, gave to the Church of *Regulus*, which he appointed to be henceforth call'd

call'd *St. Andrews*, a great many valuable Presents, as Chalice, Basons, the Image of Christ in Gold, and of the twelve Apostles in Silver; as also a Case of beaten Gold for preserving the Relique of *St. Andrew*. Himself he fix'd upon as Patron, and his Cross as the Badge and Cognizance of the *Picts*. The *Scots* did afterwards the same, and some write, (a) that the once celebrated, and still most honourable Order of Knighthood nam'd of *St. Andrew* or the *Thistle*, had its Original at this Time, viz. about the Year 800: If so, 'tis undoubtedly the most Ancient in the World. For that of *St. George*, or the *Garret*, was not instituted till 1345. (b) That of the *Star* or *Bless'd Virgin*, not till the Year 1022. That of *St. Michael* not till 1428, and that of the *Golden Fleece* in the Year 1429. This Story has something in it that looks like a Legend, and I had not related those Circumstances, had I not a *Buchanan* and a *Spotiswood* for my Vouchers. After all, I believe 'tis much of a piece with what we are told by *Eusebius* (c) *Socrates*, (d) *Sozomene*, (e) and others, concerning the first Christian Emperor *Constantine*. They say, that while this Prince was at the Entreaty of the Senate and People of *Rome* on his March, in order to suppress the Tyranny of *Maxentius*: And being doubtful of the Success, and therefore afraid of the Danger of such an Expedition, he perceiv'd a burning Cross in the Heavens, with three Greek Words, which signified, that this should be a sign of his Victory. They add, that upon this Assurance, he caus'd the figure of the Cross, just as he had seen it, to be set in Gold upon the Imperial Standard, and then set forward and prosper'd. Now, whether either, or both of these Miracles have been wrought by designing Providence, or if they ought not to be rank'd among the pious Cheats of Church Mountebanks, I leave it to the more Curious to Examine. This is certain, *Constantine* overthrew *Maxentius*, and *Hungus* defeated *Athelstane*.

Hungus died some Years after this glorious Action, and his eldest Son *Dorstologus* ought to have succeeded to the Crown his Father had Honour'd by wearing it: But he was Murther'd, whether by the preposterous Ambition, or unbridl'd Lust of his Brother *Eganus*, is uncertain. For this last, to the Crimes of Usurpation and Parricide, added that of Incest. He compel'd *Brema* his Brother's Widow to enter his Bed, and call'd that Marriage, which was worse than Adultery. The Lady it seems was not to be forc'd into Love, she comply'd, but with a design to be soon rid of the hated Embraces. And accordingly, when the Tyrant was in Bed, she took her Opportunity and dispatcht him with her own Hands. Thus the Male Line of of the *Pictish* Kings fail'd in the Person of *Eganus*. Upon which, Prince *Alpine* the Son of *Achaius* claim'd the Crown in Right of his Mother *Fergusiana* the Sister of *Hungus*, and

Com-
mencement
of the Or-
der of St.
Andrew.

Hungus
the King of
the *Picts*
dies, and is
succeeded
by Tyrants
and Usur-
pers.

Y

Aunt

(a) Hist. of the *Picts* print. Edin 1706. (b) Belden his Titles of Honour p. 460. & 461. (c) Eusebius de vit. Constant. lib. 1. c. 29. (d) Hist. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 2. (e) Lib. 1. c. 3.

Aunt of the Murther'd Princes. His Title was unquestionable: Nevertheless the *Picts* set up an Usurper in his Room, for what Reason we know not, save that Prince *Alpine* was a *Scots-man*. As this was unjust, so it was impolitical to the highest Degree: For, had the *Picts* at that time acknowledg'd the lawful Heir, the two Nations henceforth united under one Sovereign, might have been happy at Home, and formidable Abroad. About this time *Egbert* King of the West *Saxons* in *South-Britain*, had either subdu'd the *Heptarchy*, and reduc'd all those petty States into one fair and potent Kingdom, or he had at least made great Advances to that purpose. Mr. *Echard* tells us, (a) that he was solemnly Crown'd King of all *Britain* in 828, (he means, of all *South-Britain*, to be sure,) and that by an Edict or Proclamation he commanded that the whole *Heptarchy*, now a Monarchy, should hereafter be call'd *Englond* or *England*, from the *Angles*, the most Numerous and Valiant of the three Nations, which came over with *Hengist*. This was a recent Example of the Uncertainty of War: One State had conquer'd Six, and one Prince had by Force of Arms possess'd himself of these Territories, which suffic'd not only to the Entertainment, but to the Grandeur of so many others his Equals. The *Picts*, if in their right Wits, would thereby have been warn'd of their own Danger; and they ought not by such a plain Act of injustice, to have drawn upon themselves the Arms of a neighbouring People, in Conjunction with whom, they had probably been able to have curb'd, or depress'd the Usurp'd, and consequently unsettl'd Power of the *English* Monarch. Besides, they could not but foresee that the Quarrel they engag'd in, must needs terminate, or in the Ruin of their whole Nation, or in the Extirpation of the whole Race of the *Scottish* Kings. Prince *Alpine* might be overthrown or cut off, but Prince *Alpine* had Children: And these down to the remotest Futurity, must needs preserve the inherent and unalienable Right of their Blood. The *Picts* were sufficiently aware of this, and therefore propos'd (b) nothing less than the Extermination of the *Scots* Nation and Name, as well as of the Race of their Kings.

A. D. 830.

King *Alpine* defeats the *Picts* and kills their King.

Alpine, now King of the *Scots*, by the unfortunate Death of his worthy Predecessor *Dongallus*, who having made great Preparations for the intended War, was Drown'd, as he was crossing the most rapid River of *Spey*: *Alpine*, I say, fought out, and found his Rival *Feredeth* (this was the Name of the *Pictish* Usurper) at *Restoneth* in the Plains of *Angus*. They fought with incredible Obstinacy from Morning till Night: Fatigue and Darknes put an end to the Reciprocal Slaughter; and it had remain'd a doubt who had the Day, but that *Feredeth* back'd by a Troop of the bravest Youth having pierc'd through the *Scottish* Ranks, was envelop'd and cut off. To him succeeded his Son *Brudus*, a Prince of no great Hopes, and of as little Performance. He took no care to put his Subjects in a Posture of Defence: And they harass'd by the Depredations made in their

Cou-

Country, and incens'd at the Negligence of their Master, mutiny'd and kill'd him. His Brother *Kenneth*, as he had the same Cowardliness in his Temper, so he had the like Fate. He came in view of the *Scots* Army, but their Aspect was too terrible to his dastardly Courage: He withdrew privately from the Camp: A Peasant, not knowing his Quality, upbraided his unmanly Retreat, and from Words proceeding to Blows, knock'd him down to the Ground, and left him for Dead. Upon this the *Picts* disbanded before the News could reach their Enemy. When at Home, they set up another *Brudus*, whose Valour deserv'd the Preferment, had he not accepted of it to the Prejudice of a juster Claim.

This Prince applied to the *English* for Succours, which says, *Buchanan* (a) were very readily promis'd; but when desir'd to perform, the *English* excus'd themselves, upon the Account of their domestick Broils. *Chambers* of *Ormond* (b) gives another Reason for this Breach of Promise on the *English* part: He tells us, that in Pursuance of the League made by *Charlemaign*, *Lewis* firnam'd the *Gracious*, King of *France*, and Emperor of *Rome*, dealt effectually with them to forbear giving Assistance against his Allies the *Scots*. Notwithstanding of this Disappointment, the *Picts* took the Fields in prodigious Numbers, no Body staying at Home that was able to carry Arms. They march'd straight to the *Scots* Camp, and engag'd near *Dundee*, with that Fury which was natural to both Nations, and was now sharpn'd by ancient Hatred, recent Anger, mutual Slaughters, and immense Dammages occasion'd by the present War. Uncertain Victory seem'd doubtful in whose Favour she was to declare; when a huge Multitude of Women and Boys that attended the *Pictish* Army, appear'd on the Top of the neighbouring Hills, and made a Shew as if they meant to fetch a Circuit, and fall on the Rear of the *Scots*. This daunted the Courage of these last, they fled and left their King *Alpine* a Prisoner in the Hands of his Enemy. *Brudus* made an inglorious Use of the noble Victory: He caus'd the King to be Slain, and his Head to be affix'd on a Pole and expos'd, some say, in the City of *Abernetby*, others in that of *Camelon*, to the Derision and Scorn of the insolent Rabble. The Village where King *Alpine* was beheaded, was henceforth call'd *Pas Alpine*, or *Mors Alpini*, now *Pittalpie*.

King *Alpine*
defeated
and kill'd by
the *Picts*.

Brudus liv'd not long after this, to enjoy the Fruits of his ignoble Parricide: I may call it so, since *Alpine* was really his Sovereign. *Drusken* succeeded to the *Pictish*, and *Kenneth* to the *Scottish* Crown: The first was animated by his Brother's late Success and his own Ambition; the second by the Equity of his Cause, his just Resentment and innate Courage. But the *Scots* discourag'd by their former Losses, could not easily be prevail'd upon to prosecute the War; yet it was beneath them to desire a Peace. The *Picts* on the other hand, had fallen out among themselves; so that, by the tacite Consent of both People, Hostilities ceas'd for the space of three

A. D. 834

Y 2

Years.

(a) Buchan. in vita Alp. (b) In the Life of Alp. p. 100, and the close of his History p. 229.

Years. All this while *Kenneth* sacrific'd his martial Inclination, to the Necessity of his Affairs, and the Advice of his Nobles. (a) But in the fourth Year of his Reign, he bethought himself of a Wile to rouse up their Spirits. 'Twas in vain to call a Council; he knew that they would not go heartily into his Measures: Therefore he pretended nothing but Divertisement and Mirth. In order to which, he invited the Chiefs of Clans and leading Men, to an Entertainment in his own Palace. Thither they came, and were Regal'd after the Fashion of these Times, courly perhaps, but plentifully. When Supper was ended; the Nobles were conducted to a spacious Room, where (such was the Simplicity or Barbarity of our yet uneffeminated Ancestors) they lay as each had a Mind; not upon twilted Matresses and Beds of Down, but on sweet smelling Heath, and green Herbs. The manly Exercises of the Day ascertain'd their Repose at Night, and healthful robust Nature stood in no need of those Superfluities, the Luxury, as well as Vanity, of degenerate after-Ages has made not only Modish, but Necessary. Whilst the Nobles slept, their King was awake: He appointed one of his Domesticks to Dress himself up in the Skins of dry Fishes. The Scales of these dispel Darknes, and emit such Rays of Light, as surpris and dazle the Eye. In one Hand he had a Rod of putrified Wood, which Shines with the same Lustre as the Scales of Fishes; and in the other, a large Horn artificially pierc'd from one Extremity to the other. In this Equipage did the Servant, steal in among the reposing Nobles, and setting the Horn to his Mouth, he cry'd aloud, *To Arms, to Arms; for such was the Pleasure of Almighty God.* The terrifying Voice awaken'd all those in the Room; it sounded like something more than Humane in their Ears; and their Eyes being at the same time surpris'd with the shining Light, they were struck with a sort of religious Terror. Their wonder was heightn'd, when the Servant withdrawing himself on a sudden, through a Passage to them unknown, the Vision seem'd to evanish in a Minute. The next Morning every one gave an Account of what had been seen and heard: And to be sure the Prodigy was not lessen'd by being much discours'd of. The King own'd he had had a Vision of the same kind. They conclude, that the Heavens had decreed the Destruction of their perfidious Enemy; and therefore unanimously prepar'd for a War, they thought themselves in Conscience oblig'd to renew.

Kenneth II.
engages his
Subjects to
make War
upon the
Picts by a
Stratageme.

Great Armies were soon drawn out on both Sides, and they no sooner came in view of one another, but they fell on with Fury. As they had long'd for the Opportunity; so now 'twas offer'd, they catch'd at it, without waiting for the Word of Command. Nor did they fight with less Ardour, than they had wish'd for an Opportunity of Fighting. But those Succours which prop'd the Hopes of the *Picts*, prov'd their Destruction. For the *English* Auxiliaries seeing that no Order was observ'd, and dreading the usual

(a) Boeth. Buchan. in vita Kenet. II.

usual Consequences of rash Confusion, withdrew from the Danger that threatn'd their Friends, and retreated to the adjacent Mountains. On the other side, that which added Fury to the *Scots*, and hasten'd their Victory, was the Watch-Word that went about among them: For every one to incense his Comrad, cry'd out, *Be mindful of Alpine*. The Memory of that excellent Prince his unfair Death inspir'd them with that Rage, that sav'd the scatter'd *English*, and Remains of the flying *Picts*. For the *Scots* were so intent upon Revenge, that they gave time to those to Escape, whilst they unmercifully Butcher'd such as fell in their Hands. The Consequence of this Battle was, that King *Kenneth* made himself Master of all the *Pictish* Territories by North the River of *Forth*. Upon this, Conditions of Peace were offer'd; but he would accept of none, but one, and that was, the Subjection of all the Rest.

He defeats
the *Picts*.

The succeeding Campaign compleated his Wishes: For *Drusken* drew together the whole Strength of the Nation, march'd over the *Forth* at *Stirling*, and encamp'd on the Banks of *Tay* near *Scodn*. 'Twas not long before the *Scots* came up with them. And here again a Treaty was set on Foot, but in vain: *Kenneth* insisted upon his Title to the whole, and the *Picts* would yield but that Part they had already lost. Since nothing but Force of Arms could decide the Controversy, Necessity brought on a Battle: And the *Picts* knowing that now their last Stake was to be win or lost, exerted their utmost Vigour. Nevertheless, they were put to the Rout; but being animated by the Presence and Speeches of their King, they rally'd no less than seven Times in one Day, and were as often defeated by the relentless *Scots*. At last they fled to the *Tay*, and there *Drusken*, not being able to get over the River, was kill'd, and with him all his Nobles. After this, nothing but Walls and Fortresses could withstand the pursuing Conqueror. He subjected the whole Country, as fast as his Army could march through it. The City of *Camelon* is said to have made a long and noble Defence; but after four Months Siege was taken by Storm: And the remanent Fortresses, particularly the Castle of *Edinburgh*, were deserted by the Garrisons, who, having no Hopes of Relief, made the best of their way to *Northumberland* and elsewhere. Great numbers of the surviving Inhabitants of the conquer'd Countries did the like. And thus ended the *Pictish* Kingdom in *Britain*, in the Year of our Lord 839, about 49 Years after the offensive and defensive League was concluded between the *Scots* and *French*; 389 since the *Britains* were made Tributaries to the *Scots* and *Picts*; 417 since the Restoration of the *Scots* Monarchy; and 1168 since its first Foundation in *Albion*.

Proposals
of Peace re-
jected by
him.

He gains
several Vi-
ctories.

Conquers
the *Pictish*
Kingdom.

A. D. 839

T H E

Life of Fergus II.

T H E

Fortieth King of Scotland.

ALL Historians agree in the Accounts they give of King *Fergus* II. his royal Parentage, and undoubted Right to the *Scottish* Crown; but they differ in this. Some say (*a*) that he was born in *Denmark*, and that his Mother was a *Danish* Lady, call'd *Rocha*, who had been married to *Erth*, Nephew of the late *Scots* King *Eugene*. Others (*b*) tell us, that this Prince having been kill'd by the *Romans*, as I have elsewhere related; and his Subjects being afterwards expel'd from their Country, his Brother *Echadius*, or *Ethodius*, was involv'd in the common Calamity; and therefore purchas'd or seisd a Vessel, and taking along with him his Son *Erth*, and his Grandchild *Fergus*, he set sail: And trusting these, the only Remains of that Royal and Brave, tho sometimes unfortunate Family, which After-ages have seen more than once in the like Danger, to the Winds and Waves, he chanc'd (for Chance, or, to speak more piously, Providence must now determine his Fate) to land in *Denmark*. If so, King *Fergus* ow'd his Birth, as well as Blood, to *Scotland*; and was an Exile but about twenty seven Years: Too long a Time for Usurpation to thrive, and Right to be banish'd.

This is the Opinion of *Buchanan*, (*c*) who tells us from the not much differing Computations of the *Black Book* of *Paisly* and some others, that as the *Scots* were Expel'd in the Year 377, so they were Restor'd in 403, or 404. For my part, I have reckon'd otherwise, with *Boethius*, *Elphinston*, *Lefly*, *Chambers*, *Turner* and others; who from their more ancient Vouchers, particularly *Verimund* cited by *Boethius*, (*d*) do not date the Re-establishment of the Monarchy, till about the Year 422, and consequently allow that Interval of Time that past between its Dissolution and Restoration, to have lasted no less than forty four Years. This, I take it, is no material Difference, considering the vast Distance of Time, and general Mistakes of, or Controversies that arise among Chronologers of all Nations and Ages: For what was true in *Plutarch's* Time remains still so: *Thousands have*

His Parentage certain, the Place of his Birth uncertain.

How long the Scots Monarchy continu'd solv'd certain.

(a) Lefl. in vita Eugen. I. sub fin. Chamber. dans la vie-d' Eugen. Boeth. l. 7. p. 114. (b) Buchan. ad init. v. (c) Euchan. in vita Ferg. II. (d) Boeth. lib. 7. p. 114.

have endeavour'd to regulate some Chronological Canons, and yet to this day could never bring the differing Opinions to any Agreement.

This shews how far Mr. Kennedy (a) is out, when from a trifling Uncertainty of this kind, he would render Uncertain those Matters of Fact, concerning which all our Historians are agreed. He is, as wide from the Mark, when he tells us, that according to the Computations above mention'd, *The heroick Actions of Stilicho in rescuing Britain from sinking, must have fallen out within the Time the Scotch Writers pretend their Sovereignty was dissolv'd.* And concludes, that *this totally subverts Sir George Mackenzie's vain System, who from the following Verses of Claudian, proves the Scots were then a settl'd Nation in Albany.* Dr. Kennedy refuted.

— maduerunt Saxone fuso
Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule,
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

And,

*Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit,
Munivit Stilicho, totam cum Scotus Iernen
Movit, & infesto spumavit remige Tethys.*

Sir George is in the Right: For he says not, that the Scots were then a settl'd Nation; but that what is said here and elsewhere to the same purpose, is only applicable to the *Albin Scots*, and that upon a double Score. First, because he supposes, and had by other Arguments prov'd the Scots to have been settl'd in *Albion* long before this time; and consequently concluded, that they were the People chiefly concern'd in those Battles which are own'd to have been fought in the Isle. And in the next place, because we nowhere Read, that ever the Romans invaded *Ireland*, or wag'd War with the *Irish* as a Nation. Their own Writers make no mention of any such War. There's no Roman Coin to be found, no Roman Camps to be seen, no Vestiges of Roman Monuments to be discover'd in *Ireland*: Nevertheless 'tis true, that in that very Period of Time, when the Scots Monarchy was dissolv'd, Verses of Claudian only applicable to the *Albin Scots*.
The Romans never invaded *Ireland*.

Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

For 'tis own'd, as I have from Scots Authors already related, that some Thousands of *Irish* Adventurers, Volunteers, or others, whether Authoriz'd by their then Government or no, I cannot tell, did come over and assist the exil'd Scots, in some Attempts they made towards their Restoration. Besides, 'tis probable, that the repeated Losses of the *Albin Scots*, who in great Numbers had retir'd to *Ireland*, were such as made them to be regrated in that Country. The Scots attempt their Restoration during the time of their Exile, and were defeated by *Stilicho*.

Thus far am I willing to indulge the Vanity of an Author, who from chimerical Conjectures, fabulous Legends, and musty Manuscripts that have not yet seen the light of Day, and perhaps had never a Being, but in forging Fancy, presumes to the Detriment of a Neighbour Nation to give the Lie to Men and Authors of establish'd Reputation and Honour: Tho, to tell the Truth, I am not of Opinion, that the word *Ierne*, as here plac'd, is to be understood of *Ireland*, properly so call'd: For there's a Country in *Scotland* call'd *Jerna*, near to which the *Romans* had a noble Camp, as is plain from the Vestiges yet extant, and the Stones which are daily found, with *Roman* Inscriptions designing the Stations of their Legions. And the Epithet *Glacialis* is certainly more applicable to *Strathern*, where the Frost is strong and continues long, than to the more moderate Climate of *Ireland*. So that 'tis probable, that the *Scots* dispers'd through *Norway*, *Denmark*, and others the Mother-Countries of the *Saxons*, may have gather'd together: And being assisted by *Saxon* Adventurers, a People then beginning to be famous for Exploits of this kind, landed in or near the Islands of *Orkney*, and were defeated by *Stilicho* or his Lieutenants in *Strathern*. And thus, without having Recourse to the *Irish*, who before that time had been repuls'd by, and made Peace with *Maximus*, 'twill be literally true, that

A Roman
Camp in
Strathern.

— *mauerunt Saxone fuso*
Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule,
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Jerne.

In the mean Time, Prince *Fergus* finding that the Endeavours of his Subjects and *Saxon* Friends, as well as those of the new revolted *Picts* (I have elsewhere told for what Reasons they did revolt,) were not like to be succesful in *Britain*, resolv'd nevertheless, (a) to seek out all means of depressing the *Roman* Power, and by consequence of regaining his own. With this View he left the *Danish* Court, and follow'd the *Francs* in one of their Attempts upon *Gaul*. They fail'd of Success that time, and he was oblig'd to wait another Opportunity. He got it ere 'twas long. *Alarick* was upon his March to *Italy*: Thither he went, equally desirous of Honour and Revenge. He attain'd to both; for he had the pleasure to see *Rome* taken and sack'd, and, which was more, to be a main Instrument in promoting its Ruin. For *Alarick* is said to have trusted him with no small Command in the Army, and to have sent him over upon the Head of a Detachment to *Sicily*. But this Expedition did not succeed, by reason of a Tempest that destroy'd some of his Ships, and oblig'd him to return to *Italy* with the Remainder.

Fergus
leaves *Den-*
mark, and
follows the
Francs into
Gaul.
Goes vvith
Alarick
King of the
Goths to *Italy*

Is at the
taking of
Rome.

Is honour'd
by *Audolphus*
His great
Reputation.

He had the like Honour confer'd upon him by *Audolphus*, who succeeded to *Alarick* in the *Gothick* Throne. And now his Reputation was establish'd every where, and he was accounted one of the bravest

(a) Buchan. Less. Boeth. &c. in vit. Fergus.

bravest Princes in the World. The Hopes of his long suffering Subjects began to revive. The *Picts* almost equally Distress'd, look'd on him as a Deliverer destin'd by Heaven to retrieve their Losses. They invited him back to his Dominions, and the Foreign Princes, with whom he had been Conversant in the Wars, were all willing to assist in the Restoration of an injur'd Monarch, they could not but Pity; and the rather, because they knew he merited not the Male-treatment he met with.

He is invited home to Scotland.

The King of *Denmark*, in whose Court he had been Educated, supply'd him with Shipping; and a great many of the *Danish* Nation thought fit to venture their Persons upon his Fortune. His Friends in *Ireland*, and the adjacent Islands, were by fit Agents pre-advertis'd of his intended Return, and they sail'd not to attend him in great Numbers, how soon he Landed. Some were act'd with Principles of Loyalty, others by hopes of Gain, and all, or most part, by the promising Aspect of a new Revolution. The ancient Alliance with the *Picts* was instantly renew'd, and the *South-Britains*, who attempted to impede it, and to perpetuate the Breach, were themselves divided into two Factions. The one continu'd to favour the *Roman* Interest, which they consider'd as their own; and they could not but think that Government lawful, under which they and their Ancestors had liv'd for some hundreds of Years by-past. To it they ow'd their noble Cities, stately Edifices, amazing High ways, delicious Baths, impregnable Fortresses; as also their Learning, Eloquence, Civility, Manners, Arts, Laws, Religion; together with such Plenty, and so long a Peace, that their Bodies were enervated with Pleasures, and their Minds debauch'd by Security and Ease. They therefore concluded themselves by Honour, Gratitude, Interest, Duty and Conscience oblig'd to continue their Allegiance to their Righteous, tho' Foreign Masters. T'other Faction talk'd big of Liberty, as if Liberty could be wanting, where all the Pleasures and Necessaries of Life abounded. They complain'd with more Reason, that of late their Country had been left Naked, and was exhausted of its bravest Youth, by the succeeding Usurpations of their Governour *Maximus*, and Creature *Constantine*: And to remedy this Evil, they judg'd it convenient to bring on a greater. *Dionethus*, a Noble *Britain*, was upon the Head of this last Party, and he to remove the Mischief's Usurpation had occasion'd, Usurp'd in his Turn, and assuming the Purple, call'd himself King.

Lands in Scotland.

Is well-com'd by the Scots and Picts.

The Britains divided among themselves.

Dionethus makes himself King of Britain.

The War commenc'd by King *Fergus* against the *Romans* was undoubtedly Just and Pious: He had all the reason in the World to attempt the Recovery of of his own Inheritance. In order to which, as well as for Reparation of Damages sustain'd, 'twas necessary to invade his Enemy's Territories; and lawful to Conquer, if he could. To compass this end, how far he might be allow'd to join his Arms with those of a Rebel, I shall not determine: 'Twas certainly good Policy, and Politicians are seldom found to let Op-

Fergus and *Dionethus* enter into a League.

portunities slip, because Conscience opposes. Perhaps this Prince, who was otherwise a sincere Christian, tho' educated among Heathens, had Divines about him, who *thought it lawful to pursue a good Cause, tho' by Means otherwise unlawful.* However, 'tis certain, that *Fergus* improv'd the Opportunity: He not only recover'd his own Kingdom by Dint of Sword, but, in Conjunction with the revolted *Picts* and *Rebellious Britains*, over-ran a great part of the *Roman* Province: And tho' in the End he chanc'd to fall in the Field of Battle, yet he left his Subjects so spirited with Resolution, and his Enemies in such a dastardly and broken Condition, that they afterwards became a Prey to his Son *Eugene II.* and render'd themselves Tributaries to the Scepter he had Sway'd.

Fergus recovers his Kingdom.

Over-runs Britain.

Crown'd King in the Marble Chair.

Prosecutes the War.

His Piety.

Encourages Learning.

Makes the Scots a Nation.

Is compar'd with *Dido* and others the founders of States.

Immediately after his Landing in the Firth of *Murray*, he march'd to *Argyle*, where it seems the fatal Chair of Marble, said to have been brought by *Fergus I.* from *Ireland*, was still preserv'd. He plac'd himself in it, and was Crown'd with the usual Ceremonies. This done, he set himself to the Prosecution of the War: And while free from the Hurry and Confusion of Arms, he divided the Lands he had conquer'd among his ancient Subjects, and those Strangers that had follow'd him. The Churches that were ruin'd or defac'd, he caus'd to be repair'd, restor'd the Church-men to their Livings; and in the Isle *Jona* or *Icolmkill*, erected a Religious House, with a stately Church, where afterwards his Successors were buried, and a Library furnish'd with many valuable Books; which Historians say, (a) he receiv'd from the Barbarous Souldiers at the sacking of *Rome*, and took care to preserve for the Encouragement of Learning, and Advancement of Religion in his Country. To be short, he re-order'd all things according to the ancient Form and Constitution of Government, both in Church and State. He might have done otherwise: For as 'twas in his Power, so he had Right to prescribe such Laws, and establish such a Form of Government as he pleas'd. Had he not been King by his Birth, he had made himself so, or rather God Almighty, by whom Kings reign, had rais'd him to be his Vicegerent. Sure, those vagrant, helpless, hungry Adventurers, who by him were gather'd, united, supported, and made a People, were in all Respects oblig'd to receive, and in no one had the least shadow of Pretence to give Laws. What *Virgil* said of Queen *Dido*, as 'tis by Sir *Thomas Craig* (b) most judiciously apply'd to the first Founders of all Monarchies, so 'tis applicable in a peculiar manner to the Restorer of the *Scottish*:

*His commota fugam Dido, sociosque parabat:
Conveniunt, quibus aut odium crudele Tyranni,
Aut metus acer erat; naves quæ forte paratæ.
Corripunt, onerantque auro, dux fœmina facti.*

Mov'd

(a) Bosth. in vit. Fergus. II. Spotiswood p. 6. (b) Craig. of the Succession. Book 1. Chap. 17.

Mov'd by these things, her trusty Friends unite;
 And join with *Dido*, and assist her flight :
 Some mov'd with Fear, and some inflam'd with Hate,
 With weighty Gold a ready Fleet they freight :
 Off goes *Pigmalion's Hope*, a Woman's Mind
 That gallant Act and brave Revenge design'd.

The People then follow her, adds Sir Thomas, but pray what People? Even such as those that follow'd this King; I mean, such as could not live in their Country for Tyranny and Oppression. But if we would know, whether the People gave Laws to their Queen, or the Queen gave Laws to the People, we may be clearly resolv'd in that Point out of the same Book: For Dido, as Virgil says,

*Septa armis, solioque alte subnixâ refedit,
 Fura dabat, legesque viris, operumque laborem
 Partibus aquabat justis, aut sorte trabebar.*

Beset with Guards, she took the lofty Throne,
 Intent on Strength and growing Empires, thence
 Her Orders right and equal Laws dispense.
 Her prudent Cares their proper Tasks impose,
 And each his Duty and Employment knows.

Æneas restor'd the Kingdom of the Trojans, or rather rear'd up a new Kingdom in Italy, as Fergus did in Britain. Did either get their Right and Empire from the People? Virgil answers plainly in the Negative, for says he, speaking in the Person of Æneas,

*Atque hic ingentem comitum affluxisse novorum
 Invenio admirans numerum: matresque virosque,
 Collectam exilio pubem, miserabile vulgus
 Undique convenere animis opibusque parati,
 In quascunque velim pelago deducere terras.*

And here, I with a strange Amazement found
 My former Crew with vast Accessions crown'd,
 Husbands and Wives, and helpless Infants fled,
 A wretched Mob by common Dangers led :
 Each ready with his Heart and small Estate,
 O're Lands and Oceans to attend my Fate.

And above, speaking of the Erecting of that Kingdom,

*Bellum ingens geret Italia, populosque feroces
 Contundet, moresque viris & mœnia ponet.*

He'll wage great Wars in *Italy*, subdue
Fierce Tribes, and give them Laws and Cities new.

And elsewhere,

Æneadaſque meo nomen de nomine ſingo.

And then for them a proper Title frame,
And them *Æneans* from *Æneas* Name.

Romulus did the like ;

*Romulus accipiet gentem, & Mavortia condet
Mœnia Romanosque ſuo de nomine dicet.*

—Thence *Romulus* ſhall take
A ſtout Brigade, and *Aiba's* Walls forſake,
Build a new martial Fortreſs, and proclaim
Them *Romans* from his own immortal Name.

In all theſe Inſtances, 'tis plain, that the People were made by, and receiv'd Laws from the Author of their Being, the King; and the King was not made ſuch, nor did he receive Laws from the People. Sir *Thomas* goes on, and proves at large, that this is equally true, with reference to *Hengiſt* the firſt Commander and Sovereign of the *Engliſh Saxons* in *Britain*; to *Rollo* another Founder of the *Engliſh* or *Norman* Kingdom; to his Succeſſor *William* the Conqueror of *England*; to *Pharamond* who gave a Being to the *French* Monarchy; to *Pelagius* the firſt King of *Gallicia* and *Aſturia*; to *Garcias Ximenes* firſt King of *Navarre*; to *Henry* of *Lorraine*, firſt King of *Portugal*; to *Robert Guiscard* firſt King of *Naples* and *Sicily*: And in a word, to all the Founders and Reſtorers of States and Monarchies we read of, either in ſacred or prophane *Hiſtory*.

If this is true of all, it cannot be falſe of our King *Fergus* II. as well as I. Nay *Buchanan* is of Opinion, that the II. is preferable in this; that the former poſſeſs'd himſelf of Lands almoſt deſart, and that too with Conſent of the neighbouring *Picts*: And that he had not to do with the victorious *Romans*, but only with the *Britains*; a People not much ſuperior in Means, and by much inferior to his own Subjects in the Exercise of, and Labour annex'd to War: Whereas, this Prince had almoſt inſurmountable Difficulties to Conquer: His Subjects numbers were leſſen'd, and their Spirits broken by their preceeding Loſſes. He had been Educated, ſome ſay, Born in a foreign Soil; conſequently was unacquainted with his Country-Men: His Army was compos'd of a confus'd Multitude of different Nations: And to ſumm up all in a word, he had to do with the *Romans*. 'Tis true, that Providence, that had inspir'd the

Reſo-

Resolution, took care at the same time to predispose the Means of his Success by innumerable favouring Circumstances: Had not these concurr'd to his Restoration, the very Attempt had been accounted an Effect of Madness. However, as he had the Courage to Dare, so he had the Wit to Nick the Opportunity. His Education in the Wars abroad taught him, no doubt, the Arts of War: And we have reason to believe, that the Air and Conversation of Christian Italy, preserv'd his Religion entire, notwithstanding his Dependence on the *Arian Goths* and *Pagan Danes*. To the same Conversation he was indebted for his good Manners, and Love of Letters and learn'd Men. 'Tis certain, that there was a noble Library at *Icolmkill*: *Boethius* (a) in the Year 1525, had several most ancient Fragments of Books, written in the *Latin Tongue* concerning the *Roman Affairs*, and of an excellent Character, transmitted from thence to him. 'Twas generally reported, that *Fergus* had brought these along with him from *Rome*: And *Aeneas Silvius*, afterwards Pope *Pius II.* while here in *Scotland* in the Reign of King *James I.* being told the Story, resolv'd to have gone to the *Western Islands*, in order to discover the Truth; and particularly to enquire, whether the lost Books of *Titus Livius* might not be recover'd from thence. But *Boethius* says, that those Fragments he saw, had more of the Style of *Salsust* than of *Livy*. 'Tis a pity that the valuable Treasure, so I call the very Fragments of *Roman Books*, which this Prince is said to have rescu'd from early Destruction, should have since perish'd through the Iniquities of the Times, or Negligence of the Keepers of that Library.

Library of Icolmkill.

King *Fergus* was kill'd in the sixteenth Year after his Restoration: He left behind him three Sons, as yet in their Nonage; *Eugene*, who afterwards very nigh equal'd his Father's Glories, *Dongard*, who degenerated from neither, and *Constantius*. Mr. *Johnston* celebrates his Praises in this Manner.

King Fergus kill'd.

His Posterity.

*Fata manu gestans patriæ, domitorque minacis
Fortuna, antiquum suscitât imperium.
Ignea quid possit virtus, quid vivida bello
Dextera, Mars quoties misit in arma viros,
Novit Arar, Rhodanus, pugnae & Francia, & audax
Cimber, & armiferi Teutonis ora soli:
Romulidum stupuere duces, stupuere cohortes,
Et fusi bellis Brittones ante tribus.
Vincere pro patria, aut vinci virtute decorum:
'Dulci pro patria prodigit ergo animam.*

His Praise celebrated by Mr. Johnston.

And again,

*Nulli animis, nullique ausis, nec Marte secundus,
Nec tibi, Fergusi magne, secundus eram.
Cedunt fata tibi, imperii tu maximus auctor,
Invitis fatis, conditor alter ego.*

B b

THE

T H E

Life of Aidan

T H E

Forty ninth King of Scotland.

AIDAN, one of the Best and Bravest of those many excellent Kings that have sway'd the *Scottish* Scepter, was the Son of a Father, whose austere Vertue and exemplary Justice gave occasion to a wicked Few (for great Vertues may be unseasonable, and are ever odious to the Licentious) to deprive him of his Life, and endanger the Succession of his righteous Heir. Historians generally say, that he was cut off by the Rage of those, who after having dispatch'd his Minister, or Lord Chief Justice, *Toncetius*, for no other Reason, but because this last did his Duty, that is, suppress'd Vice, and executed Justice, could look for impunity from nothing else, but the Murder of their Prince, and that they effected it, to the great Grief of all honest or thinking Men.

King Aidan the Son of King Goranus.

King Goranus Murder'd.

Buchanan differs a little from all, or most other Writers, in his way of telling the Story: Who has been his Voucher I know not, but 'tis probable, he thought that Rebellion is ever attended by some Provocation given, or Justice done; if not by the Sovereign, at least by his Officers; and that the oppress'd King is still more or less Faulty, and the rebelling Subject in some measure Excusable. He acknowledges, "That *Goranus* (this was the Name of the injur'd Prince) Govern'd the Kingdom with great Justice and Piety. That he protected the Weakness of the Poor, curb'd the Licentiousness of the Rich, put the Laws in Execution, follow'd the Examples of his best Predecessors, and was himself a Pattern to his Successors. That besides, he was Resolute and Brave, that by the way of Negotiation he reconcil'd the *Pictish* King *Lothus* with the Christian *Britains*, united their unanimous Forces against their common Enemy the Pagan *Saxons*: Was a considerable Sharer in all the Glories of the famous *Arthur*, while *Arthur* continu'd just and faithful; and when injurious to his Kindred, and a plain Violator of the most solemn Treaties and Constitution of his Country; That then, and not till then, *Goranus* became a principal Author of his Depression and Fall: But, that notwithstanding all these remarkable Actions and noted Qualifications, he had a cruel and covetous Minister *Toncetius*, who acted as Lord Chief Justice un-

der

“ der him. That this Man having gain'd the King's Favour, by in-
 “ venting means of raising his Revenues, and filling the Exche-
 “ quer, and therefore secure of Impunity, made bold with the
 “ Lives and Fortunes of the Wealthy, whom he treated most out-
 “ ragiouſly. That the People thereby incens'd, could not get eaſy
 “ Acceſs to their ag'd and valetudinary Sovereign: And tho they
 “ could, that their Addreſſes and Complaints, becauſe made againſt
 “ a Favorite, were diſregarded. That for this Reaſon they kill'd
 “ *Toncetus* in a Tumult: And that afterwards, when in cold Blood,
 “ they began to reflect on the Crime in which they were invol'd,
 “ they deſpair'd of Pardon, and ſo turn'd their Hatred and Animo-
 “ ſity againſt the Perſon of the King, whom they alſo diſpatch'd,
 “ being by one *Donald* encourag'd to the Fact, and let in to the
 “ Palace.

Thus 'tis plain, that the ugliest of Faces may be colour'd with
 Varnish, and the worſt of Villanies palliated or leſſen'd by a ſeem-
 ing Excuse. Here the Rich were Oppreſt by an Avaricious Favo-
 rite. The People, that is, the Poor, reſent this: Notwithſtanding
 'tis own'd, they were by the Sovereign Power protect'd from In-
 jury. What ſhall the angry People do? Adreſs the King for Re-
 dress of the inſufferable Abuse. But he was ſickly, and well ſtruck
 in Years, beſides, he was perſwaded by the Artifices of his Favo-
 rite, that the Commons had no reaſon to complain, becauſe the
 Nobles durſt not invade their Rights. They're enrag'd upon this
 (Had they not Reaſon?) and ſo fall foul upon the King's Officer
 and kill him. But then, when they return to their right Wits,
 and begin to think, they politically, and in cold Blood, reſolve u-
 pon diſpatching the King himſelf; that ſo, by means of a Parricide,
 they may evade the Punishment that was due to Rebellion and
 Murther.

Eugene III. the Son of *Congallus*, ſucceeded in the Throne, but
 took no Care, notwithstanding he was much urg'd to it by the
 Loyal Subjects, to have the Parricides try'd and executed according
 to Juſtice and Law. Nay, he admitted the villainous *Donall* into
 his Favour, and kept him about his Perſon. This was no mighty
 Wonder, their Crime had made him a King: And his After-reign
 was ſuch, as convinc'd the World, that tho he may not have been
 over-griev'd at the Cauſe of his Preferment, yet he could not rea-
 ſonably be thought to have contriv'd or countenanc'd the Thing.
 Nevertheless, he was ſhrewdly ſuſpected, becauſe of his Remiſſneſs
 in proſecuting the real Authors and Abettors of ſuch a Crime: And
 if he himſelf was not guilty of the Sin of Commiſſion in this Caſe,
 ſure none can offer to free him from that, at leaſt, of Omiſſion;
 which, tho a leſſer, was ſtill a moſt crying piece of Iniquity, and
 was accordingly conſider'd as ſuch.

Eugene III.
 ſuſpected of
 the Murther
 of his Prede-
 ceſſor.

The Widow of *Goranus* took the Alarm, and fearing, with Reaſon,
 that theſe Traitors who had embru'd their Hands in the Father's Blood,
 might for their further Security proceed to the like Outrages againſt

*Aidan con-
voy'd to Ire-
land in his
Infancy.*

*Congallus
an excellent
King.
A. D. 568.*

his Children, she fled with them to *Ireland*. Thus *Aidan*, as yet an Infant, was compel'd to take Sanctuary in a foreign Soil, where he liv'd, and for his growing Vertues was admir'd, during the whole Reign of *Eugene*, which lasted full twenty three Years. All this time we read of no Attempts that were made towards his Restoration: The Reason is obvious, for *Eugene* by the then Custom or Law, was, as being the nearest in Blood to the Infant Heir, the reputed Righteous and legal King. To him succeeded his Brother *Congallus*, a Prince, says *Buchanan* (a) " Whose Memory, for the Eminency of his Vertues, ought to be Sacred and Venerable to all succeeding Generations: For, besides his Equity in the Administration of Justice, and his invincible Mind that was proof against all Incitements to Avarice; his Sobriety and Moderation was such, that he vy'd even with the Monks, a Set of Religious Men, who in those Days observ'd a most strict Discipline. This Character he deserv'd the rather, because he was easily prevail'd upon, by Nature as well as Grace, to recall his exil'd Kindred, in Order to their Restoration to that Throne their Father had sat on.

*A. D. 578.
Kinnatellus
made King.*

Columba, then a Bishop, afterwards Sainted, and by all acknowledged to have been an eminent Pillar of the *Scottish*; as well as *Irish* and *British* Churches, was sent to *Ireland* (b) on the agreeable Errand, but ere he return'd the King was Dead, and his Brother *Kinnatellus* was plac'd in his Room. This unforeseen Accident put *Columba* to a stand. If he should remit the Royal Children, he fear'd *Kinnatellus* might interpret that piece of Conduct to proceed, as it really did, from Distrust of his Equity and Affection towards those Relations, who being now of Age, should have been prefer'd to his remoter Claim. On the other hand, it was unsafe to go on, and not improbable, but the same Ambition that made *Kinnatellus* so forward to catch at the Opportunity of being made King, might also prompt him to make away with those Successors, by whom his own Offspring was fairly precluded. Yet *Columba* resolv'd to hold forward, and accordingly came and boldly presented his Pupils to the King. They were, contrary to Expectation, receiv'd with open Arms, and all those Demonstrations of Tenderness that are usually shew'n between near Relations after a long Absence. The King did more: He gave present Assurances of his Disposition to do them Justice, and told *Aidan*, that ere long he would put him in the actual Possession of his Birth-right. He was as good as his Word, for henceforth he made him his Co-partner in Power, trusted him with the Management of Affairs, and only reserv'd to himself the Title of King: And that he likewise laid down together, with his Life, not full fifteen Months after he had assum'd it. A rare Example of Moderation, Justice and Naturality; and such, as but few, and those the very best of Princes had given before, or have since imitated.

*Makes
Aidan his
Co-partner
in the Go-
vernment.*

No

(a) In vit. Congall. (b) Spottiswood lib. 1. p. 9. & 10.

No body could question *Aidan's* Title to the Succession: Nevertheless, if we can give any Credit to the Writings of *Adamannus*, (a) (who is certainly the oldest *Scots* Historian now extant: Besides, he is own'd (b) to have been a solid judicious Man, a Lover of Religion and Peace, Pious beyond the common reach of Mankind; and at the same Time, a great Admirer of the Monastick Life; for which Reason, as he wrote, so he too easily gave Credit to miraculous Legends: If I say, we may believe one of this Character;) *Columb*, as great a Saint as he is said to have been, (c) had conceiv'd, I know not what a partial sort of liking for *Jogenanus* the younger Brother, whom, if his Inclination could have prevail'd, he had prefer'd to the Crown, instead of the elder Brother *Aidan*. No doubt, this Byas of his Mind had some plausible Pretence: But he came to be undeceiv'd in this strange manner. I shall translate *Adamannus's* words: " Whilst the Holy Man, says he, was in the Island *Himbria*, he fell " one Night into an Extasy, and perceiv'd an Angel of the Lord " with a Book in his Hand. (He calls it *Vitreus ordinationis Regum liber*) The Book was presented to him by the Angel, and after " Perusal, he found, that he was commanded to ordain *Aidan* King. " But he was more in Love with his Brother, and therefore declin'd the Province. Upon this the Angel extended his Hand, " and gave him a Blow, and the Impression made thereby on his " Side was visible while he liv'd. He was threatn'd with greater " Severity, unless he instantly comply'd with the Pleasure of Almighty " God. He had the same Vision, saw the same Book, and receiv'd Orders to the same purpose three Nights successively. He " Obey'd at last, went to the Island of *Jona* or *Hy*, and there " meeting with *Aidan*, put his Hand on his Head, and ordain'd " him King.

Aidan
succeed'd to
the Crown.

Is consecrated King
by St. *Columbus*.

I have a double Reason to relate this Legendary Story: The first is, because it is no less credible than those reported by the *French* and *English*, with reference to the Anointing of their respective Kings. The first say, (d) That a Dove was sent from Heaven to *St. Remy*, with the *Sainte Ampoull*, that is, a Viol full of Oyl: And that the Saint, in Obedience to the Command receiv'd, anointed King *Clovis* I. with this Oyl; which, tho it has serv'd to the anointing of all the Kings of *France* from that Time, yet is not at all wasted, nor so much as diminish'd to this Day. If so, we must acknowledge, that the Kings of *France* have been Anointed about 94 Years before this Ceremony was introduc'd in *Scotland*; for *Clovis* began his Reign in the Year 485. and *Aidan* not till 579. But then in this Point we have the Precedency of the *English* by very far. These last tell us, (d) that The Bless'd *Virgin* gave to *Thomas Archbishop* of *Canterbury*, (being in Banishment under *Henry II.*) a Golden Eagle full of precious Oyl, inclos'd in a Stone Vessel, commanding him to preserve it for Anointing of

C e

(a) Dr. Mackenzie in his *Life of Adamannus* vol. 1. p. 356. (b) Mackenzie *ibid.* & *Spotiswood* lib. 1. p. 19. *Alcuin* in *Bib. Bertin.* poem. 246. (c) *Adamannus's* *vit. St. Columb.* lib. 3. c. 5. Dr. Mackenzie *loco cit.* Selden's *Titles of Honour*, 1 Part, p. 118 (d) Selden *ut supra.*

the English Kings. This King Henry was Crown'd in the Year 1154; a great Length of Time after the Scots Aidan. I believe none will think that I mean to beget Credit to any of these Stories from the refin'd Age I write in. Nevertheless (a) both the Kings of France and England, as also those of Jerusalem and Sicily, have valu'd themselves upon their being Anointed, and the *Quatuor Uncti* (so these last four were commonly design'd) pretended, to, I know not what; Priviledges or Pre-eminence above all others, who, by the old *Provinciale Romanum*, were not dignify'd with that Honour. But, under Favour, they were in a Mistake: Most if not all Christian Kings have been Anointed as well as they, and the Kings of Scotland among the earliest, as is plain from the above mention'd *Adamannus*. He gives us a Legend 'tis true, but this very Legend proves the Antiquity of the Custom that had obtain'd before his Time; and he was born in the Year 624. 'Tis also true, that whether the then Kings were Consecrated or Anointed with Oyl, or otherwise, it appears not from the express Words of the Story: Yet, as *Selden* very well observes, *Because it belongs to the Matter of Inauguration of Kings in Scotland, it may be interpreted for Anointing among the rest.* And certainly there was a Ceremonial, for regal Benediction or Ordination, us'd in those Days, whether deliver'd by an Angel, or by credulous Imagination to St. Columba, I do not determine; *Let every Man's Faith in these things be, for me, at his own Pleasure,* says the eminently Learn'd and Judicious *Selden*, and so say I.

Here forms Abuses.

Suppresses a Rebellion.

Aidan now Crown'd, and by Columba Anointed or Consecrated King, began to give early Proofs of that Skill he was so much Master of, in governing the People. In order to a thorough Reformation of Abuses, (b) he Visited (as his Ancestors were wont to do, and I humbly think all Kings should) all the Provinces of his Kingdom; and in Galloway, Cathness, and Lochaber settl'd Courts for the future Administration of Justice. To these the Neighbouring People resorted with conveniency and Ease, and with Equity, Plenty and Peace continu'd to flourish. Galloway was at that time infested with Robbers, and these stubborn, arm'd, and numerous: They had set themselves above the Law, and would submit to nothing but Force. The King march'd against them in Person, beat them, seis'd, and put to Death their Leaders. And thus all things were brought to Order. The Commonalty liv'd secure at Home, and the Gentry had Leisure to divert their Minds, and exercis'd their Bodies with the noble Divertisements of Hunting and Sport. Several Matches were made to that Purpose; and at one of them an Accident fell out, that was follow'd by fatal Consequences. They Quarrel'd, I cannot tell for what, and as *Scots-mens* Quarrels are seldom terminated without Blood-shed, or Attempts to that Effect; so this one occasion'd a great Slaughter. The Authors of it dreading the Rigour of Law, (for they knew that the King was a severe Administrator of Justice) fled for Protection to *Brudeus* the King of

(a) Selden ut supra. (b) *Scriptores XX. Oxon. edit. p. 638.*

of the *Picts*. *Aidan*. re-demanded his Subjects, conform to the Conditions of a League enter'd into by both Nations. His Request was put off by Delays for some time ; and at last flatly rejected. The *Scots* King could not sit down with the Affront. He threatn'd and commenc'd a War. Both Armies met and engag'd near *Dunkeld*. The *Scots* won the Day, tho the *Picts* fought bravely ; and therefore a great deal of Mischief was done. The pious *Columba*, heartily griev'd that so much Blood should have been spilt for what he thought a Trifle, spoke very bold, but Christian Language, to both Kings. He was so angry with *Aidan*, that after a sharp Reproof, he offer'd to be gone, seemingly in a Huff. The good King caught him by the Hand, acknowledg'd his Rashness, and beg'd his Advice towards Repairing what had been done amiss. He angrily reply'd, *That what was done could not be repair'd*. This drew Tears from the Eyes of the King : And *Columba*, mov'd with that feeling Demonstration of Sorrow, wept also ; and after a short Silence, said, *That he would counsel him to make Peace*. This was easily agreed to by *Aidan*, and the Matter being afterwards mov'd to *Brudeus*, he likewise comply'd. Thus the Flame was cover'd, but not extinguish'd : For,

He makes War upon the *Picts*.

Defeats them.

Makes Peace,

The respective Subjects of both Kingdoms could not pardon their mutual Losses to one another. This *Ethelfrid* the *Saxon* King of *Northumberland* was sensible of. He was a powerful, cunning and avaritious Prince, had encroaching Projects upon all his Neighbours, and could not let such an Opportunity slip, of setting them by the Ears. He prevail'd upon the *Picts* to make fresh Incursions upon the *Scots* Territories ; and their King was by this Means compell'd, or to punish them with the utmost Severity, which was dangerous, considering the ferment and heat of their Minds at the Time, or to renew the War. He resolv'd upon this last Expedient, the rather because *Ethelfrid* and his Ally *Cenlinus*, another King of the West *Saxons*, assur'd him of all the Assistance in their Power. Both these, as *Fordon* tells us, (a) had attack'd the *British* King *Malgo* : And he, mov'd by the great Reputation, Probity and Christian Zeal of *Aidan*, had in Pursuance of a League formerly enter'd into by their Predecesors, sent and entreated Assistance against their Heathen Enemies. *Aidan* was far from rejecting the reasonable Request : He immediately rais'd an Army, and sent it to the *British* Borders, under the Conduct of Prince *Griffin* his Son, (others call him *Arthur*,) and *Brenden* his Nephew, then Lord of *Eubonia* or *Man*. They were join'd on their March by the *British* Forces, and the third Day after they had enter'd *Northumberland*, they came in view of the Enemy, and engag'd them at a Place call'd *Fethanleg*. *Cenlinus* Commanded the *Saxons* in Chief, and his Son *Cutha* their Vanguard. It was the Fate of this last, as well as all those about him, to be cut off, after an obstinate Fight, which lasted a considerable Part of the Day. The Christians concluded their Victory certain, but

Makes War upon the *Saxons* and *Picts*.

(a) Scriptores XX. Oxon. edit. p. 638.

Loses a
Battle.

were mistaken : For *Ethelfrid*, who had layn at some distance upon the Rear, came up ere the Field was quite lost, upon the Head of numerous and fresh Troops. Upon this *Cenlinus's* Men rally'd, the Fight was renew'd, and the *Scots* and *Britains* worn out with Fatigue, and over-power'd by Numbers, were at length put to the Rout. Their chief Commanders *Griffin* and *Brenden* fell on the Spot. On the other side, *Ethelfrid* receiv'd a dangerous Wound, and lost an Eye; and *Brudeus* likewise wounded, was to the great terror of his Subjects carried off the Field of Battel, and given over for dead, but he afterwards recover'd.

Invades
Northumber-
land.

Gains a
compleat
Victory.

Ethelfrid open'd the succeeding Campaign by invading *Galloway*, where he was reinforc'd by his Confederates the *Picts*. They expected to meet with little or no Opposition, by reason of the Losses the *Scots* had sustain'd but last Summer : Wherefore they suffer'd their Souldiers to range through the Country at their Pleasure, as if they had not an Enemy to fear. But *Aidan* taught them to observe better Discipline : He surpris'd their scatter'd Troops, and beat them into their Camp ; which not thinking himself able to Force, he neglected, and march'd into *Annandale*, and there was met by the *Britains*. The Enemy follow'd close upon his Heels ; and having possess'd themselves of all the Passes that led to the Sea-side, where he lay encamp'd, thought to have starv'd his Army into a willing Surrender. In the mean Time, he set all Hands to Work, and caus'd Fortify the Camp with strong Intrenchments : And while the *Saxons* and *Picts* concluded from thence, that he resolv'd to ly still there, he took his Opportunity in the Night : And the Sea being then at a low Ebb, he march'd upon the Head of his Army, along the unstable, but dry Sands, and so got safe, first into *Cumberland*, and then into *Northumberland*, raising Contributions, or laying waste all before and behind him. The Enemy follow'd him as before ; and came up with him at last at *Wodenysborth*. A Battle immediately ensu'd, and the *Scots* and *Britains*, being Commanded and Encourag'd, not only by their respective Kings, whose Presence was of great use ; but also by four more principal Officers, *Calen* and *Mordac* two *Scots-men*, and *Constantine* and *Mecrin*, *Britains*, gain'd a compleat Victory. *Cealin*, *Quichelm* and *Crida*, three noted Officers under *Cenlinus* were kill'd, as was almost all the Army of that unhappy Prince, who, notwithstanding of his Wounds, made a Shift to get off ; but was afterwards dethron'd.

St. Columba was all this while in his Monastery of *Hy*, (a) the Mother and Superior of no less than a hundred more ; which he himself had procur'd to be Built, and given Rules to, in *Ireland* and *Britain*. In this solitary Retirement, he never ceas'd offering up his Prayers, and causing his numerous Monks to do the like, for the Prosperity of the King's Arms. They were all together in the Church bu-
sied in the pious and dutiful Exercise, the same Hour when the Battle was Fought at *Wodenysborth*, a Place distant at least 200 Miles from
the

(a) Dr. Mackenz. in the Life of Columb. p. 354. Spotswood lib. 1. p. 10.

the Island of *Hy*: And 'tis reported, (a) that, after Prayers, *Columba* told the Religious, *That, at that very Minute the Barbarians were flying; that God Almighty had given the Victory to the King, and that it cost him but the Loss of 303 of his Men.* He therefore desir'd them to turn their Supplications into Thanks, and instead of Praying, to Praise the Lord of Hosts, upon whom alone depends the Fate of Armies and States.

Nevertheless, *Aidan* was not so Successful the succeeding Campaign: He had made considerable Preparations during the Winter, and, tho' now an old Man, he would needs Command the Army in Person. Accordingly he enter'd the Enemy's Territories, where he expected to have been join'd by his *British* Allies; but they came not at the appointed Time, and the subtle *Ethelfrid* fail'd not to take Advantage from this Omission. He attack'd the *Scots* at *Degsaftan*, with that Success, that but few of them escap'd. But his Victory was dear bought; for his Brother *Theobald*, and all those under his Command were cut off in the beginning of the Action. Is again defeated.

Aidan, as Resolute as he was, could not easily bear the Defeat and Loss of so many of his Subjects: He could never forget the Battle at *Degsaftan*. The *Britains* had fail'd him; but the *Britains* were Christians; and he forswore, with unconsolable Sorrow, the Hardships they must henceforth undergo from these insulting *Barbarians*. Besides, *St. Columba* was now dead, and in him the King had lost a Comrad, a friend, a Director of his Conscience, and a Counsellor of State. Full of these and the like melancholy Considerations, he languish'd away, and having attain'd to the Age of very nigh fourscore, died in *Kintyre*, two Years after his last unfortunate Expedition, in the Year of our Lord 604, or 606, after a troublesome, yet happy and pious Reign of twenty four Years; and, contrary to the Custom of his Predecessors, was buried at *Kycheran*. Died

'Twas lucky for him, that he had met with early Persecutions: The Hardships he suffer'd during his Exile, made him an honest Man: And the Education he receiv'd from the worthy *Columba*, made him a good Christian. His own Afflictions taught him to commiserate those of his Subjects; he lov'd them and was lov'd by them. He was a severe Justiciary, not through Cruelty, but Compassion: And if he punish'd a few, 'twas but to secure and save all. He was naturally Brave, and his robust Body and healthful Constitution fitted him for the Exercises of War: Nevertheless it was his Choice to live in Peace; and but for his first hasty Quarrelling with the *Picts*, for which he made a sufficient Atonement, 'tis plain, that he never drew his Sword, nor shed Blood, but in Defence of Religion and Justice. He had no Enemies but those of Christ, and the austere *Columba* approv'd of his fighting the *Saxons*, that the Remains of *Britain* might be preserv'd. His Arms were not always Successful; for his Allies were weak, and his Enemies strong, bold, His Character.

D d cun-

(a) Buchan. in vita Aidan. Spotiswood, lib. i. p. 10. Adaman. in vita Columba. — Columba. his own Writings cited by Fordon. Scriptor. XX. edit. Oxon. p. 639.

cunning and numerous: Nevertheless, he had the better of them for the most part. Never did sincere and simple unaffected Piety flourish any where more gloriously than it did in *Scotland*, during the Reign of this King: Neither were ever the truly Religious and Learn'd in greater Veneration, and deservedly: For these holy Men, such as *Columba*, *Kentigern*, *Bathenut*, *Comin*, *Cibrac*, *Ethernan*, *Baldred*, *Drostan*, and many more, too numerous to be here inserted, liv'd retir'd from the World and its Vanities, without Ambition, Covetousness or Pride; intent upon nothing but the Service of God, and the yet unspotted Church. They never stirr'd a' road, but to gain Souls. They Preach'd more by Example than Word of Mouth. The Simplicity of their Garb, Gesture and Behaviour, was irresistibly Eloquent. They did Good to every Body, and sought no Reward. Preferments, Cabals, Intrigues, Division, Sedition were Things unknown to them. There were Bishops among them, but no Lords; Presbyters, but no Stipends, or very small ones; Monks, truly such, Humble, Retir'd, Poor, Chast, Sober and Zealous. In a word, they were, in a literal Sense, Saints. Only one Error they and that Age in general are charg'd with; which is, that they were over Credulous, and that they gave too much Credit and Vogue to the legendary Stories or Miracles pretended to have been wrought in those Days: And yet it would be hard to think that such Men as these, should have invented them, or that they would have impos'd upon the Ignorance of the deluded People: Whom if they did deceive, 'tis probable they themselves had been deceiv'd before. This was the Fault of their Judgments, not of their Wills; and if they were Mistaken, 'twas their Weakness, and not their Malice. Many Stories are related of them, which will meet with no Credit at this time of Day. I shall Instance in one, because it concerns the King, whose Life I have written. He was curious to know, who of his three Sons, (a) *Arthur*, *Eochodius Find*, or *Dongartus*, should succeed him in the Throne. He put the Question to *Columba*, who, he believ'd, had the Gift of Prophecy, as well as that of working Miracles. The holy Man reply'd, That none of those would ever come to be King, but would all three be cut off in Battle, as their eldest Brother Prince *Griffin* had been; but he desir'd that the King would call his younger Children into the Room, adding, that one of them would instantly run into his Embraces, and that that one was destin'd by Heaven for Empire, and his Offspring after him. They were accordingly brought in, and *Eochodius* or *Eugenius Buyd*, as yet an Infant, flew upon *Columba* as he had foretold. The good Prelate kiss'd him, gave him his Blessing, and repeated the Prediction, which was afterwards accomplish'd. For he succeeded to *Kenneth Kere*, in the Year 606; and as he had been Religiously brought up and Educated by the same *Columba*, so he reign'd Happy and Glorious, according to most

Histo-

(a) Adaman. in vita Columb. cited by Fordon, Scriptor. XX. edit. Oxon. p. 640.

Historians; tho' others say. (a) he deviated a little from these Lessons he had learn'd in his Youth; that his Commands were harsh and Imperious; and, in stead of being (as *Boethius, Lesly, &c.* write) a Pacifick Prince, that he delighted in War, and by continual Incurfions never ceas'd to annoy and harass the neighbouring States. His three Brothers above mention'd were kill'd, conform to *Columb's* Prediction, *Eochodius Find*, and *Dongart* in the War or Battle, call'd by *Fordon Maychorum*, and *Arthur* in that against the *Saxons*. And this is all we read in History concerning the Children of King *Aidan*. So that I have done with his Life, how soon I have transcrib'd the *Elogium* given him by *Mr. Johnston*.

*Nec genus aut Virtus, nec spes presaga fefellit,
Quin superat meritis spemque fidemque suis
Palantum incurfus primo comescit in ortu,
Atque aliis alia sub ditione domat.
Bella sub assiduis signis cum Saxone & Anglo,
Et Pictis, dubio Marte, cruenta gerit.
Jam senio gravis, & curis confectus iniquis
Occidit, aeternas linquit & heu lacrymas.*

And again,

*Quae juvenem, aut matura virum, deceantve senectam
Et Patrem & Regem, haec omnia solus habet.*

T H E
Life of Achaius

T H E
Sixty Fifth King of Scotland.

ACHAIUS, or (a) *Eobal*, a Prince whose Memory must needs last while *Scots* or *French* Records shall be preserv'd, was the Son of King *Etsin*. And 'twas the Nation's double Misfortune, that he was neither the Eldest, nor of Age to Govern

King *Achaius* the Son of K. *Etsin*.

D d 2

(a) Liber Palleten. cited by Buchan. in vita Eugen. IV. (b) Chr. de Mailros ad An. 802.

King *Erfin's* Character. Govern, when his Father and Brother died. (a) His Father was, says *Buchanan*, like his more immediate Predecessors, *Mordac* and *Eugene VII.* a most excellent Prince: He Reign'd full thirty Years; and, till broken by Infirmities and old Age, he was forc'd to trust the Management of Affairs to others, always in Peace. He was succeeded by *Eugene VIII.* the Son of King *Mordac*, who, during the three Years of his Administration, did but one good Action, that is, he suppress'd the Commotions rais'd in the end of the former Reign, but then freed, as he thought, from Opposition, he indulg'd himself in all the Excesses of Avarice and Lust, insomuch that a Faction of his Nobles, animated by their own Resentment (and probably by the forward Ambition of the next Successor, consequently by the assur'd Hopes, if not of Reward, at least of Impunity) enter'd into a Conspiracy, and us'd him, as the *Roman* Senators did *Julius Cesar*, that is, they attack'd and murther'd him, while with themselves he sat in Council. His Flatterers and Parasites they also put to Death: But to perswade the People, that the Violence offer'd to the King was necessary, by way of Justice: Nay, had not Loyal Men, out of Respect to the Blood Royal, interpos'd, they had left his Corps, or expos'd to the common Air, or immers'd in Ordure. But notwithstanding the prevalency of the Faction, and no doubt Assent of the next, tho' legal, Successor *Fergus III.* their Fury was restrain'd, and the Tyrant, because at the same time a King, was royally Interr'd.

Eugene VIII.
a vicious
King.

Murther'd
by his Sub-
jects.

This *Fergus III.* a Prince in all Senses unlike to the first and second of that memorable Name, was the eldest Son of King *Erfin*, and Brother of King *Achaius*: He Reign'd, as his immediate Predecessor *Eugene*, three Years. And as he had Vices that prov'd equally fatal to his Person and Wife, his Incontinency was the greatest: Which tho' his Subjects would not, or durst not openly quarrel, his injur'd and jealous Wife could by no means endure. She did all in her Power to Reclaim him: But, as is ordinary in the like Cases, had no Charms about her, his vagrant Lust could perceive: All Women were lovely in his Eyes, but she alone that had Right to his Bed, but from thence was extruded, nay compel'd to servile Offices, while she had the cutting Mortification to see always some one or other of her insulting Rivals set up in her own Room, caref'd as a Mistress, and serv'd as a Wife. Womens Passions run ever upon Extreams; when good, they're very much so; when ill, nothing can be worse: But Love lost upon faithless Husbands, is an Outrage the very best of the fair Sex can scarcely put up. This Queen was thought no ill Woman, yet overcome with Jealousie, Resentment and Indignation, she laid violent Hands upon her Husband, and, while asleep, strangl'd him to Death. The Crime was instantly divulg'd, yet (so well was the Queen's Reputation establish'd in the World) no Body suspected the Criminal. Others were: And of these a great many being apprehended, their Innocence was like to prove

Fergus III.
a vicious
Prince, mur-
ther'd by
his own
Wife

(a) Boeth. Buchan. in vit. Erfin. Eugen. VIII. Fergus. III. Solvat. Achaii.

but a slender Defence against the Zeal of a Loyal People, who, tho' they wish'd the King's Death, yet would needs have Justice done upon the Authors of it. In this the Behaviour of the Nation was different from what it had been but three Years before upon the Murder of *Eugene*. Whether they repented of that former Crime, or that *Eugene* being but a Guardian King, they thought him liable to Punishment, I know not. However, as *Fergus* was undoubtedly their lawful Sovereign, tho' a very ill one, so they resolv'd to revenge the Parricide committed upon his Person. This the Queen his Wife perceiv'd, and being struck with an erroneous sort of Remorse, and unwilling that the Innocent should suffer the Death she deserv'd, she appear'd in Publick, own'd the Fact, and more like a *Roman Loretia*, than a Penitent *Magdalen*, Stab'd her self upon the Spot.

Who also Stabs her self.

The next Successor was *Solvathius* the Son of *Eugene VIII.* a good, but gouty and valetudinary Prince. The Infirmities of his Body, and Male-administration of his latest Predecessors, occasion'd several Rebellions: But his Mind was vigorous, and he was well serv'd by his two Lieutenants, *Culan* of *Argyle*, and *Douchal* of *Arbole*. By their good Conduct and Activity, both *Donald Bane*, who had revolted and assum'd to himself the Title of King of the Isles, and *Gilcolumb*, a noted Oppressor of the People in *Galloway*, were vanquish'd and deservedly cut off. Yet their Friends and Abettors still liv'd, and the Nobility was miserably divided and split in Parties and Factions. When *Achaius* came to ascend the Throne, he had been a nice Observer both of the secret Springs, and obvious Causes of all those Events that fell out, since the Death of King *Etsin* his Father: And it may be said of him, that his great Wisdom was not the tardive Product of numerous Years. He got Experience in his very Youth. Nor did he buy it, as is ordinary, at his own Cost or Charges, but found it in the Mismanagement of his Brother *Fergus III.* and *Eugene VIII.* who Govern'd during his Minority. And being then, and afterwards in the Reign of *Solvathius*, but in a private Station, he was let into all the Intrigues, Designs, and Quarrels of the jarring Factions. He knew what each of the Leading Men propos'd to himself, and what in Reason each could pretend to. He therefore immediately upon his Accession to the Crown, call'd an Assembly of the Nobles to attend him: And after exhorting them to Concord and Amity, and discussing their various Interests, he at once reason'd, brib'd, and commanded them into an Oblivion of all Injuries by pass, and a lasting Reconciliation for the future.

Solvathius a good King.

King *Achaius* A. D. 787.

Settles Peace among his Subjects.

His next Care was to dissipate a Storm that was likely to come from another Island. Some *Irish* Pirates, encourag'd by the disorderly State of Affairs during the last three tumultuous Reigns, had more than once presum'd to make Descents upon the Coasts of *Scotland*, where they Robb'd and Plunder'd at pleasure. The *Scotts* Islanders did the like: And both meeting with Booty and Impunity, chanc'd at the same time to Land in the *Peninsula* of *Kintyre* about the End of the last, or Beginning of this King's Reign. Their

He is threaten'd with a War from Ireland.

numbers were considerable (*Buchanan* says, that they had great Armies,) and the Spoils of that Country, none of the best cultivated, could not suffice to the Subsistence, much less to the Covetousness of so many Robbers. They met, whether by Chance or Design I know not, quarrel'd about the Plunder, came to Blows, and fought so desperately, that all the *Irish*, and most of the *Scots* Islanders were cut off. The *Irish* Nation (they had no King, or he was a Minor at the time,) resented this, and threatn'd an Invasion upon the Islands call'd *Æbudeæ*. *Achaius* had another Sense of the Thing: He caus'd tell them, that there was no Provocation given by either Nation to the other, nor was it to be grudg'd that Pirates and Robbers had fallen by the Ears together; but rather to be regrated, that any one should have escap'd that Death they all deserv'd, and that for his Part, he was willing, and would for his own Sake and the Security of his Subjects, as well as to gratify the Resentment of the *Irish*, cause the surviving Robbers to be apprehended and executed. This was done accordingly: Nevertheless the *Irish*, who, it seems, wanted but a Pretence for War, would not be satisfied with this Act of Justice. They requir'd Reparation, for I know not what Damages, and rigg'd out a Fleet to make good their Demands. But this Fleet was providentially dispers'd, and most of the Men and Ships cast away by a Storm at Sea; providentially, I say, for the *Irish* reckon'd it so, and becoming Religious, as is ordinary in Adversity, they beg'd with Humility, what they had but lately rejected with Scorn: Yet obtain'd their Request, which was, That all Injuries should be forgotten, and a lasting Peace continu'd between both Nations.

Grants
Peace to the
Irish.

King *Achaius* had another War with the *Saxons*, which as it was carried on with more Vigour, so it produc'd more considerable Effects: But because his Ally, *Hungus* the King of the *Picts*, was the Person chiefly concern'd in it, I have thought fit to give an Account of the remarkable Circumstances that attended it elsewhere. 'Tis true, that some write, (a) that the Success of that decisive Battle fought at *Arlestoneford*, was principally owing to the Courage of *Achaius*: But this I find not sufficiently Documented, and am not willing to rob the brave *Hungus* of the Glories he so deserv'dly acquir'd. *Achaius* had Merit enough of his own, and to celebrate him, we need not detract from others. What contributed chiefly to eternize his Memory, was the League he made with *Charlemaign*. The occasion of that so famous Transaction, I have already related: Nay, I have from foreign Authors prov'd, so far as the Nature and Stile of a Narration would allow, that it is not Supposititious. Nevertheless, because the Envy, to say no worse of our Neighbours, has of late call'd it in Question, I shall once for all, and I think this is the proper Place, demonstrate the Truth of this Matter of Fact, and at the same time account for its Nature and Consequences. The most Learn'd and Indefatigable Sir *Robert Sibbald* M. D. has in one of his Letters printed at *Edinburgh* 1704, to the

He enters
into a per-
petual
League
with *France*.

(a) History of the Picts: print. Edin. 1706. p. 48.

the right Reverend the Lord Bishop of *Carlile*, put the Question out of doubt; and I shall need but to hint at a few of his many, and those most convincing Arguments.

That Leagues were before and at that Time usual, is plain from all Histories sacred and prophane, as well as from the Nature of the Thing it self. As Ambition and Covetousness, did since the very first Being of that corrupted and interested Creature, Man, prompt the Powerful and Strong, to encroach upon the weaker Families or States; so Reason and Self-preservation always inclin'd these last to Associate together, and enter into Confederacies for mutual Defence and Support. Hence 'tis that Cities and States came at first to be such, by Means of Confederacies and Leagues. *Abraham* and *Lot* enter'd into a League to prevent Quarrels among their Herd-men. The independing and often jarring Republicks and Kingdoms of *Greece* united always in Opposition to the Kings of *Persia*. The *Romans*, in the very Infancy of their Government, found it necessary to make a League with the *Sabines* and others; and afterwards by the Help of Leagues, as much as by the Force of Arms, they Conquer'd the known World. The *Barbarians* were not at all Times wanting to themselves in this Point neither. Did not the otherwise divided *Britains* in *Cæsar's* time, with common Consent unite, and commit the supream Command of their joint Forces to *Cassivellaunus*? (a) Did not our Ancestors the *Caledonians* the same thing, when attack'd by *Julius Agricola*? (b) Were not the *Scots* and *Picts* united by Means of a League, when at different times they invaded, over-ran, and at last subjected *South-Britain*? (c) And when the more numerous *Saxons* had dispossest them of their Conquest, and by reiterated Attempts endeavour'd their Destruction, as they had effected that of their Land-lords and Pay-Masters the *Britains*, had not the same *Scots* very good Reason to dread, and guard themselves against the growing Power of so dangerous Neighbours? And by what more plain and obvious Means should they do this, than by entering into a League with the then *French*, who were actually engag'd in a War with these Neighbours? If the *Scots* had Wit enough (and who will doubt it?) to desire the Thing, 'tis certain the *French* could not be so mad as to decline their Suit. *Charlemaign* knew the Interest of his Crown, perhaps as well as any of his Predecessors or Successors: And 'tis probable he understood the Art of making Leagues, no worse than King *Edward I.* of *England*, as much as this last is celebrated upon this Score; at least *Eginardus*, *Charlemaign's* Chancellor and Son-in-Law, if we may credit *Vossius*, (d) tells us so. (e) He enter'd into Leagues with *Aldefonsus* King of *Castile*, with *Aorn* King of *Persia*, with the Emperors of the *East*, *Nicephorus*, *Michael* and *Leo*; and lastly with the *Scots*, whose Kings, says *Eginardus*, devoted themselves entirely to his Interest, call'd him Lord in the Letters they wrote to him,

The ancient League between Scotland and France prov'd to have been made by *Achæus* and *Charlemaign*.

(a) *Cæsar. Comment. l. 5.* (b) *Tacit in vita Agricol.* (c) *Histor. Gild.* (d) *Vossius de Hist. Latin. p. 301.* (e) *Vita Carol. Mag. per Eginard. p. 329. edir. Colôn. A. 1561.*

and subscrib'd themselves, his most humble Servants. But says Dr. Kennedy, (a) This was but an Alliance of Friendship, or rather a friendly Correspondence settl'd between him and the King of the Irish, in those Days call'd Scots. A ridiculous Assertion, and fit to be adduc'd only by this Author, who, one would think, has put Pen to Paper, with a settl'd Design to traduce that Country, and to derogate from the Glories of that Family he pretends to extoll.

That the *Irish* were call'd *Scots* in those Days, I mean about the Year 800, is, I believe, more than he can by any Author then living evince. *Isidorus Hispalensis*, who liv'd very nigh 200 Years before, viz. in the seventh Century, about the Year 620, is, for ought I know, the latest of those Authors that give *Ireland* the Name of *Scotland*; as *Orosius*, who wrote in the Year 417, is among the first. The reason why in this Interval of Time, the *Irish* were by some call'd *Scoti*, and the *Scots* *Hiberni*, is plainly this. The *Scots*, so call'd by some *Roman* Authors and Foreigners (for they did not Design themselves by that Appellation) were expel'd the Island of *Britain*, about the Year 359, or, as others say, 379: But returning afterwards from *Ireland*, whither most of them had withdrawn, and making frequent IncurSIONS, in Conjunction with some *Irish* Auxiliaries, upon the *Roman* Province, and both speaking the same Language, wearing the same Fashion of Cloaths, fighting with the same Weapons, and their Customs and Manners not much differing; Foreigners for these Reasons consider'd them, as much the same People, and therefore call'd them both indifferently *Scoti* and *Hiberni*. But the *British* or *Albin Scots*, had been by *Seneca*, *Hegeſippus*, *Porphyry*, &c. so call'd, long before this Time. For I have elsewhere shewn, that what these Authors say of the then *Scots*, is only applicable to the *British*. So that these must needs have communicated the Name of *Scoti*, to the Inhabitants of *Ireland*, to whose Country they retir'd, and receiv'd that of *Hiberni* from them; because of their retiring from thence, and of their frequent Intercourse, and settl'd Correspondence together. I have also evinc'd, that what is farther said by after-Authors, viz. *Ammianus*, *Claudian*, *Pacatius*, *Gildas*, *Beda*, &c. concerning the *Scoti* and *Hiberni* their Resettlement in *Albion*, their Struggle with the declining *Romans*, and Victories over the *South-Britains*, must needs be likewise understood of the *Albin Scots*. And 'tis no matter whether *Ireland* was by some call'd *Scotland* in those latter Days, I mean during the Reign of King *Achaius*, or no. I make good my Design, if I prove in the next place, that the friendly Correspondence settl'd between the *French* and *Scots* at that Time, was really a League; and that this League was enter'd into by the *Scots* in *Britain*: That therefore Mr. *Kennedy's* Assertion, is built, like the rest of his Allegiances, upon Chimeras and Non-entities; and consequently, that the Character given, I think unjustly, of his Nation, holds very true, if apply'd to himself: 'Tis comprehended in the following Verse.

Gens

(a) Dissertation of the Stewarts, print. Paris 1705. p. 181. (b) Fordon. Buchan. &c. in vita Achaii.

Gens ratione furens, & mentem pasta Chimeris.

Charlemaign had not only a long and most bloody War with the Saxons in Germany, but also with these in Britain; who by their continual Piracies insulted the French Coasts and German Seas: (a) Nay, he is said by *Conradus Urspergensis* a foreign Author, to have sent an Army into Britain against the English and Saxons, and to have given a Check to the Insolencies of that perfidious Nation. Besides, the famous Historian *Mezeray* (b) asserts positively, That he sent four thousand Men to the Assistance of King Achaius. Had not this last Author been so positive as he is, nevertheless from Charlemaign his Concern, and Quarrels with the English Saxons, every unbiass'd Reader must needs conclude, that since he made a League with the Scots, he must have made it with those in Britain; by reason that they had the like Quarrels, and were by their Interest and Situation in a Condition to be useful to him. For this Reason it is, that he courted them by Presents and Compliments: And his Magnificence (c) and the liberal Preferments and Honours he bestow'd on the Learned, as well as Soldiers of that Nation, so endear'd him to their Kings, that they devoted themselves to his Interest or Pleasure. Now, that this was a League, is evident: For *Mezeray* calls it *L' Alliance indissoluble*, and says that it commenc'd in anno 790. And *Duplix* (d) another eminent Author, calls it *Notable Alliance entretenue de si long tems entre la France & l' Escosse*.

The French, then understood this to have been something more than a friendly Correspondence; and they never dream'd, that such a friendly Correspondence was settl'd between Charlemaign and the King of the Irish. The same Truth is made out by *Bonaventure Strachan* in his MS. entitul'd *Germania Cristiana*, which is to be seen in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh. He cites for his Vouchers, *Anonymus Arnulpho Imperatori equalis*, *Conradus Urspergensis*, *Paulus Æmilius*, *Polydorus Vergilius*, *Paulus Jovius*, *Philippus Belleforestius*, *Demochares*, *Renatus Chopinus*, *Zanzovinus*, *Raimundus*, *Marlianus*, *Joannes Carion*, &c. And my Lord Ormond, in his *Histoire abrege de tous les Roys de France, Angleterre & Escosse*, has a short Discourse to the same Purpose, extracted not only from *Verimund*, *Campbel*, *Turgot*, *Winton*, and all ancient Scots Historians; but also from *Paulus Æmilius*, *Gaguinus*, *Arnoldus Ferronius*, *Guilelmus Paradin*, *Guichardin*, and *Paulus Jovius*. So that to contradict the Authority of so many and such Men, and that in a Matter of Fact, which can only be prov'd by Authority, to me seems more the Effect of Folly, than of Prejudice or Envy: For at this rate, what is it, but may be doubted of? I'm sure we have no more credible Vouchers for the Being of a *Macedonian Alexander*, or a *Roman Casar*: And yet if any one would seriously go about to invalidate the Authority of such Authors, as write

F f of

(a) *Chronic.* p. 174. (b) *Abrege Chronologique de l' Histoire de France* ad An. 790. (c) *Egihard loc. cit.* & *Paul. Æmil.* p. 42. *Gaguini Annal. Franc. rer. gest. lib. 3. p. 54.* (d) in the Life of Charlemaign.

of them, he should be thought to stand in need of some Doses of *Hellebore*.

Well, but (a) *there's a very ancient Piece of Tapestry, in the Inner Hall of Audience in Monsieur de Chamillard's Apartments at Versailles, where the King of Ireland is standing in the Row of the Princes, in Amity with Charlemaign, and drawn with the Irish Harp by his right Side, as a Mark of Distinction.* A conclusive Argument no doubt, and who can resist the Authority of such an authentick Piece of Tapestry: Had the *Irish* been fam'd for Manufactories of this kind, one would have been almost tempted to think, that it had been made by some Artist of that Country: But be this as it will,

— *Pictoribus, atque Poetis
Quidlibet audendi, semper fuit aqua potestas.*

Mr. *Atwood* argues a little, and to tell the truth, but very little better: When he, in Opposition to the best, even of *English* Historians, particularly of *Polydore Vergil*, and the Earl of *Westmorland*, cited at length by Sir *Robert Sibbald* in his Letter abovemention'd, seems to own, that there was something like a League between *France* and *Scotland*, as old as *Alexander II* and *John Baliol*, Kings of *Scotland*; but from thence infers, that that of *Charlemaign* and *Achaius* must needs be Chimerical; since in the space of 400 Years, no Opportunity was found of renewing it, till this very Nick of Time. Who tells him that no Opportunity was found? Ancient Charters are silent as to this Point. But ancient Charters may by length of Time be lost. But we have sufficient Documents besides, I mean, the concurring Testimonies of so many Vouchers as I have mentioned. I may add, that 'tis a mistake, that, during that Space of Time, the League was not as good as renew'd: For (b) *Lewis* the Son of *Charlemaign*, as well as *Charles the Gros*, Kings of *France*, own'd their Alliance with *Scotland*, in a very solemn Manner, and on most urgent Occasions. *Malcolm Canmore* assisted the *French* with Men, as did afterward his two Sons *Malcolm the Maiden*, and *William*, by the Diversions they made at the Desire, and in Favour of *Fran. e.* The *French* also sent Auxiliaries to these Kings, and to King *David*: And that we do not read of more reciprocal Assistances, during the Period of Time condescended on, is no Matter of Wonder. The *French* had all this while few or no Quarrels with *England*, nor indeed with any other State whatever: Their Monarchy was dismember'd, and their best Provinces, as *Normandy*, *Burgundy*, *Dauphiny*, *Provence*, *Aquitaine*, *Angiers*, *Britany*, &c. had been torn from the State: So that they needed not seek, nor could they give Supplies to their *Scots* Confederates; notwithstanding these last were embaras'd, first with the *Pictish*, and afterwards with the *Danish* Wars.

But

But, continues Mr. *Atwood*, there was a League betwixt *Alexander II.* of *Scotland* and *Henry III.* of *England*, by virtue of which, the Kings of *Scotland* are bound to enter into no Alliance with the Enemies of the Kings of *England*: A plain Proof, that in those Days, they knew nothing of any such League with *France*, as is pretended. The Answer is as plain. For, in the first place, it may be deny'd, that King *Alexander* made such a League with King *Henry*. *Scots* Historians tell us nothing about it; the *English* do. But *ir Robert Sibbald*, *Sir James Dalrymple*, *Mr. Anderson* and others, have demonstrated, that some *English* have, to serve a Turn, more than once forg'd Papers, or added fictitious Clauses to real ones. Nevertheless, we need not in this Case have Recourse to that Defence, tho we might with a great deal of Probability. *Alexander* made a League with *Henry*. Why not? But this League was inconsistent with the *French* League. By no means: For *France* and *England* had no War nor Enmity at that Time; and the Condition express'd in the League with *England*, *Nisi nos injuste gravent*, did sufficiently provide against the Violation of that other with *France*. To Injure *France*, as Matters then stood, was to injure *Scotland*; which if the *English* had attempted to do, the League with them dissolv'd of Course; and this they ever found to be true in Fact.

As for the Objection made against that League, which, all *Scots* Historians tell us, was renew'd betwixt the same King *Alexander* and *Philip* King of *France*, at *Bologne*; 'Tis such, as scarcely deserves a Reply. *Lewis* the Son of King *Philip*, was call'd over, declar'd, and at *London* Crown'd King of *England* by the Barons of that Kingdom, who at the Time were in Arms against their then acknowledg'd Sovereign King *John*. They ask'd and obtain'd Assistance from King *Alexander*: And in Consideration of this, made over to him the Counties of *Northumberland*, *Westmorland* and *Cumberland*, formerly possess'd and holden of the Crown of *England*, by his Predecessors Kings of *Scotland*. *Lewis*, when on the *English* Throne, ratified this Agreement and Assignment of the Barons, and in Company with King *Alexander*, return'd to *France*, and witness'd the renewing of the *Scots* and *French* League: Which, says Mr. *Atwood*, is ridiculous, since this was to declare that the *French* and *Scots* would remain perpetual and sworn Enemies to *Lewis* and his Subjects of *England*. An egregious Mistake: For in this Case, 'twas the Interest of the *English*, at least of such as own'd *Lewis's* Title to their Crown, that the *French* and *Scots* should be united, since both were by this and other Treaties oblig'd to support that Interest and Cause the Barons fought for.

I have hear'd of no more Objections of any force started against the Antiquity of the League in question, save that After-Treatie and Agreements do not retrospect to the *Carlovegian*. This again is a wilful Mistake, and *Sir Robert Sibbald* has evinc'd it to be such, beyond all possibility of a Reply. He has been at the pains to transcribe the very Words of After-Treaties; as that between *John*

Baliol, Robert Bruce, David Bruce, Robert II. Robert III. severals of the *James's Kings of Scotland, &c.* and the *Kings of France*, their respective Cotemporaries : All which do plainly retrospect to more ancient ones of the same Kind, as whoever pleases to cast an Eye upon the Letter I have mention'd, must presently acknowledge.

These Treaties and Confirmations of Leagues and mutual Privileges, now are in the Hands of every Body : The *French* have made them Publick by Printing them, together with such other Treaties as that Nation has made from Time to Time with Foreigners. And I should but lose Time, waste Paper, and tyre the Patience of my Reader, should I enlarge further on a Subject, that's so universally known, and so thoroughly understood. 'Tis true then, that there was a League concluded between *Charlemaign* and King *Achaius*. The Articles were these. (a)

I. That there shall be an inviolable Friendship, and Confederacy between *France* and *Scotland* for ever.

II. That the Injury offer'd by the *English* to either of the Kings or Nations, shall be repuls'd by the united Forces of both.

III. That the Auxiliaries sent by the King of *Scots* to *France* shall be entertain'd at the Charges of the King of *France*.

IV. That *Scotland*, if attack'd by *England*, shall be Succour'd, not only with an Army from *France*, but also with Money sufficient to keep them in Pay.

V. That if any of the Subjects of either Kingdom shall presume to Assist or support the *English* in Enmity with t'other, by giving Arms, Counsel, or Victuals ; the Delinquent shall be judg'd guilty of High Treason against his own Sovereign, and if apprehended in either Kingdom, shall be punish'd accordingly.

These Articles were often ratified, and sometimes amplify'd by succeeding Monarchs, particularly by *Lewis VIII.* of *France*, and *Alexander II.* of *Scotland*, who agreed. (b)

VI. That neither of the two shall admit within his Dominions, either the foreign Enemy, or rebellious Subject of one another.

King *Robert II.* and *Charles V.* of *France*, added these remarkable Clauses to the ancient League. (c)

VII. That, neither of the Kings shall enter into any Truce, nor conclude a Peace with the King of *England*, without the express Consent of both.

VIII. That if for want of Issue of the King of *Scotland's* Body, the Right of Succession should come to be contested, in this Case, the King of *France* shall leave the Decision to be made by the Prelates and the other Grandees of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, according to the Laws, Rights and Statutes of the same, and whoever the greatest and best Part do approve of for King, the said King of *France*

(a) My Lord Ormond. *Histoire Abregee* au An. 789. p. 96. The Earl of Westmorland, *M.D.* in French, cited by Sir Robert Sibbald. (b) Mr. Houlston his *Escoffe francoise* towards the Beginning. (c) Sir Robert Sibbald, his Letter to the Bish. of Carlisle. print. Edin. 1704. p. 45.

France, his Heirs and Successors shall own; and with all his Might support and maintain, against the King of *England*, or any Adversary whatever.

IX. That if the Pope, of his own free Will and proper Motion, or at the Instances and Desire of any other Person or Persons should absolve the King of *France*, or the King of *Scotland*, their Heirs and Successors from the Obligation of the Oath already taken, or to be taken, for the due and faithful Obligation of the said Alliance; or the foresaid Oath annull: In this Case, neither of the Kings foresaid, their Heirs and Successors, shall seek or take any Advantage or Benefit, from such Absolution, but will faithfully and absolutely keep and observe this Alliance in every Point thereof, without Fraud or Trick; and will no more either Act or Say any thing to the contrary, than if there had never been any such Absolution or Annulment.

This is the Substance of that so famous League, which reckoning from the Reign of *Achais*, to the first Declaration of War between *Scotland* and *France*, continu'd unviolated during the space of very nigh nine hundred Years: A prodigious Length of Time, and the more remarkable, that there's nothing like this to be met with in History or Romance. The Reasons are nevertheless obvious: *Scotland* had been Conquer'd again and again by the united Power of *England*, *Ireland*, and several *French* Provinces, had not this League ascertain'd its Independency: And *France* had probably never wrested so many of its fertile Provinces from the Hands of the same *English*, had not the *Lyon* Rampant been assisting to the *Flour-de-Luce*. This is own'd by Mr. *Atwood*, who tells us, that,

*But for the Scot, to name no higher Powers,
Still Gascoign Wine, and Bourdeaux had been ours.*

The three Nations had been so well satisfied with this undoubted Truth, that, as the *English*, in all Ages convinc'd, that,

*He that would France win,
Must at Scotland first begin,*

bent the whole Strength of their Arms and Politicks to break the League; so the *French* and *Scots* took Care to renew it from time to time, and by innumerable good Offices done to one another, to fix it against all Temptations, but that which at length prevail'd, the Accession of a *Scots* King to the *English* Throne. This, and only this, could unty the *Gordian* Knot; and After-ages can only judge who shall sustain the Loss, or reap the Advantage of its Dissolution. Perhaps the *Scots* had better been united with *England* some hundred Years bypast: But then they must have been united by Conquest; whereas the *French* League, by preserving them in a State of Independency, enabl'd them to stand their Ground, and

to treat upon Terms. And in this Sense they owe even their late Union with *England*, to their old Alliance with *France*. So much I thought my self oblig'd to say in this place, to the Honour of the first Author of it, King *Achaius*, whose Life I write. Whoever desires to be further inform'd of the Privileges, Honours, Possessions, Preferments, Commerce, Riches, &c. that *Scotland* and *Scots-men* attain'd to, by means of the League, he needs but to peruse the Preface to Mr. *Beauge's* History of the Campaigns, 1548, and 1549, *English'd* in the Year 1707. I return to the more immediate Effects, which ensu'd upon its being at first concluded.

To render it, or at least its Memory, perpetual, King *Achaius* is said to have added the *Double Tressure* to the ancient Arms of his Ancestors Kings of *Scotland*. 'Tis true, some Foreigners have contended, that this was not done till that Period of Time, from whence they would fain have the League to take its Date, viz. about the Reign of the *Baliol* or *Bruce*, a most groundless, and therefore injurious Conjecture. Many Records are yet extant, both in *England* and *Scotland* (the Earl of *Winton's* Charter-Chest contains one of them, and that of Sir *Thomas Kirkpatrick* of *Closburn* another) which tho' granted long before this time, have Seals appended to them: And those Seals, like the more modern, have the *Double Tressure* surrounding the *Lyon* Witness Sir *Robert Sibbald*, Mr. *Anderson*, and Mr. *Nisbet*: And this I take it, is no small Proof of the *Carlovegian* League; at least, I hope, it will Counter-balance the boasted of Tapestry at *Versailles*.

Henceforth an interrupted Correspondence commenc'd between both Nations: And this Correspondence occasion'd the Return of Letters and Knowledge to *France*. For, as *Bu.hanan* has it,

*Scotia, cum Latium quateret Mars barbarus orbem,
Sola prope expulsis fuit hospita terra Camanis:
Hinc Sophiæ Graiæ Sophiæ decreta Latina,
Doctoresque rudis formatoresque juventa
Carolus ad Celtas traduxit —*

When barb'rous Foes the *Roman* World o'rspread,
The gentle Muses all to *Scotland* fled:
Hence *Greek* and *Roman* Learning in full Store
By *Charlemaign* to *France* was waisted o're;
And planted throve, as on their native Shoar.

The most fam'd of those that went over in Obedience to *Achaius's* Commands, and *Charlemaign's* Intreaty, (a) are, *Joannes Scotus*, *Claudrus Clemens*, *Rabanus Maurus*, and *Flaccus Albinus*: *Albin*, so call'd from his being born in *Albion*, as Dr. *Mackenzie* and *Fordon* have evinc'd from *Notkerus Balbus*, and distinguish'd from the *Englishman* *Alcuin*, has the double Honour of being thought the Author of the Books

(a) *Spotilwood. lib. 1. P. 22.*

Books call'd *Caroline*, and the Founder of the Univerſity of *Pavia*; as *Clement* is likewise ſaid to have Founded that of *Paris*. 'Tis certain, that he firſt taught publickly in that City: And to theſe Beginnings, the Univerſity is, and will be ever oblig'd for thoſe Streams of Knowledge, that ſtill continue to flow from thence. Of *Rabanus Maurus*, who, for the Eminency of his Learning and Piety, was prefer'd to the Archbiſhoprick of *Mentz*, it was ſaid, *Quod nec Italia ſimilem, nec Germania equalem peperit*: Nor *Italy* nor *Germany* did ever produce his Equal. *Scotus* was inferior, perhaps, to none of the three: Some Authors have conſider'd him as a Prodigy, and believ'd that he could not have been ſo great a Maſter, eſpecially of Languages, but by Inſpiration. Now that theſe were all *Scots-men*, Dr. *Mackenzie* (a) has prov'd to a Demonſtration, in their reſpective Lives.

King *Achaius* did more in Favour of his Ally *Charlemaign*: (b) He ſent over his Brother *William* or *Guiellerm* (the *French* Annals call him *l' Eſcor*) upon the Head of four thouſand Men, and theſe had the indelible Honour, to ſhare in all the tranſcending Glories of the *French* in thoſe Days. The *Saracens* were routed in *Spain*, and the *Lombards* in *Italy*, and the *Saxons* in *Germany* were not only Routed but Conquer'd, 'It ſeems the *Scots* ſignaliz'd themſelves chiefly in thoſe Countries I mention'd laſt. In *Italy* Prince *William* is ſaid to have Commanded the *French* Army in Chief, and in this Quality to have reſtor'd the noble City of *Florence* to its Liberties and Splendour. Whence 'tis, that by a Law enacted in Memory of the good Office done them, real *Lyons*, becauſe repreſented in the *Scots* Arms, were ever afterwards to be entertain'd in and at the publick Charge of that City.

The *Scots* did no worſe Service in *Germany*, and were repay'd as their Merit deſerv'd: Their Valour and Fidelity (c) had eminently contributed towards the Reduction of the *Saxons*, and therefore *Charlemaign* beſtow'd the chief Magiſtracies and Government of that Nation on them. Prince *William* was a principal Favourite of the Emperor, we may be ſure, ſince he was poſſeſs'd of ſo much Treafure, as enabl'd him to Found no leſs than fifteen Abbeys and Hospitals, (d) all which he endow'd with a reaſonable Proportion of Revenues and Lands: A flagrant proof that Piety and Bravery are not incompatible. The *Iriſh* have challeng'd ſome Title to theſe Monafteries: For no other Reaſon, for ought I know, but becauſe there was a Time when ſome Writers call'd them *Scoti*; and perhaps becauſe (contrary to an expreſs Proviſo made by the Founder, That none ſhould be admitted into theſe religious Houſes, but *Scots-men born*) ſome *Iriſh* have nevertheleſs found Means to get in. How groundleſs their Plea is, ſeverals have been at the Pains to inform the World, particularly *Bonaventure Strachan* in his MS. entitul'd *Germania Chriſtiana per Scotos*: And that their Reaſons are concluding, is evident from

G g 2

this,

(a) Dr. Mackenzie's Lives, vol. 1. p. 62. — Script. XX. edit. Oxon. p. 653. (b) My Lord Ormond. Lett. Boeth. Fordon in vita Achaii. (c) Paul. Æmil. de rebus geſt. Francoſum. p. 42. (d) Spotiſwood lib. 1. p. 23.

this, that to this Day, notwithstanding the length of Time, and frequency of Revolutions, both in Church and State, some of these Houses are, conform to their first Institution, possess'd only by the Scots: And *Du Cange* a Foreigner tells us (a) *That he is mistaken, if either an English or Irish-man can be admitted into those Houses.* And I beg pardon to say, that this Regulation is just, with reference to the *Irish*, so long as the Humour of encroaching shall continue to prevail over Reason and Justice. The *German* Equity had never Outed them, if their Plea had been tenible: And we very well know, that had King *James VII.* (for his Protestant Predecessors did not think it worth their while to concern themselves in that Affair) possess'd the *British* Crown but some few Years longer, the Scots, I mean the *Albin Scots*, had been repon'd to the Possession of these noble Structures and large Revenues, the Paucity of their Numbers occasion'd them to loote. Those they are still Masters of, may (to use the Expressions of Archbishop *Spotiswood*) *decay, yet the Magnificence of that noble Prince William their Founder, shall ever be recorded to his everlasting Honour.*

Thus I have thought fit to give an Account of those remarkable Transactions the Scots were concern'd in, during the Reign of King *Achaius*: And the rather, because, if the Scots Valour began to be seen and felt beyond Seas: If Scots Chiftains attain'd, to Glory and Wealth, above what the Bounds of any Island could afford: If Scots Learning and Piety were diffus'd through the known World: If Hospitals and religious Houses were Founded, even in the midst of Paganism, by and in favour of Scots Christians: If *Italy* to this Day has several most Illustrious Families, that boast their Origine from the then Scots: If *Germany* acknowledges its being Converted and Govern'd by Scots Magistrates and Prelates: If *France* has in all after-Ages consider'd the Scots as Denizons of *France*: And, in fine, if *Scotland* has been hitherto unconquer'd, and at last upon equal Terms united with *England*: All these Advantages are owing to King *Achaius*, as being the first Author of the now broken, but never to be forgotten League. 'Tis true, this League was attended, as all Things on Earth besides, with its own Inconveniencies: For, as 'tis true, that,

*Sine milite Scoto,
Nulla unquam Francis fulsit victoria castris.*

So it must likewise be own'd, that

*Nulla unquam Hectoridas sine Scoto sanguine clades
Sevior oppressit; tu it hæc communiter omnes
Fortuna gens una vices, Francisque minantes
Sepe in se vertit gladios. Scit belliger Anglus,
Scit ferus hoc Batavus, testis Phaetonias unda,
Nec semel infausis repetita Neapolis armis.*

'Tis

(a) *Du Cange* Glôf. med. & inf. lat. vol. 2. p. 778. Germ. edit.

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'Tis evident then, that in the *French* Quarrel, which the *Scots* were bound to consider as their own, they sustain'd considerable Losses, both at home and abroad: Their Country has been overrun, their Cities burnt; their Lands laid waste, their Armies routed, some of their Kings made Prisoners, and others kill'd; But then, they retriev'd their Losses, reconquer'd their Country, ravag'd their Neighbours, sav'd their Allies, gain'd Battles, won Fame, got Riches, were prefer'd to Dignities, the highest that Emperors and Kings can give, and enjoy'd that Trade, which had they improv'd, or had the beneficial Art been then known, would have made them as Powerful as Glorious. These Advantages may be thought to counterballance the Damgages they sustain'd: Which, after all, they could not shun, unless they had made an ignoble Surrender of their Liberties, to their topping Foes; who, by this, and no other Means, could in those Days become their Friends: And even then they must Fight, and sometimes be Defeated as before. Wars have ever been; they're necessary sometimes, but always Calamitous to one or t'other Party. The *Scots* are by Nature fitted for the noble Employment; and, tho they need to Fight no Battles of their own, yet they'll ever be courted or compel'd to share in the Quarrels and Dangers of others: Happy, if also in the Honour and Profit.

Besides, the Glory that returns upon *Achaius* from this League, his Reign was also memorable by the Success his, and the *Pictish* Arms had over the *Saxons*; otherwise he liv'd in a profound Peace, King Achaius's Death. sat on the Throne thirty two Years, and died in the Year of our Lord 819. Mr. *Johnston* praises him thus,

*Fœderis æterni dederam incunabula, nostro
Auspicio musas Gallia docta fovet.
Major ego his, propiorque Deo, mihi militat æther,
Cedit & iratus Mars mihi Marte novo.*

T H E
Life of Kenneth II.

T H E
Sixty Ninth King of *Scotland*.

IT has been doubted and disputed, who of the three, I mean *Fergus I.* *Fergus II.* and *Kenneth II.* ought to be reckon'd the Founder of the *Scots* Monarchy. *Buchanan* is of Opinion, that each of them has merited the glorious Title. The I. made something out of what was next to nothing at all; that is, he gave Laws to a Rabble, and in some measure may be said to have Created a Kingdom. But this Kingdom was Annihilated (I beg pardon for the bold Expressions) and *Fergus II.* Spirited it with new Life. Both had Difficulties, and these very great to surmount: Yet Circumstances were favourable; and what these were I have shewn in their respective Lives. *Kenneth* did something more; he was the lawful Son and Heir of his Father *Alpine*, a magnanimous but unfortunate Prince, who aiming at the Possession of a Kingdom he had Right to, lost his Life, and almost all that he was possess'd of. *Kenneth* succeeded: But to what? To a War entail'd upon him, and in all humane Probability upon his Posterity for ever. He could not give up his just Title to the *Pictish* Throne; and if he had, his usurping Rival had never trusted him. Nothing but the Extirpation, not only of the Person, but of the whole Race and nearest Cousins of a lawful, and at the same time hereditary Sovereign, can secure a Government, whatever it be, that stands not upon its ancient Foundation. This *Drusken* the *Pictish* Usurper was sensible of: He therefore took care, not only to unite the Minds and Persons of his own divided Subjects by all Means and Arguments, that use to take on the like Occasions; but also to over-aw the disaffected, and strengthen the most zealous Assertors of his Right, by foreign Alliances and *English* Auxiliaries. Besides, his Men were flush'd with Victory, and emboldn'd by Success: Every one of them consider'd himself as a Match for perhaps two or three of the then dispirited *Scots*. These last (a) had been totally routed near *Dundee*, their

Kenneth II.
his Birth.

His hard
Circum-
stances.

(a) *Leit. Buchan. Ormond, &c. in vita Alpin.*

their Chiftains butcher'd, and their King beheaded. The Remains of the broken Nation durst not so much as look in the face of their insulting superior Enemies: Nay, their Timidity was such, that even their Nobles acknowledg'd, (a) *That should an Angel be sent from Heaven, commanding them to assert their Sovereign's Right, together with their own Liberties, they could not say, that they would have the Courage to obey.* This recalls to my Memory a very remarkable Piece of Conduct, related by *Plutarch* in the Life of *Solon*, he tells us, that

“ When the *Athenians*, (otherwise no dastardly People) were tyr'd
 “ with a tedious and difficult War, that they manag'd against the
 “ *Megarensians*, for the Island *Salamis*, they made a Law, That
 “ it should be Death for any Man by Writing or Speaking to assert,
 “ that the City ought to attempt its Recovery. *Solon*, vext at the
 “ Disgrace, and perceiving Thousands of the Youth wish for some
 “ Body to begin, but did not dare to stir first, for fear of the Law:
 “ He counterfeited a Distraction, and by his own Family it was spread
 “ abroad the City, that he was Mad. He secretly compos'd an
 “ Elegy; and getting it by Heart, that it might seem *ex tempore*,
 “ he ran out into the Mercat-Place with a Cap upon his Head, and,
 “ the People gathering about him, got up upon the Standing of
 “ the Cryer, and Sang that Elegy, which begins thus,

*From Salamis, that glorious Isle, I come,
 And bring you News, and noble Verses home.*

“ Now whilst he Sang, his Friends commended it, and exhorted
 “ the Citizens to obey his Directions, infomuch that they recall'd
 “ the Law, and renew'd the War under *Solon's* Conduct.

Kenneth acted not the part of a Madman, as *Solon*, but caus'd a Servant to Personate an Angel from Heaven, and by this ingenious Stratagem (which I have already related,) so far prevail'd, that his Nobles reassum'd their Courage in an Instant, and unanimously resolv'd to prosecute the War. They did it with that Vigour and Success, that after two great Battles fought in two different Campaigns, several Fortresses and Cities taken, and (if we may credit *Fordon*) after seven Victories gain'd in one Day, King *Kenneth* reduc'd, and put a final Period to the *Pictish* Name and Nation, united the two Kingdoms, and made that the Center, which had been the remotest Point of his Territories.

His Wisdom.

His Victories & Conquest over the Picts.

For this Reason 'tis that he is accounted the third Founder of the *Scots* Monarchy; nay, and thought preferable to the former two; in so far, that all or most concurring Circumstances favour'd them, and cross'd him; especially that of the Resolution of their Men, and the Backwardness, or rather Pusillanimity of his. For after all, that a General or Prince back'd with a numerous Army, and that well paid, and compos'd of veteran Souldiers and chosen Recruits, should take Towns and gain Battles, is ordinary, but

(a) *Fordon* in vit. *Kenneth*.

that a broken Army and a discourag'd Nation, should by the Conduct or Bravery of one Man, be brought not only to rally, but to fight and overcome their Conquerors, is certainly wonderful, and but seldom to be parallel'd.

Nevertheless, this was not the greatest of King *Kenneth's* Actions. To Conquer in a just War, is Glorious, but to give Laws to restrain Vice, to suppress Violence, to establish Justice, and to make even the Conquer'd happy, is much more so. The *Mackalpine* Laws, so call'd, because *Kenneth* the Son of *Alpine*, either confirm'd or made them, made the Nation to flourish during a great many succeeding Generations. 'Tis not my Province to transcribe them: I return to the History.

His excellent Laws.

His Policy.

Besides these Laws wisely design'd for the general Good of his Subjects, this Politick, as well as Martial Prince, did several things that contributed to secure his Conquest. For he not only planted the *Pictish* Territories with his own Subjects, but also gave new Names to their Provinces and Towns: For Example, the Country call'd *Horest* before, was now nam'd *Angus* and *Merns*, from *Aeneas* and *Mernus* two Brothers, who were prefer'd to the greatest Command in those Parts. The *Peninsula* of *Fyfe*, formerly *Ross*, had its Name from *Fifus*, a brave Officer, whose Sirname, they say, was *Duff*. In the same manner *Dumbar*, was so call'd from *Bar*, another Officer of Reputation. *Lothian* nevertheless retain'd its former Name, which was an Effect of the Conquerors, Naturalty and Honour, who, tho he endeavour'd by all means to bury in perpetual Oblivion, all the Monuments and Remains of that hated People, yet was willing that the Memory of their excellent King *Lothus*, who gave his Name to *Lothian*, and from whom he himself was lineally descended, should never be forgotten.

His Generosity.

Some have thought that the whole Nation of the *Picts* were together, with their Names, Monuments, and Writings, either extirpated by the Sword, or compel'd to fly into foreign Countries, particularly into *England*, *Denmark* and *Norway*: But this is a Mistake. *Kenneth* was not so cruelly Politick, but that he spar'd, says *Fordon*, (a) all those that ask'd Peace and laid down their Arms. Nay, some are of Opinion, that the Body of the People continu'd of the *Pictish* Race, that most of those that at this Day inhabit the low Countries of *Scotland*, are descended from that original Stock, and that their Language, which is conjectur'd to have been the old *Saxon*, is the same we yet speak and write; and consequently that 'tis erroneous to think that the modern *Scots* have borrow'd their Language from the *English Saxons*. Be this as it will, it cannot be deny'd, but that there was a terrible Havock made of the unfortunate *Picts*: But then they must blame their own Obstinacy, more than the Inhumanity of the Counsels or Humour of King *Kenneth*. For a great many of them, even after they had been finally routed, and their Country reduc'd to Obedience, at least in show, had, notwithstanding the Confidence

or

or Courage to set up a new Phantom of a King, (History does not condescend on his Name) and to follow him in spite of Right and Reason, and, which is much more, of Victory it self. This was like the last Effort of expiring Nature. A Detachment of Foot fell upon the unthinking Rabble, and cut them off, together with the pretended King they had set upon their Head. The Residue wander'd long in mountainous and lonely Places, and would sometimes sally out for Plunder and Sustenance to their miserable Lives: Thus they were neither for Peace, nor could they wage a War: But at length weary'd out with Hardships of all sorts, they retir'd to foreign Countries, and there never ceas'd to plot and contrive what Mischiefe they could to those they consider'd as the unjust Possessors of their native Soil. But their Essays were vain, while this King reign'd.

He went on settling the State, and fixing the Throne; to which Purposes he was exact in the least Minuties, *Buchanan* says, to the degree of Superstition. To instance in one, the Kings his Predecessors had ever been in use to sit in a Marble Chair, while the Ceremony of their Coronation was performing. *Sidonius Brevis* is said to have brought this Chair from *Spain* to *Ireland*, and *Fergus I.* from *Ireland* to *Scotland*; since which time it had been preserv'd somewhere in *Argyle*: And now, this King *Kenneth* caus'd it be transported from thence to *Scoon*, a Place situated near the River of *Tay*, which formerly had belong'd to the *Picts*. There he himself was Crown'd anew: And, by his Appointment, all the succeeding Kings of *Scotland*, till the Days of *Edward I.* of *England*. This last having over-run all *Scotland*, as it shall be told in its proper place, thought fit to seise on the Marble Chair, and to have it convey'd to *Westminster*, where it is still to be seen. Now there was a Belief rivetted in the Opinion of the *Scots*, and by Tradition handed down from the earliest to the latest Generations, that wherever this Chair should be plac'd by Chance or Design, there the Fates, or rather Providence had decreed the *Scots* to domineer. To this purpose, and to give the more Credit to the Thing, King *Kenneth* caus'd the following uncouth Verses to be engraven on the Chair, from thence thought and call'd *Fatal*.

He Causes the fatal Chair to be transported to *Scoon*.

*Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.*

Scots-men be sure, where e're you find this Stone;
If Fates fail not, there fixt must be your Throne.

There were those, who in hopes of the Prophecy's being one day accomplish'd, had some Satisfaction to find that the Chair was transported to *England*: And there are still who think, that the Thing came actually to pass, when a *Scots* King first mounted the *English* Throne; tho most *Scots-men* have since been of Opinion,

that they had better wanted the Great, but *Fatal Honour*, so say they, we may term it, in its genuine Sense. However, in my humble Opinion, this Piece of Conduct in King *Kenneth*, was not at all the Effect of his Superstition, but was rather a Reach of Wisdom and Policy above the common Strain. The two great Hinges, upon which all Governments turn, are *Authority* and *Power*. "But this last arising from Strength, (*as Sir William Temple very well observes*) is always in those that are Govern'd, who are many. So that, were it not for the Authority that is in the Governours (who are few) no State could be of any Duration. Now, this Authority may arise from several Sources, as from the Opinion the Multitude conceives of the Wisdom, Goodness, Valour, Right, &c. of their Princes or Magistrates, but from nothing so much as from the Opinion of Divine Favour or Designation of the Person, or of the Races that Govern. This made the Kings among the Heathens, ever derive themselves or their Ancestors, from some of their Gods, and by this means wrought a Belief in the Minds of the People, of their being peculiarly protected by the Deity that gave them their Being. Others join'd the Mitre to the Crown, and thereby the Reverence of Divine, to the Respect of Civil Power. Thus the *Caliphs* of *Persia* and *Egypt* deriv'd themselves by several Branches, from their great Prophet *Mahomet*, the *Yncas* of *Peru* from the Sun, and the *Ottoman* Race is still, in some measure ador'd among the *Turks*, as design'd by Heaven for perpetual Empire. Nay, the Sacring of the Kings of *France* (*as Loyssel tells us*) is the Sign of their Priesthood, as well as Kingdom: And the *Saint ampouille*, is said, and by some believ'd to have been brought by an Angel to *St. Remy* to be for ever preserv'd for the appointed Use. The Belief of these and the like Conceits may be thought Superstitious in the People; but still Princes are in the Right to hold fast the Advantage, that is so very useful towards begetting Respect and Esteem for their Persons and Government. It follows then, that King *Kenneth* had Reason to set all the Value he could upon the believ'd Prophecy and fatal Chair: And this was none of the most unlikely means he employ'd to secure the Conquer'd Kingdom to himself, and transmitted it, as if warranted by Heaven, to his remotest Posterity. So much for his Policy, Wisdom, Valour, and Fortune. His other Actions proclaim him also a Religious Prince. For,

To the Church he gave another Face (a) and a greater Splendour, outward at least, than the foregoing Ages had seen. The Episcopal See (which, whilst the *Pictish* Kingdom stood, was settl'd in *Abernethy*.) he translated to the Church of *St. Ruel*, and ordain'd it from henceforth to be call'd the Church of *St. Andrews*, and the Bishop thereof to be design'd *Maximus Scotorum Episcopus*, The principal Bishop of Scotland. Churches, Chapels and Oratories, with their Priests and all sorts of Religious Men he caus'd to be paid with great

(a) Spottiswood, lib. 1. p. 24.

great Reverence : And, in a word, did so nobly perform all Actions both of War and Peace, that he must needs be plac'd amongst the wisest, bravest, and best of Kings. He reign'd twenty Years, and died in the Year of our Lord 855. Historians give him sometimes the surname of *Victoriosus*, sometimes of *Magnus*, and Mr. *Johnston* celebrates his Praises, as follows :

*Arte Deum simulans, trepidis Mavortia corda
 Adspirat, vires sufficiente Deo.
 Si referam, quis credat? Septem uno agmina fundit
 Victa die, Pictos exitioque premit.
 Fas & jura dedit populis, victoribus arva,
 Adjunxit regni Pictica regna suis.
 Altior humanis caelestia munera obire
 Est ausus; nec quo progrediatur habet.*

T H E

Martial Atchievements

O F T H E

SCOTS NATION.

B O O K · I I .

*From the Dissolution of the Pictish Kingdom,
to the Death of Alexander III.*

Containing the Space of 447 Years.

C H A P . I .

*From the Dissolution of the PICTISH Kingdom, to the Restoration
of King MALCOLM KENMORE.*

Containing the Space of about 218 Years.

SCOTLAND was now in a most flourishing and hopeful Condition: Its Extent was double what it had been in former Times: Justice was impartially administered to all Ranks of People, and Peace had reign'd together with the Victorious *Kenneth*, during the Space of sixteen Years: A great number of the *Picts* had submitted, and liv'd happy under the lawful Government: The more turbulent had retir'd to, and were scatter'd here and there through foreign Countries. These last had no doubt their Correspondences at Home; and when advertis'd of Opportunities offer'd, ceas'd not to raise Enemies to the *Scots* Nation abroad. They made the Governors of such Countries as they had retir'd to, to believe that they had been first Persecuted, then Expel'd out of their Country, contrary to all the Laws of Religion and Reason; that they suffer'd, because good Patriots; that the *Scots* were a lawless encroaching People; that in a short Time their Ambition and

A. D.
855.

The Exil'd
Picts endeavour their
Restoration.

Covetousness would be heightn'd by their former Successes, and still multiplying Numbers : But that hitherto they had not recover'd the Losses sustain'd in Prosecution of the Violences they had acted against the *Picts*: And that those of this last Nation who had submitted to the Yoke, look'd for nothing so much as an Opportunity of shaking it off: That therefore now the warlike and provident King *Kenneth* was dead, and succeeded by his Brother *Donald V.* a Prince, for his many Vices, and idle luxurious Temper, odious even to his own Subjects, a small Force would be sufficient to effect great Things ; and that 'twas as easy to Conquer as to Attack that unjust Nation, and its dastardly Sovereign.

These and the like Arguments prevail'd so far with *Osbrecht* and *Ella*, two of the *Saxon* Kings ; (whether Independent, or in some measure Subservient to the *English* Monarch *Egbert* is uncertain) that they together with their *British* Allies resolv'd to attempt the Restoration of the Refugees, and Conquest of *Scotland*. Accordingly they invaded the Kingdom, and advanc'd upon the Head of a numerous Army, as far as *Jedburgh* in *Teviotdale*. Here they encounter'd with *Donald* the King of the *Scots*, and by him were put to the Rout. This effeminate and unwarlike Prince pursu'd his Victory no farther than the Town of *Berwick*, which he easily retook ; and at the same time seiz'd upon all the Ships in the Road or Harbour, and so made himself Master of all the Ammunition, Provisions and Treasure, design'd for the Entertainment of the vanquish'd Enemy. This large Booty prov'd his Bane : For returning to the vicious Habits he had contracted, he laid aside all Thoughts of Business, and gave himself up to Idling and Luxury. Upon this the scatter'd *Saxons* gathered again into one Body, and being inform'd by Spies or Correspondents, of the proper Time, attack'd and enter'd the Town in the Night, cut off the surpris'd Garrison, and made a Prisoner of the unthinking King. This done, they divided their Army into two Bodies: The one march'd to the Firth of *Forth*, seiz'd on such Boats or Ships as they found on the *Southern* Shore, and embark'd and set sail for the *Northern* ; but by a sudden Storm were forc'd back or cast away in the River. Those that escap'd march'd by Land to *Stirling*, where being join'd by the rest of the Army, they pass'd over the *Forth* upon a Bridge. The *Scots* had got together by this time in considerable Numbers ; but they had more the Appearance and Shew, than the Strength and Order of an Army. They therefore sent off Commissioners to negotiate a Peace. The *Saxons* and *Britains* were by Reason of their Overthrow at *Jedburgh*, and their late Shipwreck, easily induc'd to Terms of Accommodation ; and these were, That the *Scots* should make over to them, all those Territories that ly between *Severus's* Wall, and the Firths of *Clyde* and *Forth*. Hence *Dumbarton* or *Britannodunum* is said to be so call'd, by reason that the *Britains* took Possession of that Place, and the adjacent Country near *Clyde*, by South the *Forth*, fell to the *English* Share :

Perfwade the *Saxons* to assist them.

Are defeated by King *Donald V.*

Retrieve their Losses, and make a Prisoner of King *Donald*.

The *Saxons* and *Britains* neglect the *Picts*, but make Peace with the *Scots*.

Share And some say, I think falsly, that these last having repair'd the Castle of *Stirling*, first coin'd in it that sort of Money we call *Sterling* to this Day. Others add, (a) (for I design to conceal nothing, that can contribute to Illustrate the real Glories of the *English* Nation) that by this Treaty, the King was reliev'd, upon Condition that he should pay a certain Sum of Money for his Ransom; and that this has been call'd a Tribute. If so (for the Matter of Fact is denied by *Buchanan* and most part of the *Scots* Historians) these Articles must needs have been very grating to the Nation, as indeed it seems they were: For, not long after this, they Imprisoned their King; and he unable to brook the Affront, and unwilling to out-live the Power he had made such an inglorious Use of, kill'd himself with his own Sword or Dagger. *Boethius*, *Lesly*, *Buchanan* and *Chambers*, in their respective Lives of this Prince, give much the same Accounts of his unhappy Reign and infamous Death, from what Memoirs or Vouchers I cannot tell. But *Fordon* an elder Historian, and whom I humbly conceive, they should have follow'd, cited or refuted, gives a quite different, nay, a plain contradictory Idea of this Prince, as well as of all the Transactions of his Time. The Author (b) of the *Extracta de Chronicis Scotiae*, and *Andrew Winton*, both Historians, as much to be rely'd on as any we have, agree with *Fordon* (c) upon the Main. They tell us, that this same King *Donald* was a Captain of great Reputation, that he was equally Valiant, Active and Vigilant, understood perfectly the Art of War, had shar'd in all the Glories of his Brother's Conquest, gain'd Battles, and defeated the *Picts* as often as he met with them: That when he attain'd to the Throne, he govern'd his People with Moderation, had a special Regard to his Kindred and Brothers, and cultivated Peace with his Neighbours: That upon the death of King *Kerneth*, the *English*, perswaded by the *Pictish* Refugees, broke the Truce that had been formerly concluded, and invaded his Dominions; but that by his Prudence and the Fidelity express'd to him by those *Picts* that had submitted to the Government, he soon dissipated the Storm, and in the space of but one Year, settl'd and quieted the State: In fine, that he died in Peace (the two last say, he was murder'd) at *Scoon*, and was interr'd in *Icolmkill* in the Year 858. To make this good, I shall transcribe the Words of *Andrew Winton*, who, by the by, liv'd in the Reign of *Robert III.* and wrote his History long before *Boethius* or *Buchanan*. He says, speaking of this King *Donald*, That,

King *Donald V.* reliev'd.

Kills himself according to some Authors.

Others make him a good and happy Prince;

In *Icolmkill* there lyes he,
And there thir Verses Men may see

*Rex Donenaldus erat in Scotia quatuor annis,
In bello miles strenuus ille fuit.*

K k 2

Regis

(a) *Lesl. in vita Donaldi V.* (b) *In Bibliothec. Juridic. Edin.* (c) *Scriptor. XX. edit. Oxon. 1691. p. 667.*

*Regis prædicti frater fuit ille Kenedi,
Qui Sconæ fertur subditus esse neci.*

I must acknowledge, that to me 'tis Matter of Wonder, that grave and judicious Authors, and those of the same Nation, should differ so widely from one another. It cannot be doubted, but that both *Fordon* and *Boethius* have had their Vouchers; but these have probably been acted by the various Reports of differing Parties. Thus the two *Mary's* of *Scotland* and *England*, are by some represented to Posterity, as vertuous Heroines, by others, as Queens memorable only for Bigotry and Sin. The like may be said, even of the so much celebrated Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, and of most, if not all her Successors: So that, or *Fordon* or *Boethius*, and after this last, the succeeding Herd of Authors, have probably been misled by the Spirit of that Party, whose Writings have fallen into their Hands. For my part, I very much incline to believe *Fordon*: He is the eldest Historian of the two, and he wrote in an Age (about the Year 1360) when Parliamentary Power was almost unknown, and Subjects pretended no Right to limit the Royal Prerogative. But afterwards Parliaments became Fashionable, and were thought not only Necessary but Essential to the Constitution of *Scotland*. *Boethius*, and after him most of our Historians, was of this Opinion, which to support, they never fail to catch at all Opportunities of exposing the Failings of Kings, and Authorising the Encroachments made upon them by the factious Nobles: Their Meetings and Deliberations they represent as Legal and Parliamentary; tho' 'tis certain, that Parliaments, properly so call'd, are of a very modern Date in *Scotland*: They were not introduc'd till about, or after the Reign of King *Robert* the *Bruce*, and that for Reasons I shall elsewhere relate. Till then, the People had no Concern in the Government at all: The Nobles had, but only by way of Counsel and Advice, nor that neither; unless call'd for by the King. They often presum'd upon more, but then they acted Illegally; and by impartial Historians must be term'd Rebels. Nevertheless after-Ages, enamour'd with Parliaments have palliated their Crimes, and misrepresented Kings to vindicate the Nobles, or rather to derive from them that Authority which Parliaments afterwards obtain'd. *Fordon*, *Winton*, &c. had no such Views, and therefore met with none, or but very few vicious Princes: And their Accounts of King *Donald* I. I credit the rather, because there is not so much as one old *English* Historian that mentions the Conquest made by *Osbrecht* and *Ella*, nor the Captivity of King *Donald*, nor any thing relative to the Story. A late Author (a) complains of the Silence of his Country-Men, with reference to that memorable Transaction and Conquest, and acknowledges that 'tis only to be found in *Scots* Authors. *Holinshed* has it likewise from the *Scots*; and from the whole draws an Argument for the pretended Homage due by *Scotland* to *England*. But there was no such thing

The Victory of *Osbrecht* and *Ella* uncertain.

(a) Hiltor. of England print. Lond. 1701. vol. 1. p. 51.

thing as Homage known in *Britain*, nor perhaps elsewhere in those Days. The Feudal Law was not yet well Establish'd in the World; and tho' it had been, yet 'tis unfair to add to, or pervert a Story, which if true, is of it self abundantly Glorious to the *English* Nation. And the *Scots* deserve a more obliging Return; since they, and they alone, have preserv'd the Memory of it, and transmitted it down to Posterity. But be this as it will, 'tis certain that the *Picts*, who had rais'd the Storm, made no Advantage by it: For when the Treaty of Peace was set on Foot, their Interest was not so much as mention'd: Nay, some write, (a) that their *English* and *British* Friends, to secure their Lands and Possessions to themselves, kill'd great Numbers of that unfortunate People. The Remainder retir'd to *Norway* and *Denmark*, and there, by their Perswasions, very much contributed to that Mischief which had almost overwhelm'd the whole Island.

The *Picts* male-treated by the *Saxons* and *Britains*,

These *Northern* Regions, barren in every thing else, were yet so fertile in Men, that neither their own Lands nor the neighbouring Seas were able to afford them the Necessaries of Life. Celibacy was thought no Vertue amongst them, and Polygamy no Crime: Their Consciences and Desires were never at odds, no manner of Restraint being put upon them: They were by Variety incited, and could not fail of a numerous Issue, whilst many Women, confin'd to the Bed of a single Husband, conceiv'd as soon as they came to be known. Hence 'tis, that they multiply'd beyond belief; and therefore the Youth was by the Laws of their Country oblig'd to go abroad in search of Fortune: (b) The Heir of each Family stay'd at Home; but the Cadets were numerous enough to make up whole Armies of Adventurers; and these Swarms of Barbarians, Young, Daring, Licentious, Cruel and Lawless, brought Desolation wherever they came. They began at first to Infest the Seas, and at length the Lands of the *Belgick*, *Gallick* and *British* Shores. Some of them over-run those Provinces that ly towards the Mouth of the *Rhine*, and gave to those Parts next the Sea the new Names of *Holland* and *Zeland*. *France* was invaded by others, and yielded at last the large Country call'd *Normandy*, from the *Northern* People that had Conquer'd it; yet were willing to hold it of the Crown of *France*. *Ireland* is the only Country I have read of, to which they did Good. For, whereas they destroy'd the Monuments, Edifices and Cities of other Places; here they were the first (c) who either Built or Peopl'd a Town. The sluggish Natives more Savage, tho' Christians, than those very *Barbarians*, being incapable to perform so good a Work, much less, humbly conceive, to cultivate Learning, erect Academies, preserve Records, write Histories; and those so Authentick, as to outvye the *Scottish*, and all others besides, as *Dr. Kennedy* and some others have the groundless Vanity to Assert.

Encourage the *Danes* & *Norwegians* to invade the Islands

L 1

The

(a) M^r Lord Ormond dans la vie de Donald. (b) Orleans Histor. des Revolut. d' Angl. lib. 1. p. 31. — Echard Hist. of Engl. lib. 1. p. 64. Baker, &c. (c) Sir John Davis his Appendix to Sir James Ware his Histor of Ireland, p. 37. edit. Dubl. 1704.

The first Attempt upon *Ireland* was made (a) in anno 795: They fought with various Successes: But the *Danes, Norwegians, &c.* for the most part prevail'd; and one of their Commanders call'd *Turgessus*, govern'd most of the Country with an arbitrary tyrannical Sway, during the Space of 30 Years: But he and most of his Men were in anno 845 cut off by a Conspiracy of the *Irish*. In 841, having recruited their Forces, they possess'd themselves of the Country adjacent to *Dublin*, from them call'd *Fingal*: For the ancient *Irish* call'd all Foreigners *Gauls*, and the North Suburbs of *Dublin* retain the Name of *Ostman* or *Oxman-Town* to this Day; from these *Ostmans* or *Easterlings*, so design'd by Reason of *Norway* and *Denmark's* being Situated towards the East with respect to *Ireland*. In 853, they built three Cities, *Dublin, Waterford* *Limrick*; and in process of Time proceeded to build more, particularly Maritime ones: All which they lost and repossess'd by Turns. So that till the Year 1170, when the *English* first invaded *Ireland*, the Sovereignty of that unhappy Country was sometimes usurp'd by one Prince, sometimes, and for the most part, divided among many, and those ever contending with, and encroaching upon one another.

England suffer'd no less, and was not in the least improv'd by these Barbarians. They began to make Descents and Inroads into that fruitful and now again happy Kingdom, (b) in the Reign of its first *English* Monarch the brave King *Egbert*: Nor did they give it any long respite for above 230 Years. *Egbert* was once worsted by them, and this was the only Check of Fortune, we read of, that he ever receiv'd. But, tho' the Enemy kept the Field of Battle, he even then made such a Retreat, as, in the Opinion of wise Men, was as Glorious as a Victory: And two Years after, they having invaded his Dominions anew, he gave them a total Overthrow, and freed his Kingdom at that Time from the Invasion of an Enemy more fierce and barbarous than the *Saxons* before them.

Egbert repels the Danes.

Ethelwulf.

Ethelwulf succeeded his Father King *Egbert* in the *English* Throne, and his unwarlike Disposition gave both Encouragement and Entrance to the returning *Danes*. They made several Descents in different Places at the same Time; so that the Inhabitants were confounded and at a loss, how to make any Resistance. The King did what he could. He divided his Forces under the Conduct of his different Lieutenants. And these had as various Successes, vanquishing sometimes, and being as often foil'd. At length, after the inhumane Invaders had barbarously wasted the Nation, over-run large Countries, taken and pillag'd both *Canterbury* and *London*, they were met by the King in Person, at *Oakley* in *Surrey*, and afterwards by his Brother *Athelstane* at *Sandwich*, and on both Occasions were defeated; yet not so entirely, but that they made good their Winter-quarters in *England*: From whence this King, notwithstanding of all the Victories

(a) Sir James Ware his History of the Antiquities of Ireland, edit. *Dubl.* 1704. p. 56, 57, 58. &c. (b) *E.* *chard, D'Orleans, Baker, &c.* in the Life of *Egbert* and his Successors.

Stories he and his Lieutenants had gain'd, could never expel them in his Time.

His two eldest Sons and immediate Successors, *Ethelbald* and *Ethelbert*, maintain'd the Kingdom much in the same State they found it. But his third Son *Ethelred* was not so lucky. His Reign was more tempestuous than any before him, being but one continu'd Conflict with the same *Danes*, who seem'd to multiply upon their being defeated, and to increase as soon as cut off. He had no sooner ascended the Throne, but a vast Army of these Ravagers under the Conduct of *Hinguar* and *Hubba* landed in the North, whither probably the *Pictish* Refugees directed them: For *Osbrecht* or *Ella*, or both, reign'd in those Parts; and how these two Princes had serv'd the *Picts* after their Expedition in *Scotland*, I have already related. Against them the *Danes* march'd as far as *York*, which being then but slenderly Wall'd, the *Northumbrians* were terribly slaughter'd, both within and without, their two Kings slain, and the City burnt. The victorious *Danes*, in the following Year, pass'd over into *Mercia*, winter'd at *Nottingham*, and forc'd the Inhabitants to accept of Articles of Truce. But this Truce they perfidiously broke, pass'd over the *Humber* into *Lindsey*, miserably wasted the Country, consuming all things with Fire and Sword; and particularly destroy'd the famous Monastery of *Bardney*, where they Kill'd all the Monks in the Church without Mercy. Those of *Crowland*, *Peterborough*, *Ely* and *Huntington* had the same Fate in their Turns. And the Nuns of *Coldingham*, to avoid the barbarous Pollutions of these Pagans, had the Resolution to cut off their Noses and Upper-lips: A rare Example of Christianity and Fortitude, and yet such as I should think not inimitable to womanly Vertue, if attack'd by Men loathsome and barbarous, as the *Danes* are represented to have been in those Days. Monks and Nuns were not the only Objects of their Cruelty. Kings, when overcome, met with no greater Civility: Witness *St. Edmund*, a King of the *East-Angles*: For hitherto the Monarchy was not compleated, inferior and subject Lords still retaining the Title, and some thing like the Power of Kings. This *Edmund* was put to flight, taken at *Hoxon*, and set up as a Butt to shoot at; where calling upon God, and professing himself a Martyr, he was first Scourg'd, then Shot through with many Arrows, and at length, Be-headed.

All this while the *English* were not wanting to themselves, nor to their Countrey. The valiant *Algar*, Earl of *Holland* gave Battle to the *Danes* in *Lincolnshire*; slew great Multitudes of them, and amongst these, three of their Kings; and being the next Day attack'd by five more Kings, and as many Earls, he died at length, as did all the Commanders about him, upon Heaps of the slaughter'd Aggressors. *Ethelwulf*, another Earl, fought and defeated them at *Englefield*: And King *Ethelred* is said to have engag'd the same Enemy, no less than nine times in one Year. He was Victorious for the most Part, but was at length worsted and kill'd in 872.

Ethelbald,
Ethelbert,
Ethelred.

A. D. 866.

The Kings
Osbrecht and
Ella slain by
the *Danes*
at *York*.

Who com-
mitted un-
heard of
Barbarities
in *England*.

The *Eng-
lish* struggle
hard for
their Liber-
ties, in Op-
position to
the *Danes*.

The King of the *Scots*, *Constantine II.* had much the same Fate. (a) He was the Son of the Victorious *Kenneth*, and had succeeded in the Throne to King *Donald V.* This *Constantine* prov'd an excellent Prince: He set about the Reformation, both of Church and State, with Vigour. To Churchmen he gave many good Laws, and confining them to the Business of their Vocation, he strictly prohibited their concerning in, or meddling with secular Affairs, those of the State particularly. Drunkenness in all Men he punish'd with Death, and appointed that none should eat above one Meal in the Day, or use any Recreation, but such as was proper to embolden their Minds, and inure their Bodies to Hardships and Labour. This Severity was profitable to all, yet disagreeable to a few of the licentious Youth, who headed by one *Ewen*, a Chieftain in *Lochaber*, enter'd into a Conspiracy against the Life of the King. But the Plot was luckily discover'd, and its principal Contrivers executed, as they deserv'd. By this means the King reign'd in Peace, equally lov'd and fear'd by his happy Subjects, during the space of thirteen Years. All this while, the *Danish* and *Norwegian* Fleets hover'd up and down upon the *Scots* Coasts, to the great Terror of the Inhabitants. But the Storm blew over, and had hitherto fallen upon *England*, the more fruitful Soil; and that, which, by reason of the yet unsettl'd Monarchy, was most likely to yield the sought-for Entertainment. Besides, the King took care to divert their Insults by civil Offers, and some Performances: He would sometimes admit their Ships into his Harbours and Ports: He gave them all the Securities they could desire for Trade, and supply'd them frankly with Provisions and Necessaries. But all this would not do, the *Picts* were mixt with the *Danes* at Sea, and on Land with the *Scots*: Those of that Nation continu'd or renew'd their Correspondences and Practices, and in 870 prevail'd with the two famous Brothers *Hinguar* and *Hubba*, to turn their Arms against *Scotland*. Accordingly they landed in a Hostile manner in the Shire of *Fyfe*, laid desolate the whole Country, and committed Barbarities unheard of till that Time. Their Fury fell heaviest on the Religious and Clergy, whose Persons they murther'd and whose Retirements they burnt or level'd with the Ground. There was at that Time a famous Monastery in the Island of *May*, to which *Hadrian*, the first Bishop of *St. Andrews*, retir'd for Safety. *Stolbrandus*, another Bishop, *Monanus*, an Arch-Deacon, *Glodianus* a Presbyter, and a great many others, did the like, but to no Purpose: The *Pagans* follow'd, and put all to the Sword. No Sanctuary was secure, and no Walls could prove a Defence against Cruelty let loose: None escap'd but such as hid themselves in unsearchable Recesses and Caves.

Constantine II. King of *Scotland*, an excellent Prince.
A. D. 858.

A. D. 879.
Is attack'd by the *Danes*

Who make great Devastations in *Scotland*.

Constantine did all he could to oppose the growing Mischief: He Summon'd his People to Arms; and their Obedience seem'd as hearty as his Commands were necessary and Just. The *Danes* lay encamp'd in two different Bodies, and these were divided by the River

River

(a) Boeth. Ford; Buch. in vit. Constant. — Spotiswood lib. 2. p. 23. *

River of *Levin*. *Constantine* attack'd that which was commanded by *Hubba*; and his Men being superior in Numbers, and equal at least in Courage, obtain'd an easy Victory, which was compleated by an Accident: For the River chanc'd to be swell'd to a great height by late Rains, so that the half of the *Danish* Army had the cruel Mortification to stand idle Spectators, and see the other half cut to Pieces, or drown'd in the unfordable River. *Hubba* and a very few more made a shift to escape by Swimming. The *Scots* follow'd the retreating Enemy as soon as the decrease of the Torrent allow'd them: But with that Confidence and Assurance of Victory, that has often been destructive to conquering Armies. The *Danes* on the contrary took all the cautious Measures they could think of to guard their broken Forces from farther Mischief. They entrench'd themselves on the Shore, not far from the Town of *Carrail*. The Rocks that stand here and there in the Field of Battle, were of great use to them; and between these, the Interstices were fill'd up with Heaps of Stones. The eager *Scots*, flush'd with their former Success, thought no Difficulties unconquerable: They charg'd the Enemy with inconsiderate Fury; who being by Art strengthn'd, and by Despair emboldn'd, repell'd them again and again, with that Success, that the unwary Aggressors, having lost huge Numbers of Men, retir'd in disorder, and could not be prevail'd upon to rally. As those *Picts* that serv'd in the *Scots* Army began the flight, so they were blam'd for the Loss of the Day, and shrewdly suspected, not so much of Cowardice, as of Treason and Design. The King unwilling to flee, was known, taken, dragg'd to, and by the Barbarians beheaded at the Mouth of a little Cave, call'd to this Day, in detestation of that Villany, the *Devil's Cave*.

But lose a Battle.

Gain another.

And kill the King at the Devil's Cave.

The *Scots* Nation had probably been undone after this signal Overthrow, but for the Courage and Conduct of the King's Brother *Ethus*, firnam'd *Alipes* or *Wing'd-foot*, by reason of his wonderful Agility of Body, and Swiftness in Running. This Prince brought off the Remainder of the Army, and made such a Shew in the Fields, that the *Danes*, weakn'd by their almost equal Losses, thought not fit to hazard another Engagement: But, after ravaging the Country of *Lothian*, then, as some say, possess'd by the *English*, they march'd Southward into *Northumberland*, and from thence carried through all the Provinces of *England* those Devastations and Miseries I have already related: Tho' others write, particularly *For-don*, that the Storm return'd from *England* to *Scotland*. For this Author tells us, (a) that King *Constantine* was murthr'd two Years after the Martyrdom of *St. Edmund*; which the *English* say, (b) was in the Year 869: And the *Scots* are generally agreed, that their Overthrow and the Death of the King, were effected rather after than before the 870. If so, 'tis reasonable to believe, that the *Danes* retir'd to their Ships, and went home for Recruits. However,

King *Ethus* Succeeds to *Constantine*.His Success against the *Danes*.

M m

Ethus

Ethus was thought to have done this Country a valuable Piece of Service ; which, together with the great Reputation he was possess'd of, made a Faction of the Nobles acknowledge him as King. But, says *Fordon*, (a) Prince *Gregory*, the Son of *Dongallus*, now a Man, (and a great Man he afterwards prov'd) had a better Title in Law, and therefore could not fail of a Party to promote his Pretensions. Upon this a Civil War commenc'd, and a Battle ensu'd at *Sirathalorn*, where *Ethus* lost his Life, with the Crown he had usurp'd.

Is defeated and kill'd in Battle by the legal Heir King *Gregory*.

The Reign of *Gregory* was a Reign of Wonders. He regain'd those Provinces King *Donald* had lost, conquer'd *Northumberland* from the *Danes*, and *Cumberland* and *Westmorland* from the *Britains*, over-ran and gave Laws to *Ireland*, whose young King he not only protected but restor'd. But of these Things afterwards, when I come to write the Life of this Monarch, whose great Actions deserve to be recorded apart. He was cotemporary with *Alfred*, another Heroe, and by some (b) said to have been the first supream Monarch of *England*: And is therefore compar'd to *Augustus Caesar*; who, tho he Founded not the Empire, yet compleated and brought it to Perfection. Upon his first Accession to the Throne of his Brother *Ethelred*, he was oblig'd to engage the whole Power of the *Danes* at *Wilton*: And he and his Army fought to Admiration, yet lost the Field. However he found Means to make a Peace with them, and to obtain Hostages for Security of the Treaty. But in vain, the Barbarians were not to be bound by Treaties, and it was not long ere they took *London*, possess'd themselves of all *Mercia*, *Northumberland* and *Cambridge*: From whence, after having spread themselves over all that Country, they were again by good Management or Money, brought to Terms of Peace. But, as before, so, very soon after, they falsified their Oaths a second and a third time, and pursu'd their Advantages so closely, that the King himself, with a few of the best and bravest of his Subjects, was fain to retire into woody and boggy Places; and there liv'd a melancholy Life, in the greatest Trouble and Scarcity that can be imagin'd. Nevertheless, Providence, ever favourable to the sacred Persons of lawful Kings, afforded him an Opportunity of retrieving his own Losses, and those of the State. The terrible *Hubba* was kill'd, together with 1120 of his Men, by a sudden Sally of the Garrison of *Kenwith*. Upon this the King came abroad, and his legal Subjects resorting to him from all Parts, he soon after attack'd and routed the Enemy. He did much more: For by a subsequent Treaty, he oblig'd all the Pagans, or to quite his Dominions, or to submit to his Laws. One of their Princes call'd *Gornon*, embrac'd the Christian Religion, and the pious as well as brave *Alfred*, receiv'd him from the Font at his Baptism, and became his God-father. In pursuance of this Agreement, all the *Danes* retir'd into *East-Sex* and *East-England*, which Countries were given them for their Habitations. Notwithstanding of this, new Swarms of *Danish* Rovers from beyond Sea, continu'd to infest the Seas and Shores.

King *Gregory* co-temporary with *Alfred* a brave King of *England*. A. D. 872.

Who is brought very low by the *Danes*.

But retrieves his Losses.

But

(a) Loco citato. (b) Echar'd Histor. of Engl. vol. 1. Book 1. p. 70. &c. — Baker p. 12. &c.

But *Alfred*, having fitted out a noble Fleet, and, having taken all necessary Measures to prevent the usual Correspondence between new Comers and those already settl'd in the Nation, foil'd them on all Occasions; and after no less than fifty six set Battles by Sea and Land, had been fought by himself or his Lieutenants, (of which Eight are said to have happen'd in one Day) he so wasted the Barbarians Forces, tho' they still came in with fresh and vast Numbers, that they were constrain'd to give what Hostages he demand'd, and to submit to such Conditions as he thought fit to impose.

The Reign of his Son and Successor *Edward* the Elder, who ascended the Throne in the Year 900, was as Tumultuous, and no less Glorious. This Prince, assisted chiefly by that Miracle of her Sex and Age, *Ethelfleda* his Sister, the Countess of *Mercia*, repel'd all Invasions from abroad, and brought all the Inland Danes to Obedience, took into his own Hands large Territories that had been wrested from his Predecessors. And the *Saxon Annals* tell us, *That the King of the Scots chose him for his Lord and Patron, together with the Scottish Nation it self.* A Tale so ridiculous, that *Baker*, and others forbear to relate it. *Marianus Scotus*, (a) falsely cited as a Voucher of it by some Authors, does not so much as mention any such thing: Nay, *Polydore Vergil*, no great Friend to *Scotland*, plainly contradicts it, and says, *That this King Edward obtain'd the Sovereignty of all the People in the Island, except the Scots.* But I shall suppose (tho' I cannot allow it to be true) that the King and Scots Nation did pass such a high Compliment upon this King, as to call him *Father* or *Lord*: What then? Does it hence follow that they subjected themselves to his Scepter, and (as the *Annals* Phrase it) *chose him to be Lord over their King*? 'Tis not pretended, that he subdu'd them: And all that can be said upon the Matter, as *Sir James Dalrymple* judiciously observes, is in short this: He was a potent Monarch, and the King of the Scots, as well as the other Princes and People mention'd in the *Saxon Annals*, courted his Friendship, and by way of Compliment call'd him *Father* and *Lord*. Thus *Achaius*, another King of *Scotland*, is by *French* Authors said to have call'd the Emperor *Charlemaign* *Lord*, and himself, that Monarch's Servant and Subject: Yet we find not that either he, or any of his Successors, whether Emperors of *Germany*, or Kings of *France*, did ever from thence pretend to a Superiority over *Scotland*.

Athelstane, King *Edward's* natural, but legitimated Son, succeeded him in Anno 924: And his Reign came not short of the Glories of any of the former. He had Wars with all or most of his Neighbours, and had always the better of them. He suppress'd the Danes, vanquish'd the *Welsh*, and, says Mr. *Echard*, (b) *Defeated the Scots, and forc'd them to deliver up themselves and their Possessions into his hands.* 'Tis surprizing that at this time of Day, any one of the brave *English*, that are deservedly possess'd of so many real Glories, should be found so Partial as to perpetuate, not only forgotten Animosities, but ground-

A. D. 900.

Edward the Elder of England, a great King, but falsely said to have lorded it over Scotland.

Athelstane.

A. D. 924.

(a) *Craig* concerning *Homage*. p. 176. (b) *In his Life.*

The Scots
were not
Conquer'd
by, nor did
they pay
Homage
for Scotland
to King
Athelstane.

less and empty Fictions, forg'd long since by Calumny, to support After-pretensions, and refuted again and again, beyond the Possibility of a Reply. *Florence of Worcester* was perhaps the first that broach'd the Calumny, and after him *William of Malmsbury*, *Henry of Huntington*, *Roger Howeden*, *Matthew of Paris*, *Thomas Walsingham*, and *Matthew of Westminster*: All Copiers after one another, and who wrote their Histories at a Time when the *English* Pretensions over *Scotland*, were most fiercely disputed, and thereby a War occasion'd, so lasting and bloody, that no less than 300000 Men fell in the Quarrel: And by this time, they have accounted to Almighty GOD for the share they had in the letting out so much Blood, and in the wasting of so much Treasure. But since these Monks (and Monks are ever the most National of Men) could not promote the Grandeur of their King or Country by their Swords, it seems they thought fit to do what they could with their Pens and Tongues: And who was he that did not, in that critical Juncture, endeavour it with utmost Zeal? Before this Period of Time, there's no Author that positively asserts any Homage paid by the Kings of *Scotland*, as such, to *Edward*, *Athelstane*, or any of the *Saxon* Monarchs: And whoever believes or writes, that the *Scots* were Vassals in these Days to the *English*, he assents in Defiance of Right and Reason, to the Testimony of Men, that never saw what they wrote, nor can bring any approv'd Historians to vouch what they say; and those by their Profession Monks, that is, Men dead to the World, remote from Business, and uncapable, by their own Laws and those of Nations, to draw up any publick Act, to which Credit might be given; Men born and bred in *England*, subject to the King of *Englands* Power, and consequently profess'd and declar'd Enemies to the then Kings and Country of *Scotland*, against whom they are brought in as Witnesses: Than which, nothing can be imagin'd that's more unfair. The Truth of the Matter is this: The Kings of *Scotland* were (a) (as 'tis own'd by *Holinshed*, *Malmsbury*, *Henry of Huntington*, *Camden*, &c.) possess'd of three *English* Provinces, *Cumberland*, *Northumberland*, and *Westmorland*. And if any Homage was paid, which yet even the Monastick Authors do not plainly assert, it was no doubt upon the Account of these. The great King *Gregory* had first brought them under his Obedience. (b) He was succeeded by *Donald VI.* a Prince worthy of the high Post. 'Twas his Choice to live in Peace with his Neighbours, but he was ever ready and prepar'd for war. He caus'd the Youth to be train'd up to Hardships and Labour, and was carefull, lest, by inglorious Sloth or Luxury, he should lose what his Predecessor had acquir'd with so much Labour and Courage. The *Danes* were so far from daring to attack him, that on the contrary they courted his Friendship, and offer'd mighty things, if he would join his Forces with theirs, and assist in the Reduction of *England*. They had formerly solicited King *Gregory* to the same Purpose. But, as this last had rejected the Over-

A. D. 892.
Donald VI.
a worthy
Prince.

ture

(a) Craig. concerning Homage chap. 18. (b) Buchan. Boeth. Less. &c. in vit. Greg. Donald VI. & Constant. III.

ture, so at this time *Donald* did the like, perswaded (a) that 'twas by no means lawful for a Christian Prince to carry on a War, tho otherwise just, against Christians, with the Assistance, and to the Advantage of Pagan Allies. Upon this a Fleet of the *Danes* threatn'd to invade *Northumberland*, at least they lay long at Anchor upon the Coasts of that Country, yet offer'd no Injury. They durst not, for *Donald* had a brave Army in readiness to receive them. They therefore thought fit to draw off, and descend elsewhere in the *English* Territories: But even there they met with Opposition from the *Scots*; for the King sent a considerable Body of Forces to the Assistance of the *English Alfred*, whose Victories and Successes I have already taken notice of, the rather, because the *Scots* had the Honour to share in them. This done, the King return'd to *Scotland*: And after having suppress'd a dangerous Insurrection, occasion'd by Feuds and Quarrels between the Inhabitants of *Murray* and *Ross*, he Died; some write, by Poyson treacherously given to one of the best of Kings; others, that he went back to *Northumberland*, in order to watch the always suspected Motions of the perfidious *Danes*, and that he Sicken'd there in the Year 903.

His Successor *Constantine* III. was no vicious Prince, but not so constant and steady in Good, as *Gregory* or *Donald*. They had generally rejected the Friendship of Pagans: He embrac'd it, hoping thereby to extend the Limits of his Kingdom, or at least to preserve those *English* Provinces, which *Edward* the Elder, now King of *England*, pretended a Right to. With this View, he made over the County of *Cumberland* to *Malcolm* the Son of King *Donald*, and consequently his own legal Successor in the *Scottish* Throne; And appointed, that henceforth the legal Heirs of the Crown should possess that Country as their Appanage, which therefore he doubted not but they would be the more Sollicitous to defend against the *Danish* Insults, or *English* Pretensions. *Buchanan* tells us, that this was to predetermine the Successor, and consequently an Encroachment upon the States, by whose Votes Kings had wont to be Elect-ed: But under favour, this rather shews, that Kings were never elected by the States; if then there was any such thing as a Convention of States usual in *Scotland*: For if so, they had complain'd of the Breach of their Privileges, and would not have suffer'd (without raising some violent Struggle) the Constitution to have been thus overturn'd. 'Tis plain then, that the Law pointed out the Successor: And to this Successor (whose undoubted Right the People knew, and the Nobles met only to recognize and acknowledge) *Constantine* thought fit to give the County of *Cumberland*. We read no where that the *Scots* quarrel'd the Thing, but the King of *England* did. He consider'd that Country to be a Part of his own Dominions; because it was once so: And being resolv'd to recover the same, he found means to detach the *Danes* from the *Scots*, and to bring them over to an Alliance with himself: But to their Cost: For

Constantine
III.

Makes *Mal-*
colm the Son
of *Donald* VI.
Prince of
Cumberland.

Enters into
a League
with the
Danes.

(a) Ford. Scrip. XX. p. 670.

having by this means lull'd them asleep, he fell upon them unawares, ravag'd their Land, and reduc'd them almost to Despair. Upon this they had again Recourse to the same *Scots*, they had but lately abandon'd, beg'd their Assistance, and solemnly Swore an inviolable Friendship. *Constantine*, mov'd by Reasons of Interest, comply'd with the Request: And a War presently ensu'd between the *Scots* and *Danes*, on the one side, and the *English* on the other.

A. D. 938. *Athelstane* was now on the *English* Throne, a Martial and Heroick Prince; tho' *Scots* Authors write, (a) that he was not only a Bastard, but an Usurper and a Parricide, who to make his way to the Throne, had murther'd his two Brothers *Edred* and *Edwin*, and his Father *Edward*, by some, for that very Reason, Sirnam'd the *Martyr*. And the *Norwegians*, (b) particularly *Albert Krantzius*, assert, that he was a cowardly Prince: And that he transacted with the King of *Norway* to deliver him his Kingdom after his Death, on Condition that he would divert the Arms of the *Danes* from *England*. But this I am confident is false; And I shall be far from relying on the Testimony of Enemies or Foreigners, when to magnify their own Nation, they presume to blacken the Memory of Princes, by their own Subjects, certainly the best Judges, accounted, as this *Athelstane*, a brave, wise, and not irreligious Prince.

He had dispossest'd *Godefrid* the *Danish* King of *Northumberland*, by what means those of that Nation had regain'd it from the *Scots*, now in Confederacy with them, I cannot tell: And he having fled into *Scotland*, and his Brother *Anlaf* into *Ireland*, *Athelstane* (c) dispatch'd Ambassadors to *Constantine* King of the *Scots*, who demanded the Fugitive to be deliver'd up, upon the Peril of a speedy War. Some write, says Mr. *Echard*, that a War did really commence, and that *Athelstane* drove his Enemies before him, as far as *Dunfeodor* and *Merlmore*, two Places never extant in *Scotland*, if we credit Sir *Thomas Craig*. But *Malmsbury* affirms, that both *Constantine*, and *Eugenius* King of *Cumberland* (he should have said *Malcolm* Prince of, and not King of *Cumberland*) readily came to a Place call'd *Dacor*, where they deliver'd up themselves and their Possessions into the Hands of the King of *England*, who became Godfather to the Son of *Constantine*. But unluckily this *Constantine* had not a Son, else he had come to the Throne sometime or other. I admire that Mr. *Echard* forgets to tell us the Story concerning St. *John of Beverly*: It seems he thought (and he was in the right on't) that the ridiculous Legend would invalidate the Testimony of the Monks, his Vouchers. They write (d) that *Athelstane*, being at *Dunbar*, (where by the by he never was, nor did he ever enter *Scotland*) and doubting, as well he might, whether or not the Superiority over *Scotland* was rightfully due to him, (his Title even to *England* is question'd to this Day,) he pray'd to God, that by the Merits and Intercession of St. *John of Beverly*, he would discover the truth to him

The Story of St. *John of Beverly*, and some other Assertions of the Monks confuted.

(a) Buchan. in vita Constant. III. (b) Craig concerning Homage. chap. 18. p. 199. (c) Echard Hist. Engl. lib. 1. 82, and 83. (d) Craig loc. citat. Baker p. 14. &c.

him by some Miracle: And so drawing his Sword, he struck a huge ill-shapen Stone, and made a great Clift in it; the Stone yielding as easily as if it had been Butter or Bees-Wax. This to be sure was a plain proof of the Justice of his Cause, and a certain Pre-
 sage of his Victory. Nevertheless the *Scots*, even in those credulous Ages, were not convinc'd, notwithstanding the Prodigy they could never be brought to believe.

They invaded *England* under the Conduct, not of their King *Constantine*, as the *English* erroneously write, but of *Malcolm* the Prince of *Cumberland*, and being join'd by the *Danish* Commander *Anlaf*, they laid all waste before them, on purpose to irritate, and so to draw the *English*, by much inferior in Number, to an Engagement. But, as the Confidence the Confederates had in their own Strength, made them rash and presumptuous; so the Fear of Danger made the Enemy wary. *Atbelstane* wisely gave way to the first Fury of the numerous Aggressors, who believing their Victory certain, and fearing, lest the more backward and cowardly of their Comrades, should seize on the Booty, they gave over the Chace, and thought of nothing, but of enriching themselves by Plunder. Upon this the *English* rally'd, return'd to the Field of Battle, and made such a Slaughter of the greedy covetous Souldiery, as the like had never been seen. The *Scots* Nobility stood their Ground to the last, and were therefore almost all cut off. Prince *Malcolm* escap'd narrowly, having been dangerously wounded and carried off the Field. All own that the *English* gain'd a compleat Victory; but these last relate it otherwise. (a) The Confederates, say they, chose rather by Night to surprize their Enemy, than fairly to give them Battle in open Field by Day light; and accordingly they fell suddenly upon the *English*, at *Brunanburg* in *Northumberland*. (*Fordon* calls the Place *Broumyghfield*) and causing a great Tumult, the King tho a Mile off, and his whole Army took the Alarm, and by Night came to the Place of the Slaughter, where they found the Assailants tir'd and disorder'd by their late Travel, and for want of Sleep. King *Atbelstane* met with *Anlaf*, and *Turketul* his Kinsman engag'd *Constantine*: He bravely pass'd through the Heaps of *Orcadians* and *Picts*, bearing a Wood of Darts and Arrows on his Breast-Plate, and breaking in upon whole Companies of *Cimbrians* and *Scots*, he at length reach'd *Constantine* himself, whom he dismounted, and would have taken alive: But the *Scots* were so concern'd for their King, that they made a very dangerous Resistance; and many of them pressing upon the few *English* that follow'd him, and all aiming chiefly at *Turketul*, he began to repent of his rashness, seeing no means of escaping, or getting off his Prisoner; when on a sudden *Singin*, another valiant Captain, coming in afresh to his Rescue, kill'd King *Constantine*: And the Report flying about the Army, *Anlaf* and his *Danes* fled as well as the *Scots*, after an incredible Slaughter of both Nations.

The Scots under the Conduct of Malcolm Prince of Cumberland invade England.

Are defeated by King Atbelstane.

(a) Echard lib. 1, chap. 4. p. 83, vol. 1.

All that's here said of King *Constantine* is certainly false; for tho he was, as an *English* Author (a) Characterizes him, *Vir magna animositatis, & vivacis senectæ*, a Prince of great Courage, and lively, even in his old Age, yet all *Scots* Historians positively assert (and why should they do it if not true) that he was not present at the Battle of *Brounygfield*, but that on the contrary, he outliv'd that fatal Engagement full nine Years, of which he spent the last five in a Monastery of Religious, commonly call'd the *Culdees* at *St. Andrews*, whither he willingly retir'd, out of a Motive of Piety, leaving the Throne to Prince *Malcolm* I. his lawful Successor.

King *Constantine* III. turns a Monk,

A. D. 943.

The *Scots* lose *Cumberland* and *Westmorland*,

But are repossess'd of them by King *Edmund*.
A. D. 946.

To be held of the Crown of *England*.

The Consequence of the late Overthrow receiv'd by the *Scots* and *Danes* was this: The former lost *Cumberland* and *Westmorland*, and the latter *Northumberland*; all three being, by the Victorious *Athelstane*, reunited to the other Dependencies of the Crown of *England*. To him succeeded his Brother *Edmund*, and he is said (b) to have driven *Anlaf* out of *Northumberland*, and to have harass'd *Cumberland*: Upon what Account I cannot guess; since 'tis own'd that the *Scots* were already dispossest of it. But what Mr. *Echard* adds, is very true, viz. that he gave it to *Malcolm* King of *Scotland*, upon Condition, that he should assist him in all his Wars, both by Sea and Land: He also gave *Westmorland* upon the same Terms. He had reason, for he very well knew, that the *Scots* would not be easily induc'd to lay down their Claim to those Countries. He dreaded their Union with the *Danes*, who again began to stir, and aim'd at no less than the Sovereignty of the whole Island. King *Malcolm* on the other hand thought it more honourable and just, to side with the Christian *English* (till of late the faithful Allies of his Predecessors) than with the Pagan, perfidious and aspiring *Danes*, whose very Friendship was by Experience found to be unsafe. 'Tis true, that *Edmund* and his Successors, Kings of *England*, exacted of him and his Successors, or rather of the apparent Heirs of the *Scots* Crown, call'd Princes of *Cumberland*, a solemn Oath, by which they acknowledg'd themselves Vassals for the Lands they enjoy'd in *England*. This they could not reasonably decline: For after all, these *Northern* Provinces had, as all the rest of the *Heptarchy* by long Prescription, and by Possession out of Mind, belong'd to the Crown and Monarchs of *England*. And since these last now yielded them frankly to the Kings and Princes of *Scotland*, those had reason to require, and these to pay Homage and swear Fealty for the valuable Gift.

The Kings of *England* after the Conquest, as Potent as they were, did not think it below their Grandeur to own the Kings of *France* their Lords and Superiors for those Provinces they possess'd in, and held of *France*. The Kings of *Spain*, tho at the same time Emperors of *Germany*, have done the like, with Reference both to the Crown of *France* and See of *Rome*. To this Day the Kings of *Swedland*, *Denmark* and *Prussia*, are Vassals to the Emperor in the same Sense. Nay, the haughty *Lewis* XIV. of *France*, when at the

Height

Height of his Power and Glory, desir'd to be consider'd as Landgrave of *Alsace*, that is, a Member of the Empire, and consequently a Vassal. The Czar of *Muscovy* has of late made Overtures to the same purpose: And what is just and equal in all other Potentates, cannot be thought derogatory to the ancient Crown or Kingdom of *Scotland*.

Hence 'tis nevertheless, that the Monks of after-Ages (willing to flatter and promote the ambitious Projects of their *English* Sovereigns; and finding upon Record, or rather hearing by Tradition, that Kings of *Scotland* have at different times paid Homage to those of *England* for the beneficiary Countries they held of that Crown) have inconsiderately and calumniously written, that the Homage was due and paid for the Kingdom of *Scotland* it self: A plain and palpable Falshood, which no Reason, Law nor Record, can make good: Nay, evidently refuted by Records, Reason and Law. All *Scots* Records vouch the contrary, and the *English*, for the Reasons already mention'd, deserve no Credit upon this Score. Besides, the Homage could not be due for *Scotland*, since its Kings possess'd it by their own innate hereditary Right: And it cannot be alledg'd, that the *Saxons*, who some Ages before had no Title to so much as an Acre of Land in the Island, should, because they usurp'd upon the *Britains*, have thereby acquir'd a Title to the Superiority of *Scotland*. If they conquer'd it, as they never did, nor could, even this had not made it theirs by Right. Yet probably they had not easily parted with it, no more than with their other Acquisitions: At least, they had not restor'd it to its natural Princes, or if they had, to be sure, they had depriv'd them of the Title and Quality of Kings; else they had been highly Impolitick, and acted without a Precedent.

The King of *Scotland* no Homager of old, but for his *English* Territories.

Thus 'tis plain, that the Kings of *Scotland* possess'd not their Kingdom by virtue of any Right given to them by the Kings of *England*: *Cumberland* and some other Lands in *England* they did possess by virtue of a Right granted by the Kings of *England*: It therefore necessarily follows, that the Homage was due for *Cumberland*, &c. and if perform'd, what wonder? But there was but only one Homage perform'd, (for none of the Monastical Writers mention two) and this was a Debt paid by the Kings or Princes of *Scotland*: And they constantly assert, that they paid this Debt for these Countries; which, if true, as it certainly is, they paid it only for these Countries. For in all Payments, Lawyers will have the Payment to be interpreted according to the meaning of the Debtor, and not of the Creditor. Again, according to Law, if Payment be made, without Addition of what Debt it is for, the Payment is understood rather for that which is not contraverted, than that which is. And if there be two Debts, the one certain, and the other dubious, the Payment is presum'd to be for that which is certain, and not for that which is doubtful. Now 'tis certain, that there was a Debt due for *Cumberland* and *Westmorland*, and afterwards *Northumberland*: But that any was due for *Scotland*, is not only

ly dubious, but plainly deny'd. The Conclusion is evident, and I need no longer insist upon this Subject, which better Pens, particularly the eminent Sir *Thomas Craig*, his Translator Mr. *Ridpath* a zealous Defender of the just Rights of his Country, the ingenious Antiquary Mr. *Anderson*, and the Learn'd Sir *James Dalrymple*, have almost exhausted. Their unanswerable Writings, I shall frequently be oblig'd to Consult. 'Tis an ungrateful Task: But a few recent Authors of the *English* Nation, have made it necessary to undeceive, so far as in them lyes, that glorious and mighty People, of whom the *Scots* are now a Part; the lesser indeed, yet not an ignoble one, such as old Hatred, that ought never to be reviv'd, would represent them to the World. But to return from whence I have digress'd:

Peace and
Amity be-
tween King
Malcolm and
King *Ed-
mund*.
A. D. 946.
Indulph King
of *Scotland*.

Peace being concluded, (a) and a League enter'd into, upon the Conditions I have mention'd, by *Malcolm* the King of the *Scots*, and *Edmund* of *England*, their united Forces soon brought the *Danes* to Reason: They drove both *Anlaf* and *Roginald* out of *Northumberland*. But *Edmund* liv'd not long to reap the Fruits of his Victory. To him succeeded his Brother *Edred*, as did some Years afterwards *Indulph* to King *Malcolm*. *Indulph*, while as yet Prince of *Cumberland* and *Westmorland*, paid Homage for these Countries to King *Edred*: For which Reason, Mr. *Echard* tells us from his *Saxon Annals*, That the *Scots* swore Obedience to him, to Will whatsoever he should Will: That is, the Heir of their Crown own'd himself a Vassal for his *English* Territories. This done, not by the *Scots*, nor by their King *Irisius*, as *Holinshed* some where falsely asserts (for they had never a King of that Name) Prince *Indulph* continu'd to assist the *English* in the Prosecution of the War: In which Service he commanded ten thousand Men, and contributed to the total Reduction of *Northumberland*, which henceforth lost the Name and Title of a Kingdom, and came to be govern'd by Earls.

Assists the
English.

A. D. 959.

Is attack'd
by the
Danes.

The *Danes* every where worsted, earnestly sollicitated *Indulph*, now King of *Scotland*, to relinquish the *English* Confederacy: But in vain. He no sooner attain'd to the Crown, but he nam'd his apparent Heir, *Duff*, Prince of *Cumberland* and *Westmorland*; and this last took the usual Oath of Allegiance to the Monarch of *England*. This the *Danes* and *Norwegians* highly resentted, and therefore (b) fitted out a Fleet of Fifty Ships, hover'd up and down the Coasts, and sometimes would land, and with barbarous Cruelty ravage the adjacent Shores; which done, they would instantly return to their Ships, put again to Sea, and to the great Terror of most Parts of the Kingdom, appear anew where they were least expected, and react their wonted Barbarities. Thus they kept the Kings and People of both Nations in a continual Stir; who, whilst they march'd to the Defence of the South or East, found there no Enemy, but were alarm'd with fresh News of a Landing in the West or North. At length, they attempted a Descent in the Firth of *Forth*, and thought

thought to have surpris'd the Neighbouring Inhabitants. And indeed they struck them with unspeakable Terror. Some made Haste to secure their Wives, Children, and Goods, by conveying them to Places of strength, remote from the Sea; whilst others, more resolute, drew up in great Multitudes on the Shore, in order to drive back the unwelcome Guests. *Hago* and *Helric*, this a Dane, that a Norwegian, commanded in Chief. Their first Design was upon *Lothian*, a fruitful and populous Country, where they expected great Booty and Wealth: But being repuls'd, or not daring to advance, they tack'd about, and made the like Attempt upon *Fife*, to as little Purpose. From thence they sail'd Northwards, all along the Coasts of *Angus*, *Merns*, *Mar*, and *Buchan*: But meeting no where with an Opportunity of Landing, they put to Sea, as if they had meant to lay aside their succesless Project for that time. The Inhabitants, glad of the Delivery, return'd to their respective Homes, where they remain'd, as they thought, secure. But ere a few Days had past, the Enemy return'd likewise, and landed without Opposition at *Cullen* in *Boyn*.

Who make
a Descent
in the North

The vigilant King, who had attended all their Motions in Person, chanc'd to be there at the Time, at least he got thither before the Report of his March was spread abroad: And falling unawares upon the plundering Stragglers, he beat them into their Camp, which being hard at hand, prevented the Slaughter of a great many of their Numbers. The King upon the Head of his Forces, advanc'd with great Bravery and Resolution, and was receiv'd with no small Vigour. The Fight was terrible and bloody, and had lasted a considerable time, when two brave Officers, *Grame* and *Dumbar*, who Commanded the *Lothians*, fetching a Compass about, assaulted the Rear of the Danes. Upon this the main Body of their Army betook themselves to flight, some retiring with utmost Precipitation to their Ships, others running they knew not whither, through Paths and Places they had never seen. Only one Brigade, that had been posted behind a Thicket of Trees, stood their Ground: And as the King unwarily Pursu'd the Chace, (an Error, Scots-men, especially their Kings, have often committed and smarted for) he fell in with that Body which had not been broken, and by them was unfortunately kill'd, leaving the Field of Battle to his victorious Subjects, and the Crown to his legal Successor *Duff*, the Son of the late King *Malcolm*, and the beneficiary Provinces of *Cumberland* and *Westmorland* to his own Son *Culen*.

But are de-
feated by
K. *Indulph*.

K. *Indulph*
kill'd.

K. *Duff*.
A. D. 961.

This last, as he was the next legal Heir to the Crown, so he attain'd but too soon to that high Dignity. Nothing recommended him to it, but his unquestionable Birth-right. During his Reign, which lasted about four Years, he did but one good Action, which was this: He punish'd the Murtherers of his excellent Predecessor King *Duff* with deserv'd Rigour. Never were two Princes more unlike in their Manners and Maxims of Government, than those:

A. D. 966.
Culen King
of *Scotland*.

The Characters of King *Duff* and King *Culen* very different.

(a) *Duff* was gracious, and, says *Fordon*, in all his Actions express the Simplicity or Mildness of a Dove to his peaceable Subjects; but to Delinquents, particularly Thieves, Robbers and Rebels, inexorably severe. *Culen* on the contrary neglected the Good, and so cherish'd the Wicked, that Sin became fashionable, and Shame nowhere visible, at least at Court. The one by Command and Example, promoted the old *Scots* Discipline, Fasting long, Drinking little, Shooting, Hunting, Walking, Watching and the like manly Exercises of all sorts. The other introduc'd new Modes, new Dishes of Meat, Drinking and Revelling over Night, Sleeping by Day, and open unbridl'd Venery. The former by the Rigour of his Laws made the young Men Wise, and the old Men Strong. The latter Debauch'd both Old and Young, Men and Women, Wives, Virgins, Nuns: For even these last, in those Days so much respected for their unstain'd Chastity, he did not spare, but forc'd them from, or broke in upon their Oratories and Cells. Manhood, Vigour, Health of Body, Resolution of Mind, Sobriety, and all the noble Train of severest Virtue reign'd with *Duff*. And with *Culen* Effeminacy, Sloth, Diseases, Avarice, Injustice, and at last Rapine and Cruelty. Here one might see the Face of *Lacedemon* or *Rome*; and there all the Deformities, and none of the Delicacies of the same *Rome* or *Greece*, when afterwards corrupted and debauch'd by the Monsters that rul'd them. And no wonder, since the one Prince was like *Cato*, Vertuous; and the other Lascivious, as *Helioabulus* or *Caracalla*. Notwithstanding of this Disconformity of their Lives and Characters, they died both in the same Manner, that is, they were Murther'd; *Duff* by one *Donevald*, or *Donald*, a great Man in *Murray*, because he could not obtain a Reprieve or Remission for some of his Neighbours or Kinsmen, the Laws had condemn'd; and *Culen* by the Resentment of *Radbard* Lord of *Messen*, whose beautiful Daughter he had dishonour'd by Forcing her Chastity. *Buchanan*, loath to let slip any Opportunity of depressing the Royal Prerogative, tells us, that before this fell out, the Nobles had met in a Convention at *Scoon*, whither they order'd or summon'd (an unwarrantable Expression no Author would make use of but himself) their King to repair, in order no doubt to his Deposition or Tryal. *Fordon*, who liv'd nearer that Juncture of Time, says no such thing, but agrees in this with *Buchanan*, that tho none, or but few, regrated the Treason, yet all detested and condemn'd the Traitor.

Their death much the same.

Edwi King of *England* depos'd.

Edgar set up in his place.

England much about the same time labour'd under the like Grievance, occasion'd by the Male-administration of their no less dissolute King *Edwi*. (b) He was actually depos'd, at least dispossest of the best part of his Kingdom, and his younger Brother *Edgar* set up in his Room. This *Edgar* prov'd one of the greatest Monarchs that ever sat on the *English* Throne. He was reckon'd the *David* of that Nation,

(a) Boeth. Less. Buchan. Ormond, &c. in their respective Lives. Ford. apud Scriptor. XX. p. 675. (b) Eschard, Baker, Pere D'Orleans in his Life, and that of Edgar.

Nation, and firnam'd the *Peaceable*; becaute, tho he was undoubt-
 edly Brave, yet he lov'd Peace, and procur'd it to his People. One
 of the most politick, others word it pious, Things he did was this;
 He ejected the married Clerks or Priests out of the Monasteries
 they had been possess'd of in his Brother's Reign, and fill'd them a-
 new with regular unmarried Monks: And these have not fail'd in all
 Ages since to express their Gratitude for the great Favour. They
 were the only Compilers of the *English* History, in which they have
 celebrated the Praises and Grandeur of their Benefactor in such a
 Manner, as disparages themselves, and adds not much to his Glo-
 ries: For Example, they write, (a) " That for the support of his
 " Grandeur, and towards the sustaining of the Charge of his Na-
 " vies, this Prince had at once eight petty Kings, who being his fidu-
 " ciary Clients or Vassals, were by Oath bound to be ready at his
 " Command, and to serve him both at Sea and Land: Which
 " Oath they took at *Chester*, where he had order'd them to meet
 " him, as he sail'd about the *North* of *Britain* with a great Fleet.
 " Their Names were, *Kenneth* King of *Scotland*, *Malcolm* King of
 " *Cumberland*, *Maccure* King of *Man* and the *Isles*, *Jacob* King of *Gil-*
 " *loway*, *Jucullus* King of *Westmorland*, with *Dusval* and *Griffis* Kings
 " of *Wales*; and others add *Hunall* and *Jude.ill*. That all these
 " attending him at his Court at *Chester*, to set forth the Splendour
 " and Greatness of his Dominions, he went into a Galley, and
 " caus'd himself to be row'd by these Kings on the River *Dee*,
 " whilst he himself held the Steerage, and was waited upon by all
 " his Dukes and Nobility in another Barge. That in this pompous
 " Manner he was carried to the Monastery of *St. John Baptist*, where
 " an Oration being made to him, he, in the same State, return'd to
 " his Palace: And that being arriv'd there, he declar'd to his No-
 " bles about him, that his Successors might then boast themselves to
 " be truly Kings of *England*, when they should, like him, be atten-
 " ded by so many Kings, his Vassals. A Saying and Story remark-
 " able for nothing but the Vanity, Folly, Ignorance and Extravagan-
 " cy of those that first invented it. And who would think that any
 " one in his right Wits, could transcribe or repeat it with a Design of
 " being believ'd? Indeed *Baker* and others, as zealous for the Glory of
 " *England*, as can be expected of wise Men and good Patriots, do not
 " so much as mention any such thing. They very well knew, that
 " there was never a King so call'd, either of *Cumberland*, *Galloway* or
 " *Westmorland*. If any such Kings had ever a Being, who dignified
 " them with the lofty Title? I'm sure they had neither Wealth nor
 " Territories, nor Subjects to deserve it. *Cumberland* and *Westmorland*
 " belong'd at that time to Prince *Malcolm* the eldest Son of *Scotland*, and
 " he held them as Principalities, depending of the Crown of *England*;
 " and that he paid Homage for them cannot be doubted. As for
 " *Galloway* and the *Isles*, they are but small Parts of the Kingdom of
 " *Scotland* it self, and none of the most Fruitful or Populous: So that

The ridicu-
 lous Story, of
 King Ed-
 gar's being
 row'd over
 the *Dee* by eight
 Kings, con-
 futed.

(a) Echard vol. 1. lib. 1. p. 89.—Craig concerning Homage p. 219.

to term their Lords or Governors, Kings, is in my Opinion absurd. Neither did that august Name belong to the Princes of *Wales*: These Kings were certainly created by Monks; that is, by Men ignorant of Men and Things, and who, it seems, have receiv'd every little Rumour or Whisper, as so many Miracles, when they contributed, or to serve a Turn, or to flatter the Ambition of an aspiring Prince; or to magnify the Grandeur of their Country. But they were not properly Kings, but *Reguli*, petty Sub-kings, as *Malmf-bury* terms them: And if so, the Story, tho true, is not much worth the relating, and *Edgar* had no such Reason to boast his exalted State. But 'tis strange, that among these petty Sub-kings, *Kenneth* the King of the *Scots* forsooth must be rank'd: A King, who in those Days, possess'd as large Territories as *Edgar* himself; whose Successors the greatest Monarchs *England* ever had, (and *England* may boast of as great, as perhaps any other Nation in the World) could never reduce; and whose Predecessors had not only foil'd the *Danes*, resist'd the *Saxons*, subjected the *Britains*; but also set Limits to the *Roman* Empire, and render'd the Expeditions of *Roman* Emperors ignoble or vain. If there has been any Ground for, or Rise given to this Romantick, or rather Gigantick Story, Sir *Thomas Craig* I believe has hit it. All the Kings of *England* have ever been accusom'd to celebrate the Feast of our Lord's Nativity with magnificent Banquets, and most splendid Entertainment. Neighbouring Princes, particularly those of *Wales*, have been invited to share in the modish Divertisements. And 'tis not impossible, but Kings of *Scotland*, or their Heirs the Princes of *Cumberland*, might, when in Friendship with the Kings of *England*, whose Vassals they were for their *English* Possessions, have gone thither upon the like Occasions. We read not nevertheless in *Scots* Histories, that this King *Kenneth* III. was at the *English* Court. But I shall suppose that he was, and with him *Malcolm* the Prince of *Cumberland*, to whose Retinue 'tis probable the Lords, or Thanes, or Governours, call them as you will, of *Man*, the *Western Isles*, and of *Galloway*, did belong. Well, they met there with some Princes from *Wales*: All these foreign Guests were nobly regal'd, and very much caref'd by the magnificent King *Edgar*, and on the Eve of the Epiphany, according to the Custom of that and after-Ages, laying aside all Grandeur or State Ceremonies, they chose a King, whose Commands all the rest were to obey, during the Solemnity. The Lot fell accidentally, or perhaps design'dly, upon *Edgar*: And he, to amuse the People, and divert the Court, would needs be attended with Pomp, carried in State, and row'd in a Barge. What then? The next Year perhaps the Lot might fall upon a Subject, and in this Case King *Edgar* would not scruple to give his Subject the right Hand, allow him the *Regalia*, and wait on him, for his own and the Peoples Divertisement by Land or Water, for some two or three Days. These Frolicks, or such as these, have ever been and are still at Courts, where Gallantry, Civility and Jollity dwell.

Mr. *Echard* has given himself the Trouble to transcribe such another Story concerning these two Monarchs, *Kenneth* and *Edgar*: He tells us, That the first was jestingly heard to say in his Court, that he wonder'd how so many Provinces should be govern'd by such a little Man as *Edgar*: Which so fir'd the Mind of this warm and courageous Prince, that immediately sending for *Kenneth*, (*for he is suppos'd to have been ready to obey his Lord and Master, as soon as commanded*:) He drew him out into a private Place, and taking out two Swords, which he had brought under his Garment, he gave one to *Kenneth*, declaring, *Now it should be try'd who ought to Govern, and who to Obey*. Bravely said, and well tim'd in his own Kingdom and at his own Court, whither he had drawn a foreign Prince, under the Pretence of Friendship and Business. *Kenneth* very well knew, that should he kill his Landlord, an Action unworthy of a Man, he could by no means make his Escape into *Scotland*: And he conceiv'd it no Demonstration of his Prowess and Bravery, to do that upon which his own inevitable Murther must presently ensue: He therefore beg'd Pardon, and declin'd to fight, or, as Mr. *Echard* phrases it, *Kened much confounded, fell at his Feet, beg'd Pardon of him, and declar'd, that he had spoken indiscreetly, but no ways intended to his Dishonour or Detraction, with which the King was satisfy'd*. Were all this true, as 'tis not (for *Kenneth* was never in *England*, for ought we know) I do not see that, Circumstances being consider'd, he could act a better Part. And 'tis plain, that the Writers of these and the like Romances, understand not the Rules of their Art: For as Mr. *Despreaux* has it,

Edgar fallly said to have challeng'd King *Kenneth* to a single Combat.

*Rien n'est beau que le vray, le vray seul est aimable;
Il doit regner par tout, & meme dans la fable.*

Edgar was undoubtedly a great Prince; and his Character would shine very bright in Story, but for these Capricio's, unjudiciously affixt to it. For here they speak him a faithless Landlord, and a ranting Bully; and there a vain Man, and a Boaster of imaginary Glories, than which, no Ingredients more vile can enter the Composition of a Heroe.

His Cotemporary, King *Kenneth III. of Scotland*, is more oblig'd to the Historians of his Nation: They give him a Character great and glorious, and every way consistent with it self, as I shall shew when I come to write his Life. I shall only observe by the Way, that King *Kenneth* is in an old Manuscript, still extant, (a) said to have been *Rex victoriosissimus super omnibus nationibus Wallie & Hibernie & Norvegie*: A Title with as much Justice given by Scots Monks to him, as that of King over all Albion, the English Monks have given to some of their Saxon Monarchs, particularly to *Edward Athelstane*, *Edmund*, and *Edgar*. But to return to the History from whence I am often by the English Writers oblig'd to digress;

(a) Dalrymple's Collections, p. 102.

A. D. 994.
Kenneth III.
an excellent
Prince
basely mur-
ther'd.

Constantine
and Grim
two Usur-
pers.

K. Malcolm
II. victori-
ous over the
Danes.

King *Kenneth*, after he had by his excellent Conduct reform'd, and in a great measure new model'd the distemper'd State, and by his unlaunted Courage suppress'd most dangerous Insurrections at Home, and routed a huge Army of the invading *Danes*, was basely murther'd by the Treachery of a Woman, incited to the Villany upon a double Account. The King had caus'd her seditious Son to be put to Death, and she was a near Kinswoman, both of *Constantine* the Son of King *Culen*, and of *Grim*, the Son of King *Duff*. These Princes, by the old abusive Law or Custom, receiv'd since the Reign of *Feritharis* 2d King of the *Albin Scots*, had a Prospect of succeeding to the Crown in their Turns: But *Kenneth* had with their own Consent, and that of the whole Nobles of the Kingdom conven'd at *Scoon*, abrogated that Law, and enacted, that henceforth the eldest Son of the last deceast King, tho but an Infant as yet unborn, should succeed in his Father's Room. By vertue of this Law, *Malcolm* Prince of *Cumberland*, and Son of King *Kenneth*, should instantly have ascended the Throne. *Constantine* and *Grim* might have lawfully put in for Guardianship of the King; had he been as yet a Minor, as it seems he was not. But this could not satisfy their ambitious Minds; and notwithstanding he was come to the Years of Man, first *Constantine*, and then *Grim*, usurp'd the Crown. Their Reigns are but one continu'd Series of Divisions, Fewds, Invasions, Rapines, Devastations and Calamities of all sorts. At length the righteous Heir prevail'd, and prov'd, like his Father, an excellent Prince. His Life and Character deserve to be recorded apart. The victorious *Danes* and *Norvegians* (who about this Time first over-run all *England*, then made it Tributary, and at length entirely subdu'd it) King *Malcolm* in five set Battles defeated and expel'd the Kingdom of *Scotland*. He likewise gave all the Assistance in his power to the sinking *English*, as is acknowledg'd, not so much by the silent Historians of that Nation, as by the speaking Evidences or Laws equally favourable and honourable to the *Scots*, made by *English* Monarchs, (a) particularly *Edward* the Confessor, and *William* the Conqueror, who generously acknowledge the gallant Services perform'd, and most fierce Wars sustain'd by the Kings of *Scotland*, in the Defence of those of *England*. 'Tis true, they did but their Duty, since oblig'd thereto as Princes of *Cumberland* and *Westmorland*, and as Kings of *Scotland* had no less Reason, since upon *England's* being conquer'd, they themselves were in the same Hazard. However, since 'tis plain, that the *Scots* were highly concern'd in all these Wars so fatal to both Kingdoms, and at length to *England* ruinous; I hope, I shall not be thought to digress, if, according to the Method I propos'd to myself, I continue to give an Account of them with all the Brevity the Matter allows of.

Edward, (b) Sirnam'd the *Younger*, and by some the *Martyr*, suc-

(a) Craig concerning Homage. chap. 20. p. 236.— (b) Echard, Baker, Pere D' Orleans in the Lives of Edward, Ethelred, &c.

succeeded to the great *Edgar* his Father: And he being, by the Treachery of his Mother-in-law, *Elfrida*, inhumanely murder'd, made way to the Succession of that infamous Princess, her inglorious, at least unfortunate, Son King *Ethelred*. This Prince ascended the Throne, at a Time when his Subjects, fatned with long Peace and Ease, were, one should have thought, in a most flourishing and happy Condition. For the dreadful *Danish* Tempests that had so often threaten'd and shaken the State, had been allay'd for above fifty Years: And they had entertain'd an inviolable Friendship with the *Scots*, since the Treaty, by which these last enjoy'd the Beneficiary Provinces, so often mention'd. But 'tis observable of most Nations, particularly of Islanders, and some say yet more of the *English*, that they cannot bear their good Fortune. A long Calm is ever attended among them by a raging Storm, and the Wealth acquir'd through the good Management of their most affectionate Fatherly Sovereigns is readily squander'd away, to the Destruction of their Successors, if ever so little subject to Infirmities of whatever kind.

A. D. 979.
Ethelred
King of
England.

Ethelred was young, and some Historians (a) charge him with Cowardice and Negligence; tho others (b) say, That the many desperate Battles he fought, the good Laws he made, and the Provisions he order'd to supply all important Occasions, evidently shew he was not much behind the best Princes, save only in his Fortune. This seems true, the People was at Ease, and therefore the Grandees Factious and consequently the King expos'd to Censure and Obloquy. Besides, he had attain'd to the Crown by the greatest of Villanies, tho not committed by himself. For upon the News of his Brother's Murther, he cry'd out exceedingly, which so enrag'd his Mother *Elfrida*, that for want of a Rod she beat him with a Wax Taper till he was half Dead, which gave him an insuperable Aversion to a sight of those Lights ever after. Notwithstanding this Instance of his Innocence and good Nature, and of his unquestionable Title to the Crown, Archbishop *Dunstan*, scrupl'd to perform the Ceremony of his Coronation: And all these Circumstances concurring together to render him despicable and odious to his Subjects, and to raise those Traitors among them, who by working his Ruine, brought on that of the whole Nation. These *Danes* that were dispers'd throughout the Kingdom began the Mischief: They advis'd their Countrymen beyond Seas of the State of Affairs: And those greedy and inhumane Rovers fail'd not to comply with the welcome Invitation. They landed somewhere almost every Year, and at length swarm'd in such Numbers into the Land, that now all Havens, Harbours, and landing Places were fill'd with them, so that it could not be known where to meet them with Advantage. The slothful dastardly Court was at a loss what Resolution to take, but fix'd on the worst that could be imagin'd. They bought Peace at the Price of ten thousand Pounds: And this was the first Tribute, call'd *Dane Gelt*, the *English* Nation ever paid to a foreign Power. This Sum of Money

Is attack'd
by the Danes

Pays a Tri-
bute to
them.

Q q

(a) Echard in his *Life*. (b) *Hist. of Eng. Print. Lond. 1707. loc. cit.*

Money (which if employ'd towards Manning out of a Fleet sufficient to scour the Seas, might have effectually prevented Invasions for the future) had a quite contrary Effect. For the Sweet of it soon rais'd the *Danish* and *Norwegian* Appetites for more: And the Sum agreed on for next Year, was sixteen thousand Pounds; in Expectation of which they again retir'd to their Ships. But in spite of their Promises and Vows, continued from time to time to drive on the lucrative Trade, till at length the Market was rais'd, and the Price of Blood, Rapine and Devastations, amounted to no less than forty eight thousand Pounds, an immense Sum in those Days; which served to no other Purpose but to impoverish and weaken the *English*; and at the same time to enlarge the Means as well as Avarice of the Enemy. Those of them (and these were innumerable) that had settl'd in the Kingdom, and were in a manner incorporated with the *English*, lorded it over these last, in such a manner as was become insufferable, whilst they themselves led idle and lazy Lives. They made the *English-men* their Servants and Drudges, and the Women, whether Wives or Daughters, subservient to their brutal Pleasures, and insatiable Lust: Hence they were call'd *Lord-Danes*, which is to this Day a fit Epithet for such Men as live like these, idle and dissolute. The *French* are said, but falsely, in the Opinion of Monsieur Menage, to have borrow'd this Word from the *English*, and pronounce it *Lourdaut*. These unheard of Grievances of the Freeborn *English* Subjects were represented to the King, by the loud Clamours of all about him; particularly by one *Hune*, a great Commander in War at that time, who Advis'd him to strike but one Blow, which alone might be sufficient to deaden the growing Mischief. The Blow design'd was indeed a most terrible one: A general Massacre was resolv'd upon. And the King with the utmost secrecy sent Letters into all Parts, commanding all his Subjects upon

A. D. 1002. a certain Hour on the ninth Day of *July* 1002, to set upon the *Danes*, wherever they were to be found, and to destroy them all without Mercy. This barbarous Command, which 'twas thought no Christian Prince nor People should ever have consider'd as a Precedent fit for their Imitation, was strictly executed: And the *Danes*, who by a League solemnly Sworn, had been admitted to inhabit among the *English*, were most shamefully and inhumanely Murther'd. No Age or Sex escap'd; the Women were Butcher'd as well as the Men, and the Brains of Children dash'd against the Walls. The Churches, those sacred Places, the very *Goths* and *Vandals* had spar'd in *Rome*, were no Security to the *Danes*, that fled thither in *London* and elsewhere: For they were all without pity Slain, as they stood embracing the Altars. Nay, so violent was the popular Fury, that having dig'd Holes in the Ground, they put the *Danish* Women in them up to the Waste, and then set fierce Massives upon them; by whose devouring Teeth their Breasts were torn off, and their Bodies rent to pieces.

His Subjects
miserably
enslav'd.

A general
Massacre of
the *Danes* in
England.

This horrid Massacre was nevertheless not so universal, but that severals made a Shift to escape: Some retir'd to lurking Places, and others getting to the Sea-side, went over to *Denmark* with the dismal News. *Sueno* reign'd in that Country at the time, a warlike, daring, boysterous Prince, and with all a great Enemy to the Christian Religion. He no sooner heard of the Usage his Subjects in *England* had met with, but being thereby exasperated to the highest Degree of Rage and Resentment, he vow'd Revenge, invited all Strangers to his Assistance, and resolv'd contrary to his former Methods, to make a full Push, and not only to conquer, but to enslave the whole Nation. Accordingly he invaded *England* with a powerful Fleet, and with a land Army, animated with that Fury which Injuries receiv'd, and difference of Religion are wont to inspire.

Sueno King of *Denmark* invades *England*.

Ethelred made haste to dissipate the Storm: With this View he levied a numerous and gallant Army: But to the inexpressible Detriment of the People, and indelible Disgrace of the then Nobility and Gentry, the Officers were corrupted; particularly the General *Edric*, tho the King's Favourite and Son-in-Law. This Villain, whom, it seems, no Duty could bind, and no Favour oblige, disclos'd his Master the King's Secrets, and the Subjects dissatisfaction and disloyalty, which he himself, and such Traitors as he, had occasion'd to the invading Foe: So that instead of negotiating a Peace or Truce, as he was Commission'd to do, he encourag'd the Prosecution of the War. The King made all the Preparations for it in his Power: For he enacted, That every three hundred and ten Hides of Land (a Hide was so much Land as one Plow could Till in a Year) should furnish out a Galley, and every nine Hides, find a Corset and Head-Piece, and commanded the Ships to be built with all Expedition. But Treachery and Dissention among the Nobles ruin'd this Project also: And the disheartn'd Sovereign, abandon'd by twenty of his Ships, under the Command of a discontented Captain call'd *Wulwob*, return'd Home, ordering the rest of the Fleet up to *London*, for the Defence of that noble, and then loyal City. In the mean Time, the adjacent Countries were harass'd, plunder'd and laid waste by the still prevailing and insulting Enemy: And the King sensible of the Miseries of his People, made again an Effort to relieve them. He levied a new Army, and the *Danes* having gone further than usual from the Sea, he suddenly stept in between them and their Vessels, seis'd on a necessary Pass of theirs, and resolv'd to make it good at his Peril. But after all this fair and promising Prospect, the Traiterous *Edric* by subtile Arguments urg'd, that as Circumstances then stood, 'twas more advisable to let the Enemy pass unmolested. His Counsel prevail'd: For it seems, 'twas the Misfortune of this Prince, as it has been that of severals since that Time, to trust more to the Sentiment of Villains about him, than to his own: And so the *Danes* laden with Booty, and transported with unexpected Joy, got safe again to their Ships. 'Tis not my Province to enlarge upon Particulars: To be short, *Sue-*

Edric an *English* Nobleman betrays his King and Country.

Wulwob an *English* Admiral also betrays his King.

no, enrich'd with the Spoils of the Kingdom, back'd by a victorious Army, made up of all the *Northern Nations*, and now absolute Master of the Field, thought fit to besiege the Capital, *London*; but he met with unlook'd for Resolution and Vigour in the Citizens, whose Courages were no doubt heightn'd by the Presence and Example of their King. In fine, the Siege was rais'd, and the haughty *Sueno* was brought to Terms of Accommodation; but such as were in the highest degree Honourable and Advantageous to him, could he have thought any thing so, besides the Conquest of all *England*.

The *Northern Countries* were still overstockt with People, and consequently so fruitful in Souldiers, that *Sueno* found it an easy Task to Recruit his Army: Which being more numerous, and no less resolute than before, he embark'd anew upon the Head of it, and landed at *Sandwich*. The natural Sluggishness of *Ethelred*, the Faith of the late Treaty, the Poverty of the Commons, the Heat and Animosities of the great Ones, and the Treachery of those he had plac'd in the most eminent Posts, made him and the Nation unprovided against this last unexpected, and therefore succesful Attempt. *Sueno* conquer'd as fast as his Army could march, all Places submitting to him, almost without Opposition: Nay, even the Citizens of *London*, thinking it in vain to oppose the universal Current, and dreading his Cruelties, sent also their Hostages, and made their Peace: So that *Sueno* was by all the Nation of the *English* both stil'd and accounted King: If nevertheless he ought to be so call'd, who, besides that he had no Right to the Crown, sought, as most Usurpers do, to establish his Domination upon the Banishment of the Lords, the Oppression of the Commons, the Blood of the Clergy, the Rubbish of Churches, and Change of Religion.

'Twas now high time for the law ful Sovereign to look out for a Sanctuary abroad, when he could no longer find, not so much as one Fortrefs at home to guard his royal Person, Wife and Offspring, from certain Death and irretrievable Destruction. Accordingly he retir'd together with his Queen *Emma*, and his two Sons, *Edward* and *Alfred*, to *Normandy*; where he and they were honourably receiv'd, and splendidly entertain'd, by his Brother-in-Law Duke *Richard*. He had probably ended his Days at that Court, but that it pleas'd God to shorten those of the Usurper. The Monkish Writers say, that in the midst of an Assembly of his Nobles, tho encircl'd with arm'd Men, he was kill'd by the King and Martyr *St. Edmund*, whose Shrine, Church and City, he threatn'd to waste and prophane. This seems certain, he was dispatch'd by some unknown Hand, who had the good Fortune to escape. Some say he died a Christian, others deny it: However, 'tis again certain, that his Son and Successor *Canute*, was converted, which probably contributed to his being acknowledged King of *England* upon his Father's death; especially by a disloyal Party of the Clergy, who, dreading the Resentment of King *Ethelred* they had ever cross'd, and villainously preferring their private Interest to the Publick, and a Foreigner to their

Sueno conquers *England*.

A.D. 1017.

King *Ethelred* with his Wife and Children retires to *Normandy*.

Sueno is kill'd.

His Son *Canute* acknowledged King of *England*.

their

their natural Prince, Ordain'd *Canute* at *Southampton*, and swore Fealty to him.

The generality of the Nation had more Honour, and notwithstanding they had their own Grudges and Fears, by reason of the many Faults charg'd upon *Ethelred*, yet they bravely resolv'd to recal him; and upon his Return receiv'd him with all imaginable Joy and Applause. He brought along with him a considerable Reinforcement of Men and Arms from *Normandy*; and upon the Head of these, and the Loyalists that join'd him from all Parts of the Kingdom, he immediately march'd and fought out his Rival. *Canute* was forc'd to give way to the Torrent he was unable to resist. Accordingly he embark'd for *Denmark*: But before he set sail, committed a Barbarity that dishonour'd his Person, and render'd his Nation yet more Odious than formerly: He cut off the Ears, Noses and Hands, of all the Hostages he had in his Power. And now one should have thought, that *England* was for ever deliver'd of a foreign Yoke. And certainly it had fallen out so, had *English-men* been faithful to their King or Country. But *Canute* was invited to return, and he landed with a vast Power at *Sandwich*. King *Ethelred* lay Sick at the Time, and not long afterwards died. But his place was better supply'd by *Edmund* surnam'd *Ironside*, his eldest Son, a Prince that seem'd born and cut out by Nature to retrieve the Disgraces of his perishing People. He defeated the foreign Invaders again and again; but could not resist the Treachery of his own Subjects. *Edric*, the ever perfidious *Edric*, who had so often abus'd the Father, found out innumerable Means, none but himself could have dream'd of, to betray the Son. By his Villany the King's Army receiv'd a total Overthrow at *Ashdown*. Upon which his ungenerous dispirited Nobles began to murmur among themselves, and to declare how foolish it was for them to venture their Lives, for the Ambition of others: As if to assert ones unquestionable Right, to protect ones native Country from lawless encroaching Power, to defeat Usurpation, and to shake off a foreign Yoke from the Necks of a free-born People, could be thought or term'd Ambition.

The brave *Edmund* no sooner understood the Backwardness of his Nobles, but he propos'd to have the Controversy decided by a single Combat between himself and his contending Rival. Some say, that they did Fight, and with that amazing Bravery on both sides, as the like had never been seen. Others write, that *Canute* declin'd the Match. But all agree, that they divided the Kingdom betwixt them; that *Edmund* had the Western Parts of it, and *Canute* the Eastern. The first did not long survive this shameful Treaty. He died *anno* 1017, of what Disease or Casualty is uncertain: But Fame charg'd *Edric* with hiring two Villains, as black-hearted, to be sure, as himself, to Murther him with a sharp Iron thrust into his Body, as he sat to ease Nature. Others have written, that *Edric* himself acted the hellish Part: And having boasted of the valuable Service in Presence of *Canute*, he was by that Prince rewarded as he

King *Ethelred* Recal'd by a loyal Party.

Dies:

His Son King *Edmund* betray'd by his Subjects:

Fights with *Canute*.

Divides the Kingdom.

deserv'd, that is, his Head was commanded to be cut off, and plac'd upon the highest Gate in *London*.

A. D. 1017. *Canute* being possess'd of half the Kingdom before, now King *Edmund* was dead, made no scruple to seize upon the whole. Nevertheless he was willing, as all Usurpers are, to have at least some shadow of Law on his side: Which to obtain, he call'd a Council of the Nobility and superior Clergy: And they being met at *London*, he subtilly demanded of them, Whether in the Agreement betwixt *Edmund* and him, any Claim or Title to the Crown, had been reserv'd for King *Edmund's* Brothers or Sons. The cowardly Senators answer'd No, and so took an Oath of Fidelity to *Canute*. They did more: For with the same Breath that they acknowledged the Usurper, they abjur'd the two Sons of their late lawful and glorious Sovereign, from ever being Kings of *England*: A piece of Villany and Ingratitude hitherto unprecedented. This done, (For

Men stick at nothing when their Hands are in,)

Edwin the Brother of King *Edmund*, a young Prince of excellent Endowments and great Hopes, was by the same Convention immediately voted to Banishment. But this was a Punishment too small, for the unpardonable Crime of being born the lawful Son of a lawful King: And therefore he was afterwards decoy'd home again to *England*, and there Murther'd by those he had most trusted. *Canute* would fain have serv'd the two abjur'd Princes *Edward* and *Edmund*, after the same manner: But dreading the Resentments of the loyal Party, he chose rather to send them to the King of the *Swedes*, who, he thought, would dispatch them with less hazard. But that Prince, notwithstanding the League and Kindness between him and *Canute*, abhor'd the Fact, and by no Intreaties would be brought to commit it. On the contrary, he took care to have them convey'd to *Solomon* King of *Hungary*: By whom they were kindly Entertain'd, and royally Educated. So true it is, that Providence points always out an *Asylum* to Sovereigns distress'd; and for the most part prepares a Way, by Means the Reach of humane Policy can never foresee nor prevent, to a happy and ever long'd for Restoration. It fell out so in the present Case: For *Edward*, the eldest Son and rightful Heir of the *English* Crown, married *Agatha* Daughter to *Henry* Emperor of *Germany*, by whom he had *Margaret*, that glorious Queen of *Scotland*, in whose Right her Husband or Son should have succeeded in the Throne of *England*. But a new Usurpation prevailing at that Time, Justice was baff'd; till in Process of Time, From the princely Bed of the same *Margaret*, and that in a lineal Descent, (to use the words of Sir *Robert Baker*) our high, and mighty Monarch King *James I.* did in his most royal Person, unite the Britains, Saxons, Normans, and Scottish, Imperial Crowns in one. But of these Emergencies afterwards.

Edwin the
Brother of
Edmund
Murther'd.

Edward and
Edmund the
Sons of
King *Ed-*
mund ab-
jur'd and
banish'd.

Canute being by these and the like *necessary* Acts of Cruelty and Injustice, settl'd in his new Power and Sovereignty over all *England*, began to Reign, not only like a good, wise and warlike King; but to live as became a devout and pious Christian. He had reason to lay Wickedness aside, when it could no longer be of use to bring about his Designs. After he had suppress'd a Rebellion of his own native Subjects in *Denmark*, defeated the *Swedes*, and conquer'd *Norway*, He set himself wholly to please the People, by enacting or ratifying a great many most excellent Laws; and to ingratiate himself with the Clergy, (a most Essential piece of Policy, lawful Kings should, and Usurpers must imitate) by making a Pilgrimage to *Rome*, to visit the Tombs of the holy Apostles, giving large Alms to the Poor, and particularly, by building and causing to repair a vast many Churches and Monasteries; to one of which he is said to have gifted a Cross, so prodigiously Rich, that it alone was val'd at as much as the whole Revenues of *England* amounted to in one Year. Perhaps he meant thereby (and it seems the interested Churchmen of those Days were Villains enough to flatter him with the deceiving Hopes) to atone for the crying Iniquities he had committed, as if Heaven could be Brib'd by any thing but a sincere Repentance, and its inseparable attendant Restitution, into a forgetfulness of Stealth, Robbery, Devastations, Usurpation, &c. He was in an eminent Degree guilty of the two last most enormous Crimes, and consequently answerable to God, not only for the plain Murthers he commanded, but for each drop of Blood that had been spilt, in the unjustifiable Quarrels he pursu'd. And yet such is the Partiality or Villany of the Monks, his Panegyrist rather than his Historiographers, that they all dismiss him with a very fair Character. Nay, some tell us, (a) That besides the Kingdoms of *England*, *Denmark* and *Norway*, he was, for his Piety forsooth, rewarded with another, that of *Scotland*; which they say he conquer'd upon *Malcolm the King of Scots*, his having rebel'd against him: than which a more impudent inconsequential Extravagance was never invented. For had the King of *Scots*, as such, been a Vassal of the *English* Crown, as he was not: Yet by what Logick can he be said to have rebell'd against King *Canute*? And how could he Rebel against one, he was, if a Vassal of the Kings of *England*, oblig'd by all Laws divine and humane, to disown and oppose? Or, is it, that because a Convention of *English* Nobles, aw'd by Force, and deluded by Treachery, were brought to submit to an usurping foreign Tyrant, and to abjure the Race of their native lawful Monarch, the King of *Scots* must needs also submit, and abjure as well as they? No certainly, he rather deserves immortal Honours and Praise for his non-compliance. Neither did this, as 'tis vainly pretended, draw the Arms of that Conqueror upon him: Whether 'twas, that he was sufficiently busied elsewhere, or that he thought not fit to venture upon a Prince, by whom his Father the great

Canute falsly said to have conquer'd *Scotland*.

(a) Echard in the Life of *Canute*.

Sueno and himself had been foil'd, or on a Land fatten'd with the Blood of so many of his Nation, that 'twas term'd, *The Sepulchre of the Danes*.

Most of the *English* Historians, and amongst these *Polydore Vergil*, pass over *Canute's* pretended Expedition into *Scotland*, with Silence; which certainly they had not done, if any such thing had been. And those that mention it commit so many visible Blunders in their way of telling the Story, that 'tis evident they confute themselves: For Example, they say, that *Canute*, not only overcame King *Malcolm*, but also two other *Scottish* Kings, *Macbeth* and *Jeobmar*; as if at that Time there had been three Kings of *Scotland*, or that *Scotsmen* had forgotten the very Names of such Kings as they have had. Besides, they tell us nothing of the Causes of this War, but that the *Scots* Rebel'd, which is equally ridiculous and impertinent, nor of the Time it was carried on, nor with what Forces, nor by what Generals; nor, in fine, in what Places the Battles were fought. They had Reason, for the Truth is, no Battles were fought at all: And that *Canute* never was, nor ever pretended to be King of *Scotland*, *Canute* himself is an Evidence, I hope no Body will reject. Some of his Letters (a) are still extant in *Ma'msbury*, *Florence*, *Ingulph*, and others: Nay, Mr. *Echard* has abridg'd one of them in his late History. They begin generally thus, *Canute King of all England, Denmark, Norway, and a great part of Sweden, To---* Had he been, or but pretended to be King of *Scotland*, I humbly conceive, he would not have fail'd to have rank'd it, as despicable as it may be thought, among the Number of his Conquests. But that's a Glory neither he, nor any other besides him, could ever boast of with Justice or Reason. For tho' *Scotland* has been overrun, yet such has been the invincible Aversion of its Inhabitants, to Slavery; and they have been in all Ages so obstinately Tenacious of their Independent Freedom, that, in a proper Sense, it cannot be said to have been Conquer'd; since always, and that in a short Time, deliver'd both from home-bred Tyranny and foreign Power.

England, because the better and more tempting Soil, and by Reason probably of the *English*, their lesser Attachment to, and Respect for the different Races of their Kings, has not been so lucky in this Respect. They themselves won it by Conquest, as the *Romans* had done before them from its ancient Inhabitants the *Britains*: And in their Turn, about 421 Years, after their having possess'd it, and 567 after their first Entrance into it, they became a Prey to the retaliating *Danes*, and were so miserably enslav'd, (b) that if a *Dane* met an *Englishman* upon a Bridge, the latter durst not move, till the former pass'd over: And if the *Englishman* did not bow in the most humble manner, he was sure to be severely bastonaded. Nay, so far did *Harde-Canute*, one of the Sons and Successors of *Canute* the Conqueror increase this Insolence, that upon every *English* Family he impos'd a *Dane* as their Landlord or Governour, which confirm'd the

Harold and *Harde-Canute* oppress *England*.

(a) Craig concerning Homage chap. 20. (b) Echard in the Life of *Harde-Canute*.

the Occasion of the Word *Lorddane*, formerly mention'd. But this lasted not long, for *Harde-Canute* died luckily for the *English* without Issue, as his Brother *Harold* had done before: This after an inglorious Reign of four Years, and t'other of two.

After the Death of these Kings, every way so unworthy of the high Station they had usurp'd, the *English* began to reflect on the fatal Consequences of their former Treasons, Divisions and Cowardice. They were now taught by dear bought Experience, that Usurpers and Foreigners have never that fatherly Love, Regard nor Esteem for a People not their own, which God and Nature give always, or, for the most Part, to lawful Hereditary Sovereigns. They therefore turn'd their Eyes upon *Edward*, the only surviving Son of King *Ethelred*, and Brother to the brave, but unfortunate, *Edmund Ironside*. 'Tis true, this last had left Issue behind him, and to his Son Prince *Edward*, the Crown did properly belong. But this *Edward* was far off, being exil'd into *Hungary*. He had Pretensions, but did not Pretend, and was consider'd, both he and his Children, as if they had not been. *Edward* his Uncle on the contrary, was at hand; he was now forty Years of Age, and consequently thought fit for Government, and the only one capable to repel the so much dreaded Attempts and Pretensions of the *Danes*. But by good luck they were embaras'd with Domestick Broils; and had it been otherwise, they were not near so much to be fear'd as formerly. For being now generally Christians, their Ferocity was allay'd by Religion, and their Numbers lessen'd by the disuse of Polygamy. Nevertheless, *Edward*, a Prince of a soft, devout, complying Temper, either dreaded them, or the Villany of a Party at Court, by whose Practices his Brother *Alfred* had been cut off: Or, which is most probable, considering the Eminency of his Piety, Moderation and Justice, he thought not, that, while his Nephew and Nieces liv'd, he had a Right to sit on the Throne of their Father. Induc'd by these or the like Motives, he laid no Claim to the Crown: On the contrary, he thought of nothing but to make his Escape back into *Normandy*, from whence the late King *Harde-Canute* (who was his Brother on the Mother's side) had call'd him. With this View he apply'd to Earl *Goodwin*, the most potent Man in *England* at the time: And falling at his Feet, beg'd Protection and Assistance towards his safe Return. The cunning Earl, acted more by his own Ambitious and self interested Prospects, than by a Principle of Justice or Loyalty to the Royal Line, unexpectedly detain'd him: And having made his own previous Conditions, set on his Head that Crown, it seems, King *Edward*, for his holy Life call'd a Confessor, did not wear, but to preserve it to his nearest of Kin. This is the more probable, because, tho he was necessitated to Marry *Egitha*, the most beautiful, chaste and vertuous Daughter of the treacherous *Goodwin*: Yet 'tis own'd, that he never knew her, nor did she complain. Besides, he took care to have his Nephew *Edward*, whom he design'd (as indeed in Justice

A.D. 1042.

Edward the Confessor King of England.

Recals the lawful Heirs of the Crown.

he could not do otherwise) for his Successor, recal'd from Exile. In favours of this Prince, the lawful Son of the late King *Edmund*, or of *Edgar* his Son, both being in a direct Line nearer than himself to the Crown, he offer'd to demit, says *Buchanan* (a) and others. But *Edward's* or *Edgar's* Modesty, was equal to the Piety of the King, during whose Life they declar'd they would not Reign. But not long after this, Prince *Edward* died at *London*, and left behind him one Son, the just now mention'd *Edgar Etheling*, and two Daughters, *Margaret* and *Christina*, of whom afterwards.

Thus to me 'tis evident, that King *Edward* is unjustly charg'd with want of Providence, with regard to the Succession: Which some say (b) he left so doubtful, that after his decease, it was translated out of English into French, and the Kingdom made servile to a fourth foreign Nation. This, I say, cannot in Justice be laid to his Door: He recal'd the rightful Heir from a Country, as distant as *Hungary*; He offer'd to abdicate in his Favour; he brought up his Son and Daughters at his Court: Their Title was unquestionable, every Body knew it: And if after his decease, the Subjects were so weak, or treacherous, or mad, as to neglect them, and to suffer an *English* and then a *French-man*, to Usurp in their stead, how could the good King either help or prevent it? He was so far from countenancing Iniquities of this kind within his own Dominions, that he contributed to remove the like from those of his Neighbours.

To *Malcolm II.* King of *Scotland* (c) *Duncan I.* succeeded in Right of his Mother *Beatrix*, the late King's Daughter. This *Duncan* was a Prince endow'd with all those Qualifications that charm and delight good Men. He was Modest, Humble, Bountiful; but then he was too much so for a King. The Easiness of his Temper gave occasion first to a dangerous Insurrection of some Highlanders, and then to a foreign Invasion from *Norway* and *Denmark*. Two great Men, *Bancho* Thane of *Lochaber*, and *Macbeth* a Prince of the Blood Royal, were chiefly Instrumental in suppressing the one, and repelling the other. But *Macbeth's* Services were repaid with Usury by the King and Kingdom; for he Murther'd the first, and Enslav'd the latter. Upon this, *Malcolm*, before Prince of *Cumberland*, and now King of *Scotland* by Right, was forc'd to retire to the Court of *England*, where he was receiv'd kindly, and royally entertain'd by the good King *Edward*. Several things contributed to the Favours he met with: His Relation to, and the good Offices of *Syward* Earl of *Northumberland* his Uncle, some say his Grand-father on the Mother's side; The gallant Services perform'd by his Father and Grand-father, as Princes of *Cumberland*, in the Defence of *England* against the *Danes*; his own Merits, his Birth, his Wrongs, his Right, and the Similitude of his present Circumstances, with the bypast Malheurs that had attended King *Edward*, when he himself was an Exile in *Normandy*. For these Reasons, he not only entertain'd

Prince

A. D. 1040.
Duncan K.
of Scotland,
a good
King.

Safely Mur-
ther'd by
Macbeth an
Usurper.
Malcolm III.
Exil'd by
Macbeth, en-
tertain'd by
King *Ed-
ward*.

(a) Buchan. in vita Milcol. III — My Lord Ormond, dans la vie D' Edward le Confesseur. (b) Hist. of Engl. print. Lond. 1701. vol. 1. p. 82. (c) Buchan. Boeth, Lesl. Ormond, &c. in his Life, and that of his Successor.

Prince *Malcolm* at his Court, but how soon an Opportunity was offer'd, and a Way open'd to his Restoration, he generously lent him Money, and commanded the Earl *Sward* to wait on him with a Land Army of ten thousand Men, and a strong Fleet into *Scotland*. This Expedition prov'd Fortunate; and to be short King *Malcolm* was Restor'd (the Detail of these memorable Transactions I shall elsewhere narrate) *in anno 1054*, or, according to *Lesly*, *in anno 1061*; that is, about 218 Years since the Destruction of the *Pittish* Monarchy, 639 since the Re-establishment of the *Scots* in *Britain* by King *Fergus II.* and 1391 since their first Settlement by King *Fergus I.*

Restor'd by
the Assis-
tance of the
English.

¶ I have done with the general View I design'd to give of this last Period of Time; how soon I have taken notice of the Injustice done us by the *English*; who, because they did assist (for which they deserve immortal Thanks) our lawful King, in the Recovery of what none had a Title to besides himself, conclude from this, that they depos'd *Macbeth*, and made *Malcolm* King in his stead. How unfair this is, I leave it to the impartial Reader to determine: What they did in this Case, besides the Considerations I have hinted at, their conscientious Sovereign thought himself by Duty bound to; and indeed Gratitude requir'd no less at the Hands of a Prince and People, the Kings and Subjects of *Scotland* had so signally oblig'd, and so chearfully assisted in their long Wars with their most furious Enemies the *Danes*. They were then so well satisfied of this, that the same King *Edward*, with Consent of his Nobles, declar'd by a solemn Law, (a) which afterwards even King *William* the Conqueror ratified, *That the Scots* as well as the *Welsh* and *French* of *Little-Britany*, ought to be accounted as *Denizens* of *England*, and enjoy the same Priviledges with the *English*. And the principal Reason is, because they did ever stand up courageously as one Man, for the Utility of the Crown and Kingdom against the *Danes* and *Norwegians*, fought it most valiantly and unanimously against the common Enemy, and bore the burthen of most fierce Wars in the Kingdom. If so, (and who can doubt it, after so authentick a Testimony?) 'tis plain, that the *Scots* have certainly been Sharers in all the martial Glories attain'd to in *England*, by the whole Race of their *Saxon* Monarchs. They were always (b) at hand with ten thousand Men at least, as often as the Affairs of *England* requir'd their Help, ran the same hazards with them, endur'd the same Fatigues, and were as much one Body of Men with them in the Fields, as if they had been all of one Nation. Nay, when *Canute* had made himself Master and King, the *Scots* would never yield to him, nor pay that Homage for their beneficiary Provinces in *England*, which was only due to lawful Kings. So that during his whole Reign, they maintain'd a War against both *Danes* and *Norwegians*, and fought three or four bloody Battles against his Generals and Brothers. Nor did these Nations ever suffer the *English* to be at Ease, till being driven out of *Scotland*,

(a) Craig concerning Homage chap. 20. and Craig of the Succession lib. 2. chap. 10.—A Book entitul'd *Ἐξουσία five de prisca Anglorum legibus.* print. Lond. 1568, (b) Craig of the Succession lib. 2. chap. 4.

by the victorious Arms of the *Scots*, they took an Oath never to return to it any more. The *English* Historians do nevertheless make little or no mention of those Things; perhaps the Monks of *St Albans* and *Westminster*, who liv'd at a great distance from those Times, were ignorant of what was done in them: But 'tis more probable, that seeing those Writers flourish'd only, as I have already observ'd, when the fiercest and most destructive Wars, rag'd between the two Kingdoms, they were not so generous as to transmit to Posterity, what was so Glorious to their present Enemies. But tho no Credit was to be given to *Scots* Historians, while the Laws of good King *Edward* (for they are commonly so call'd) shall be known or discour'd of, Men must and will acknowledge, not only the Prowess and Gallantry of the then *Scots*; but also, the eminently good Offices perform'd by them in the Wars of *England*, during a Tract, of at least a hundred and forty Years, from the Reign of *Athelstane*, to the Conquest of *England* by the *Normans*. For this 'tis own'd, that they were repaid, not only by the Grant of the *Northern* Counties, so often mention'd; but also, by being declar'd Denizons of *England*. Neither was this new, or will it seem strange to any acquainted with History, or conversant with Books: For after the same Manner did the *Athenians* and *Rhodians* give mutually to one another the *Jura Civitatis*: The *Latins* and *Romans* did the like: And if latter Examples be more acceptable, the *Scots* obtain'd the same Priviledges in *France*, by the same Valour and the like Merits. Nor was either of the Purchases bought at cheap Rates: For as their Friendship with *France*, kept them in a constant Enmity with *England*, so their Attachment to *England*, drew frequently the Arms of the *Danes* and *Norwegians* upon themselves. For these last (who had a much shorter and easier Sailing from their own Countries to the *Northern*, than to the *Southern* Part of the Island) would, if but allow'd a free Passage through the Country, have willingly Associated themselves with the *Scots*, and shar'd with them the Spoils of the Sovereignty of *England*. They often propos'd such Terms of Friendship, but were ever baulk'd: And finding that whenever they invaded *England*, they had the *Scots* upon their Backs, they turn'd their Arms upon *Scotland* it self, invaded it frequently, and in those Wars, which were not terminated in less than two hundred Years, two *Scots* Kings, *Constantine* and *Indulph*, with above a hundred thousand Men were slain. Some of these Actions I have related, the rest will fall in my way of course.

The LIFE of
Gregory the Great,

T H E

Seventy Third King of *Scotland*.

GREGORY was endow'd with so many royal Qualifications, both of Body and Mind, and those allay'd with so very few Imperfections; that had he not come to the Crown by his Birth-right; 'tis probable, say some Authors, he had obtain'd it, precisely upon the Score of his Merits. This seems so true, that if we may credit *Boethius*; (a) and such as have copy'd after him, he was by the unanimous Voice of the Subjects, compel'd against his Will, to ascend the Throne. They add, that two Months after his Predecessor King *Eth*; who by a Faction of the Nobles was imprison'd for pretended Male-administration, had heard the unwelcome News, he found himself unable to outlive so signal an Affront, and died of Grief. That *Eth* may have misgovern'd the State, that a factious Party may have seiz'd his Person, or have put him to death, is not incredible, by reason of the parallel Cases, every where to be met with in Story: But that *Gregory*, or any other besides him (let Ambition pretend, and Flattery proclaim what they please) should have been compel'd against his will to ascend a Throne by the known Laws of the Country not his own, to me seems a Paradox: And who is the Saint that will condescend, even against his Will, to be Anathematiz'd in a proper Sense, and that precisely for the sake of his Brethren? I mean, who will Damn himself to Glorify God, or Affront the Deity to Save his People. For my part, I could never understand that Maxim in Morals, which Sanctifies, or but Palliates the least of Villanies, when committed in order to bring about the best and most noble Designs. And if the Prince, whose Life I write, did, during the Imprisonment of his legal Predecessor (whom after all I find not impeach'd of any positive Vice, besides Remisness in Affairs of State, and an Inclination to Idling and Pleasure) assume the Authority and Title of King,

T t

I con-

(a) In ejus Vita.

King *Herb*
defeated,
and *Gregory*
advanc'd to
the Throne.

I conclude he did it willingly, was compel'd but in Shew; and therefore I shall rank him with the *Cæsars* and *Alexanders* among the Pagan, but by no Means with the *Constantines* or *Theodosii* among the Christian Heroes. Nevertheless, all Authors proclaim him a religious Prince: For which reason I incline the rather to believe what is deliver'd by *Fordon*, (a) an old and impartial Historian, concerning him. *Herb*, surnam'd *Alipes* or *Wing'd-foot*, was an Usurper, who, having brought off the broken Army after its being routed, and the King *Constantine* being kill'd at the *Devil's Cave* in *Fife*, found Means, in the Hurry and Confusion of that unlucky Juncture, to get himself declar'd and crown'd King. 'Tis true, he was Brother to *Constantine*, but *Gregory* was the Son of King *Dongallus*, at whose death being but two Years old, he was by the then Law postpon'd to such Princes of the Blood, as, being of Age, were fit to be set at the Helm of Affairs. So far he was not injur'd, nor did he complain; but now he was come to the Age of Man, he had reason to challenge his Right. He did it accordingly, and a civil War ensuing, both Parties met at *Strathalorn*, where *Herb* was mortally Wounded, and the Victory with the Crown fell to *Gregory*, anno 875.

A. D. 875.

King *Gregory*
favours
the Church.

The first thing he did (b) was an Act of Clemency; for he issu'd out an Indemnity in Favour of these that had appear'd in Arms, or had been otherwise Instrumental against him. The next was Religious; for in a Convention of his Nobles at *Forfar*, he ordain'd that all Priests (for hitherto the Clergy enjoy'd but few or no Immunities, peculiar to their Character) should henceforth be exempted from royal Taxes and military Duties; that they should not be drawn before the Judge Ordinary for any civil Cause; but that all Matters concerning them, should be decided by the Bishops. To the Bishops also was committed the Judgment of matrimonial Causes, Right of Tithes, Testaments, and of all things depending upon simple Faith and Promise; with Power to them to make Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical, to try Hereticks, Blasphemers, &c. In fine, that all Kings succeeding, should at the Solemnity of their Coronation oblige themselves by Oath to maintain the Liberties of the Church. He himself took an Oath to that purpose, and is by the eminent Lawyer, *Blackwood*, (c) said to have been the first *Scots* King that ever took a Coronation Oath: Which, adds he, did not at all concern the People or civil Constitution, but only the Church, and Priviledges of Church-Men. This I am so much the more apt to believe, not only because the Oath was administred by a Bishop, but more particularly, by reason that in those Days, all the Lands in *Scotland*, but those given off to the Church, belong'd to the Sovereign, and 'twas not thought necessary that he should Swear that he would not invade his own Property.

This done, he set himself to retrieve the Malheurs of the former Reigns. The *Danes*, more faithful to their Associates the *Picts*, than the

Chap. I. *The Seventy third King of Scotland.* 167

the *Britains* or *English* had prov'd upon the like Occasion, had left them Possessors of the Peninsula of *Fife*. Thither he march'd upon the Head of an Army, in order to dislodge them, and was so Successful, that they retir'd upon his Approach; first over the *Forth* to *Lothian*, then to the *Merse*, and lastly to the Town of *Berwick*: There they were join'd by their Protectors the *Danes*, who had ravag'd, over-run or possess all these Countries. *Gregory*, not at all daunted by the Numbers of the Enemy, made haste to come up with them: But they not daring to keep the Field, nor to engage him, lest the *English* should fall down upon their Backs, divided their Forces: Some they left for the Defence of the Town of *Berwick*, the Remainder retir'd into *Northumberland*, where they were advis'd, that a new Fleet with a Reinforcement from *Denmark* was lately arriv'd. Upon this the *Scots* invested the Town, and were by the *English* Citizens (averse from the Idolatrous, and therefore common Enemy) let into it by Night. *Gregory* put all the *Danish* Souldiers to the Sword, and having garrison'd the Town with a competent Number of his own Subjects, he continu'd his March into *Northumberland*: And here he met with *Hardunt* a *Danish* Commander, who having heard of the Slaughter made of his Country-Men in *Berwick*, had vow'd Revenge. But as a rash Oath ought never to be made, so 'tis not always possible to keep it: This was the Case of *Hardunt*, his Army was routed, and his Camp taken and pillag'd, with an incredible Slaughter of his Men. The *Scots* (animated by the Example of their present King, and fir'd with the Memory of their late King *Constantine* his inhumane Death) are said to have been so eager and forward upon this Occasion, that without listning to the encouraging Speeches of their Officers, or so much as waiting for the Word of Command, they rush'd in with utmost Violence upon the Enemy, and like a Torrent carried all before them. Much about the same time, the brave *Alfred* King of *England*, gave such another Overthrow to another Army of the Barbarians: So that *Hardunt* quite disheartn'd by these repeated Strokes of adverse Fortune, left all *Northumberland* a Prey to the victorious *Gregory*. The *English* Inhabitants, tho' at Bottom no Friends to the *Scots*, were nevertheless overjoy'd at their being deliver'd from the more hated *Danes*: And the King gave them leave to continue in the Possession of their Inheritances, or to withdraw with their Effects, whither they had a Mind. But they generally chose to stay, as being both charm'd by his present Generosity, and confident of his future Protection. And now the Season was far advanc'd, and 'twas time to put an end to the Campaign: Accordingly the King dismiss'd his Army, and he himself took up his Winter-Quarters in the Town of *Berwick*.

The next Spring he again brought an Army to the Fields; but he took another Rout. The *Britains* remain'd in Possession of *Dumbarston* and the adjacent Countries, they had wrested by an unjust War from the *Scots*, during the Reign of King *Donald V*. Thither King *Gregory* directed his March, and the *Britains* thereby alarm'd,

Defeats the
Pitts.
Recovers
Fife, Lothi-
an, Berwick.

Gains a Bat-
tle over the
Danes.

Conquers
Northumber-
land.

Forces the
Britains to
Peace.

Kills their
unfaithful
King Con-
stantine in
Battle.

Subdues
Cumberland
and West-
morland.

Makes a
League
with Alfred
King of
England.

and, it seems, unprovided against the Storm, met him with Overtures of Peace. He readily condescended to the Terms propos'd, which were; That they should yield to the *Scottish* Crown all the Territories they possess'd in *Scotland*; and that *Gregory* on his Part, should undertake to assist them with auxiliary Troops, in case at any time afterwards they should chance to be molested by the *Danes*. But the *Danes*, not long after this, having been once more overthrown by *Alfred* King of *England*, *Constantine* the *British* King thought himself secure on that side; and therefore contrary to the late Treaty, turn'd his Thoughts towards retrieving the Losses he sustain'd by it. With this View he enter'd *Annandale* in a hostile Manner, and having ravag'd the Country, his Army, laden with Booty, was retreating into *Cumberland*, when *Gregory* came in their view at *Lochmaben*. Nor was it long ere they came to an Engagement. Upon the first Onset, the *Britains* gave Back, which *Constantine* perceiving advanc'd more valiantly than warily upon the pursuing *Scots*: He had but a slender Guard, and these being envelop'd were all cut off; *Constantine* fell with the rest, and his Death determin'd the Victory in favour of the Enemy. This was the severest Blow the *British* Nation had receiv'd of a long time before: Their King was kill'd, their Army rotted, the *Scots*, whom they had offended to the highest Degree, were Powerful, Victorious, and commanded by a Prince inferiour to none of that Age: Besides, they were fully apprehensive of some sudden Insult from the *Danes*, and they could by no Means confide in the *English* Friendship. Something they must do towards their Preservation: And *Hedbert*, the Brother of *Constantine*, being declar'd King, he chose to endeavour a Reconciliation with *Gregory*. The Conditions formerly agreed to, were again propos'd; but these seem'd not satisfactory: The Case was alter'd, and the *Britains* must give up the Countries of *Cumberland* and *Westmorland* to the Conqueror, or, at their Peril, defend them. This they were altogether unable to effect, and so were forc'd to comply. This was a providential Turn; and 'tis but just, that these who having espous'd the Quarrel of *Pictish* Rebels, and thereby possess'd themselves of Territories they had no Right to, should now lose a considerable Part of their own, and be necessitated, as they were, to retire to their ancient Habitations in *Wales*.

The Peace was no sooner concluded with the *Britains*, but Ambassadors from *Alfred* waited on the King at *Carlisle*. Their Business was to Congratulate him upon the Success of his Arms, particularly against the *Danes*, and to move that a League Offensive and Defensive might be enter'd into for the future Security of both Nations, *Scots* and *English*. This was too reasonable to be rejected, and therefore without further Deliberation the Treaty was brought to a Close, the rather because by it *Alfred* renounc'd all the Right he could challenge to those Countries the *Scots* had conquer'd from the *Danes*. Thus *Gregory* had the pleasure to see himself seated on the ancientest Throne in the known World, to have secur'd the Con-
quests

quells of his bravest Predecessors to his latest Successors; and to have extended the Bounds of his Kingdom, as far as the *Scots* and *Ricks*, when united against the *South-Britains*, had been able to do. 'Tis true, that besides the Northern Countries which they actually possess'd and inhabited, they had also the Sovereignty of the Southern, whose Inhabitants were their Tributaries, and receiv'd such Laws as they were pleas'd to give: *Gregory* did not attain to the like Ascendant: And if he had pretended to it, he had probably found, that the then *English* were not of their Predecessors, the *British* Mould, and that their King *Alfred* was not of Kin to the effeminate *Vortigern*; but in lieu of this, as he merited, so he obtain'd an Equivalent.

Not long after his return from the conquer'd Countries, News was brought of an Irruption made by the *Irish* into the Country of *Galloway*. They gave out, that some Ships from *Dublin* had been seiz'd and plunder'd by the Inhabitants adjoining to the Sea; and that the Piracies they exerc'd by Sea, and the Robberies they committed on the Land, were meant only to make up the Losses they had sustain'd upon that Score. If the thing had been true, they needed but to have apply'd for Redress to the King; which if he had denied, in that Case they had been in the Right to use Reprisals. But Matters stood otherwise at the time. The King of *Ireland* was lately dead, and had left his Son and Successor *Donach* but an Infant in the Cradle. *Fordon* says, that King *Gregory* had himself a just Title to the Succession, which I am not apt to believe: And the Reason is plain; For 'twas in his Power to make good his Title, and that's what he did not so much as attempt. *Donach* was King of *Ireland* at that Time; whether the first of that Name, who, according to Sir *James Ware*; (a) reign'd about the Year 787, or the second, who is said to have reign'd anno 944, I cannot tell, since neither of these, conform to that Computation, can be thought to have liv'd at the same time with King *Gregory*. Whoever he was, (for we are not to doubt of Matters of Fact, precisely because Historians differ in some Points of Chronology) 'tis probable that his Non-age gave rise to two potent Factions among his Subjects; and these again (the Government being by this Means disjointed) or to the *Irish* Pirates to infest the *Scots* Coasts, or to the King of *Scots* to invade *Ireland*. *Brien* and *Cornel*, the contending Rivals, no sooner heard of *Gregory's* Arrival in those Parts, but they suspended or laid aside their Animosities: And each upon the head of his own Party, encamp'd at a convenient distance from one another, upon the Banks of the River *Bane*. This was no ill Conduct; for by declining to Fight, and contenting themselves to guard the River, they hop'd to starve the *Scots* into a Necessity of retreating. But they were mistaken, for each of the Souldiers, after the old Fashion of their Ancestors, had brought along with his Arms, what suffic'd to his Entertainment during the space of forty Days: And but very little Bread,
U u Butter,

Makes War upon *Ireland*.

Butter, Cheese, salted Beef, &c. did serve the Turn in those Days, when Gluttony was abhor'd, Delicacies unknown, and healthful strong Nature equally inur'd to Labour, and patient of Hunger. Ere this short time was elaps'd, 'twas indeed necessary to come to Action, or to retire. The King found Means to bring about an Engagement: He observ'd that the Body commanded by *Brien* lay intrench'd, at the Foot of a Hill, call'd by *Boethius, Futum*. The Ascent to it was very steep and difficult, its Top all overcharg'd with Stones, and its Circumference beset with Trees. Two thousand Men were detach'd by Night, with Orders to fetch a Compass about, and so to post themselves upon this Hill: Which how soon they had effected, they were directed by their Officers, to throw down upon the Enemy's Camp whole Showers of those Stones they found at Hand. This Stratagem had all the Success that could have been wish'd for: The Stones thrown down with Vigour were strengthen'd, if I may speak so, by rolling; and the suddenness of the unexpected Thunder, gave no leisure to the Enemy to guard against it. They left their Camp in Disorder, and not daring to encounter the main Body of King *Gregory's* Army, fled whither Fear directed them. Great numbers were taken in the Pursuit; but such were the King's Orders, only a very few were put to the Sword, and among those their General *Brien* chanc'd to fall. Upon the News of this Defeat, *Corneil* retreated into the Inland Countries, leaving a fruitful Soil, with plenty of all Necessaries to the Conqueror; who, as he had gain'd the Victory with Prudence, so he us'd it with Moderation: For he commanded a most strict and severe Discipline to be observ'd, and prohibited all sorts of Insolencies, particularly towards Children, Women, the Religious and Clergy. So that the Country People, charm'd with his Clemency, flock'd in to him from all Parts, and gave willing Obedience to his easy Commands. Two Cities or Castles, *Dundarg* and *Pont*, by Nature and Art Fortified, had nevertheless the Courage to resist; and being at length compel'd to a Surrender, were allow'd to purchase their Lives, Goods and Houses, at the cheap Rate of an inconsiderable Sum of Money, which the King bestow'd upon his Souldiers.

From the Siege of *Pont*, King *Gregory* was resolv'd to direct his March straight to *Dublin*, the principal, if not the only City of the Kingdom, the *Danes* had but lately built, viz. in anno 853, according to Sir *James Ware*; but got Intelligence, that *Corneil* upon the Head of an Army, so numerous, that the like had never been seen in that Island, was within less than ten Miles of him. Upon this he alter'd his Resolution, and made all the necessary Dispositions for an Engagement. The next Day the Armies met, and as *Brien* in the former Battle, so in this *Corneil* was kill'd in the heat of Action, and just as he was raising his Helmet or Head-piece to give out his Orders. The General's Fall, as is usual, occasion'd the Loss of the Day; For the *Irish*, being for the most Part unexperienc'd, and having but then for the first time seen the Face of an Enemy, threw away

Defeats the
Irish Generals.

Gains a second Battle in Ireland.

away their Arms and fled. The Loss of their Men was but inconsiderable while the Combat lasted, but their Flight was fatal to huge Multitudes. They were pursu'd to the very Gates of *Dublin*. That City was crowded with incredible Numbers of those who before the Battle had retir'd thither, as to a Place of Safety, and was now pester'd with the Remains of the Army; so that they must needs Sally out and Fight, or Perish for want of Provisions, or yield to the Conqueror. The want of a Head, the Hurry and Confusion of the Time, their recent Overthrows, and the universal Consternation that seiz'd on all Ranks of People made Fighting impracticable. 'Twas barbarous to suffer so many Men, Women and Children to starve for Hunger: And therefore, by the wiser Scrt, 'twas thought necessary to give Way to the Urgency of Affairs. (a) *Cormac*, own'd by Sir *James Ware* to have been Bishop of the Place, being of this Opinion, was Commission'd to wait on King *Gregory*, and to sue for a Peace. He did it with Submission and Prudence, and was repaid with the Respect due to his Merit and Character. When return'd to the City, he told his Country-Men, that they must yield to the Discretion of the Conqueror, who, he was assur'd, would be Merciful. Upon this Report the Gates of the City were made open, and all those within it assembling together, went out to see the King, and attend him to the royal Palace. The Bishop in his Pontifical Habit, with a Crucifix in his Hand, was foremost in the Procession. How soon *Gregory* met him, he alighted from his Horse, kneel'd, and kiss'd the Image of his Saviour. This testimony of his Piety, for so 'twas consider'd in those Days, gave infinite Joy to the vanquish'd: They look'd on it as a promising Earnest of his after-Behaviour. Nor were they mistaken, for from the Market-Place where he posted a competent Number of Souldiers to awe the Rabble, and to prevent Surprises, if any should be intended, he went straight environ'd with a strong Guard for his Person, to our Lady's Church, and then to that of St. *Patrik*, where having assist'd at divine Worship, he afterwards took up his Lodgings in the Castle. He had commanded a most strict Discipline to be observ'd by his own Subjects. Nevertheless some of them had the Insolence to break in upon Houses in the Night time, and to make bold with those Wives and Maids that had the Misfortune to fall in their Hands. For this they were publickly Executed as soon as convicted, to the immortal Honour of King *Gregory*, and infinite Satisfaction of the gazing and applauding People.

Takes *Dæ*
blin.

Matters standing thus, he was certainly able to have set the Crown of *Ireland* upon his own Head: But, it seems, he had no Right to it, save that of Conquest; which he believ'd not sufficient to deprive his harmless and Infant Cousin, of what by Nature and Law he was destin'd to possess, and had not forfeited by his own, but his Tutors Imprudence. Now they and the Nation had suffer'd for the Injuries done, and paid for the Losses the *Scots* had sustain'd,

(a) Sir James Ware his Commentary of the Prelates of Ireland.

sustain'd, King *Gregory* gave a Proof to them and the World; that 'tis possible for a conquering Prince to resist the most dazzling Temptation, I mean the Enjoyment of Conquest: For instead of enslaving *Ireland*, he appointed that it should continue to be govern'd by its own Laws, (tho, to tell the truth, they were then, and till of late, so unaccountably Barbarous, that he had done better, if he had rescinded or alter'd them) and in place of dethroning, banishing, poisoning, or murdering its King, Practices not uncommon on the like Occasions, he took care to have him royally and safely educated in the midst of his own Subjects, and by Governours of his own Nation. Of those indeed he reserv'd the Nomination to himself, with the Title of Guardian, or Protector of the King and Kingdom of *Ireland*, during the Non-age of his Kinsman; and as such, he put *Scots* Garrisons in all the strong Places of the Country, and exacted an Oath from the Natives, whereby they were oblig'd to admit no *English* nor *Dane* into the Island, whether as Merchants or Travelers, or Souldiers, without his Permission and Pass. This done, he return'd to *Scotland* with his Army, laden not so much with Booty as Blessings, nor so glorious by the Victories he had obtain'd, as by the disinterested Use he had made of them. Neither did he ever repent of the Noble, and perhaps to this Day unimitated Precedent he left to Posterity. For *Donach* the *Irish* King had no sooner attain'd to the Age of Man, but He generously sent back to him the Hostages he had brought along with him from *Ireland*, and at the same time recall'd the Garrisons he had left in that Country. So, say all the *Scots* Historians from the ancient Records they follow'd. How far they agree with those the *Irish* pretend to have preserv'd, I cannot tell, but that *Dublin* was taken by the *Scots*, is vouch'd by *John Brompton*. (a) 'Tis true, he misplaces the Time, but he is none of the most exact in the Chronological Part. And since the *Scots* pretend not to have over-run *Ireland*, or taken *Dublin* but once, 'tis but reasonable to think that this *Gregory*, they unanimously stile *The Great*, was the Conqueror that achiev'd the Noble Exploit.

Masters
the King-
dom.

Restores
it to its Li-
berty.

Takes the
Guardian-
ship of its
King.

'Tis a pity that the Lives of such Princes as he, should not be like their Actions, Immortal. He died full of Merits, and spent with old Age, in his strong Castle of *Dunodor* or the *Golden Hill*, in the Country of *Garioch*, after a triumphant Reign of about sixteen Years, A. D. 892.

Dies.

A. D. 892.

His Character is so shining, that to set it out in its true Light would be a Task, fit for the Pens of *Plutarch* or *Tully*. Heroicism appears in all the Actions of his Life, and that untainted with Self-Interest or vain Glory. 'Tis true, that the Imprisonment or Defeat of his Predecessor open'd a Way for him to attain to the Crown: But 'tis not to be credited, that he, who had the Courage to reject the Opportunity of adding a foreign Kingdom to his Native one, was at any time so Wicked as to Usurp. And may we not rather apply

apply

apply to him, those Verses of *Solon*, who, by the Politicians of his Time, was mock'd for refusing the Sovereign Power he could have assum'd :

*Sure Solon was a soft, a shallow Fool,
Who, when the Pow'r was offer'd, would not Rule:
The Fish were in his Net, that many caught;
Yet he, mean Soul, refus'd to take the Draught:
For else, to have enjoy'd but one Days Reign,
He would have suffer'd the severest Pain.
To have obtain'd such Power in such a Place,
Who would not lose himself, and damn his Race?*

So said the States-men of Old, and so I'm sure do the Modern think: But as then *Solon*, so *Gregory* may with more Justice reply. For the one refus'd the Sovereignty of but one City *Athens*, and that his Native Country too, which, had he accepted, would have fix'd an indeleble Stain on his Memory: But the other, meerly out of a Principle of Justice and Naturality towards his Kinsman, would not be Sovereign of a Kingdom he had Conquer'd in a just War, and consequently purchas'd such a Title to, as some Christian Councils of Conscience had probably declar'd both valid and safe. *Gregory*, I say then, may reply, as *Solon* to the Ambitious :

*That I have spar'd a Kingdom, kept my Fame;
Not stain'd my Glory with a Tyrant's Name;
That, when I could Destroy, I chose to Save:
I cannot blush, I think my Actions brave.*

As his Disinterestedness and Moderation in the Affair of *Ireland* are amazing; so the Vigour and Resolution, with which he wag'd War both with the *Danes* and *Britains*, and the Terms on which he gave Peace to these last, show, that he had the Art of keeping, as well as of making a fair Conquest. The League he made with *Alfred* King of *England*, is another instance of his Prudence and Forecast. For, as by Wars and subsequent Treaties of Peace, he not only recover'd that part of *Scotland*, which had been lost, to the Crown, but also annex'd to it three *English* Counties, *Cumberland*, *Westmorland* and *Northumberland*: So by the League enter'd into with *Alfred*, he procur'd an undoubted Title in Law to the same: Which had his Successors maintain'd, as in Justice they might, I see no Reason why Homage should have been paid, or Fealty sworn to the Kings of *England*, even for those Provinces. A King, so Brave, so Prudent, and so Fortunate, could not but be Courted by the other Kings his Cotemporaries: *Charles* the *Gross* reign'd in *France* at that Time, that is, about an hundred Years after the famous League had been enter'd into by *Charlemaign* and *Achaius*. It seems it was renew'd by *Gregory* and King *Charles*: For the last, (a)

(a) Lelly in vit. Gregor.

had a Guard of twenty four *Scotsmen* that attended his Person: And this was the first Rise of that illustrious *Cors*, the *Gardes Escossoises*, which has ever since made so noble a Figure at that Court. He is likewise said (a) to have sent an Embassy (*John Scotus* was chief of it) to *Alfred* King of *England*, to congratulate that Prince, upon his having enter'd into an Alliance with *Scotland*. Besides, he was Married (b) with *Richard*, a Daughter of one of the *Scots* Kings: So that in his Time 'tis plain, the League was observ'd or renew'd. King *Gregory's* Piety was Heroick as his Valour: We read of none of his Amours, and are told that he was never Married; a great Proof, I take it, of Continency in a Prince, whose Intrigues, and most secret Pleasures his prying Courtiers could not fail to discover. He paid the Religious and Church-men with unaffected Respect, made excellent Laws in their Favours, and made their Character honourable, even in the Eyes of Worldlings, incapable to see Merit in Rags. In fine, He is said to have been so naturally Devout, so really Chaste, so eminently Brave, so Sententious in his Discourse, and so judiciously Wise in all the Conduct of his Life, that 'twas believ'd, he could not do nor say ought that was amiss. The Glories of his Reign are by Mr. *Johnston* summ'd up in the following Verses.

*Consiliis subigit populi fera pectora, pacem
 Instaurat: lancem librat utramque manu.
 Quatuor exigit properato Marte triumphos,
 Cum Pictis pepulit Cimbrica Regna, simul
 Bervicum quassat, vincit dehinc Brittona, & inde
 Compulit Hibernos sub sua jura duces.
 Unius in gremio, celsoque in pectore regnant
 Consilium, virtus, robor, sancta fides.*

THE

(a) Chambers of Ormond in the Life of Charles le Gros. (b) Cuspin, de Cæsar p. 262. Carion's Cronick. publish'd by Phil. Melanct. p. 341.

T H E

Life of Kenneth III.

T H E

Eighty First King of Scotland.

THIS Prince (a) was the Son of King *Malcolm I.* and the Brother of the late King *Duff*. Had he succeeded to this last, *Scotland* could have boasted an uninterrupted Succession of gentle, yet awful Sovereigns, for upwards of a hundred Years bygone. But then, the extraordinary Parts and Merits of King *Kenneth* had been less Conspicuous, because not so necessary to an orderly State. But it was his Fate not to Reign till the Year 969, when by the Vices and Male-administration of his immediate Predecessor *Culen*, the Kingdom was, like a Ship without Sails or Rudder, become ungovernable: And indeed no Man knew what Course the Pilot (whoever he was) would or could steer. The Youth were Riotous and Debauch'd, the People Opprest and miserably Poor, the Great ones Insolent and Lawless; Fewds were carried on with Violence; Devastations, Slaughters, and Robberies were in a manner licens'd; and, which was worst of all, the Chiefs of Clans and Leading Men, were so far from suppressing those Mischiefs, where they had Interest and Power, that on the contrary, some encourag'd, and all conniv'd at the Barbarities their Followers daily committed upon the Goods, Possessions, and Persons of those stated in Enmity with them. The King was satisfied that 'twas necessary to introduce a thorough Reformation among his Subjects of all Ranks: With which View he set himself to Reform his own Court, and shew'd himself a Patern of Continency, Sobriety, Modesty and Liberality. Example, especially that of Princes, has ever a wonderful Effect and Influence over inferior Persons: But where these are generally corrupted, that operates but slowly and by degrees. He therefore resolv'd to compel such Villains to their Duty by Law, as Reason and Example did not move: And accordingly issu'd out his Orders to the Chiefs of Clans, and Governours of Provinces, then call'd

Kenneth III.
his Birth.

A. D. 969.

The State
of the Na-
tion when
he came to
be King.

(*) Ford. Boeth. Less. Buch. Ormond. &c. in vit. Kenneth. III.

He calls
a Conven-
tion of the
Nobles.

Thanes, commanding them all to meet and to attend him at *Lanark*, in the Country of *Clidsdale*. They obey'd but faintly, and those that came to the Court or Convention appointed, exprest so little Deference or Regard for what the King had a mind to do, that he plainly understood, that he must go another Way to Work. He took care in the mean time to conceal his future Designs: And instead of betraying his Anger, he cajoll'd his Nobles into a Perswasion of his being perfectly well pleas'd with their Behaviour: And so breaking up the Assembly, and giving it out, that he was to go about his Devotions at the Shrine of *St. Ninian*, He went with a small Retinue to the Country of *Galloway*, where he Consulted with his best and safest Friends, about Methods proper to force Obedience to his Person and Laws. And indeed he fix'd upon one equally unprecedented and daring. But this was a Secret to all but a very few, till the next Year, when again he summon'd the Nobles to attend him at *Scoon*. The Convention was very full; the rather, because the King's Designs were not suspected as before, and they dreaded no Harm from a Prince they so easily over-rul'd upon the last Occasion. But 'twas not long before they found with whom they had to do: For when they were all met in a large Hall, where the King sat in the Fatal Chair, as the Custom was, they were unexpectedly surrounded by a considerable Number of Men in Arms.

Seizes u-
pon, and
compels the
Nobles to
their Duty.

This was a terrifying Sight to the most resolute among them: Fear flew quickly to their Looks, and Silence seisd on their Tongues. But the gracious King left them not long in Suspence. He told them, "That no Injury was meant to their Persons, but that he was their Sovereign, and, as such, would be Obey'd. That he should take care to command nothing but what was just. That he would look to their Interest as to his own. That it was his Duty to put the Laws in Execution, and theirs to be assisting to him. That, had they at the last Convention been, as they ought, sufficiently forward in this Matter, the Country might have been quieted ere now, Animosities laid aside, Agriculture and Husbandry improv'd, the Peasant protected and enrich'd, the Tradesmen employ'd, Robberies suppress'd, and Villains of all sorts discountenanc'd or punish'd. That in order to this, each of them, without regard to Favour, Alliance or Consanguinity, must cause such Criminals, as offended within his respective District or Bounds, to be apprehended and brought to their Trials: And that till this was done, they must not take it ill that their Persons were detain'd in a safe, and, he hop'd, not uneasy, Constraint. The Nobles overjoy'd that the King, contrary to their first Apprehensions, had left it in their own Powers to regain his Favour and their own Liberty, beg'd Pardon on their bended Knees for their former Omissions, and unanimously promis'd most punctual Obedience to his future Commands. Upon this, the King commanded his Soldiers to conduct them to the Town of *Perth*, whither he himself went likewise, and there kept his Court, amidst all the Nobles his Prisoners,

Prisoners, till by their Procurement, about five hundred notorious Robbers, or at least Oppressors of the laborious necessary People, were from all Parts of the Kingdom brought to Town, Sentenc'd and Hang'd, to the infinite Terror of their Accomplices, and equal Satisfaction of all the Lovers of Justice and Peace. This done, the Nobles were dismiss'd with Honour, and some of them gratify'd for their more eminent Diligence and stricter Inquiry.

'Tis true, that some Years afterwards new Tumults were rais'd, and that the Quarrels of private Men broke out into a sort of a civil War: But I no where read that ever any complain'd, that the King had taken too much upon him; that he had invaded the Priviledges of the Subjects; or that, by forcing Justice, tho in Spite of all the great Men in the Nation, he had acted against, or infring'd the Law: An evident Proof, in my Opinion, that the King of Scots was in those Days an absolute Monarch; And that, altho the Nobles were Stubborn, Factious and Insolent, even with Respect to their Sovereigns, yet they pretended no Law nor Right for what they did in Opposition to his Commands: And if they were at any time guilty of Rebellion or Contumacy, they were then, as Adulterers or Murtherers now adays, sensible that they did amiss. When impeach'd of Treason, and brought to their Trials, they either pleaded not Guilty, or by Associations of Dependents and Friends, or Combinations among themselves, they stood to their Defence, and by Force repell'd that Power, they could not disown. They had no Pamphleteers under Pay, no Advocates hir'd to Write and Plead that they did Right, when in the Wrong. And had it been otherwise, I mean, had the Nobles call'd themselves a Parliament, and acted consequentially to the Idea by some annex'd to the Appellation, What had they not done to rub off the Affront the King had put upon them? What a bloody War must needs ensu'd? And to what a hopeful Condition had the distracted, dissolute, jarring, revengeful and impious Kingdom been brought?

'Tis plain then, that in every State there must be some Supreme and Independent Power, and that this Power may, and ought, upon certain Emergencies, to dispence with ordinary Forms and Methods of Procedure. This is what King *Kenneth*, it seems, understood: And in this he did no more than other Princes and Law-givers had done before him: Witness the most famous ancient Worthies, *Hercules*, *Theseus*, *Lycurgus*. When the two former liv'd, no Place of the Cotntry about *Athens* was free from Thieves and Murtherers: For, says *Plutarch*, that Age produc'd a sort of Men for Strength of Arms, and Swiftnes of Feet, and Vigour of Body, excelling the ordinary Rate of Men, and in Labours and Exercise indefatigable: Yet making use of these Gifts of Nature, to nothing either Good or Profitable to Mankind, but rejoicing and taking pride in Insolence, and pleasing themselves in the Enjoyment of their Inhumanity and Cruelty; and in seising, forcing, and committing all Manner of Outrages upon every thing that fell into their Hands: Who

thought Civility and Justice, Equity and Humanity, to proceed either from want of Courage to commit Injuries, or Fear to receive them; and nothing at all to concern those that were like themselves Daring and Strong. Some of these Monsters, *Hercules*, tho' noways empower'd by Authority or Law, destroy'd and cut off, out of a Principle of Humanity and Love towards his Fellow-Creatures, Mankind in general. And after him, *Theseus*, fir'd with the like Motives of Generosity and Resolution, not only reduc'd and kill'd the Remainder, and freed *Greece* of very violent Oppressors, before any of them that were reliev'd knew who did it: But also, having gather'd together all the Inhabitants of *Attica*, and made them one People of one City, who before were dispers'd, he gave them peremptory Laws, and such as would not be perswaded, he forc'd into a Compliance. *Lycurgus* did what was yet bolder; for *Lacedæmon* was before his Time regulated by Laws; but those by Desuetude, Non-observance and Factions, were become useless to the labouring State. He therefore resolv'd to change the whole Face of the Government. In Order to which, he gain'd over to his Side the best and wisest Men of *Sparta*: And when Things were ripe for Action, he gave order to a competent Number of them to be ready Arm'd at the Market-Place by break of Day; to the end he might strike a Terror into the opposite Party. And thus by a plain Violence and Breach of the Law, he Establish'd it so solidly, that no mixt State did ever vye with this, in Order, Beauty, or Strength.

'Tis certain then, that King *Kenneth* did not act without Precedents to be imitated by him, I say by him, a rightful hereditary Monarch: For, had he been, as *Cromwel*, (another Actor of much the same Part) an illegal Intruder upon the Sovereign's Prerogative and People's Liberties, he had been rank'd with him amongst Usurpers and Tyrants: And the injur'd Nobles had not fail'd of an Opportunity of asserting their Rights, and retaliating the Injury offer'd to their Persons. But they were so far from this, that on the contrary they admir'd his Courage, and applauded his Prudence. Both these Qualities begot him the Love, Esteem and Veneration of all his Subjects: And Peace had flourish'd in *Scotland* for a long time after, had not the unquiet *Danes* brought War upon it.

A huge Fleet of these Rovers was seen off *Red-head* in *Angus*; where, for some Days they lay at Anchor; and during this Time the Commanders consulted among themselves, whether they had best make a Descent at that very Place, or put again to Sea, and set Sail for *England*. *England* was then, as now, by much the more opulent Country, the Soil was fruitful, the Air wholesome, the Lands well cultivated, the Granaries full, the Cities populous, and the People, because too easy, not so patient of the Hardships of War. Besides, there were a great many *Danes*, and *Norwegians* already settl'd in that Kingdom. These had contracted Alliances, and were united by Friendship and Commerce with the Natives; and 'twas probable

probable that the last, and certain that the first would favour an Invasion. On the other Hand, *Scotland* was a Country considerable only by reason of its fierce unconquer'd Inhabitants, a Race of Men hardn'd with Labour, and strength'd by Poverty; there few or no Cities worth the plundering, few Lands worth wasting; no Gardens, no Orchards, no Baths for Pleasure, no Plenty of Food or Drink for Feasting, no Incitements to Luxury: Nothing to be met with, but steep Hills, inaccessible Fortresses, dangerous Bogs, and withal a hardy, robust Enemy, determin'd to dispute every Inch, even of that barren Ground, made fertile by nothing more than the scatter'd Carcases of former Invaders, particularly *Danes*. But then this Country, so much undervalu'd upon the Score of its Unfruitfulness, was nevertheless a sure Inlet to *England*. And it was not to be doubted, but, as Matters then stood, if the more stubborn, and Northern Part of the Island was fairly redut'd, the Southern must fall of Course. This last Consideration, back'd by Arguments obvious enough to the meanest Understandings, took with the Plurality of Men, weary'd with the ordinary Inconveniencies of the Sea, desirous of the Refreshments of Land, and yet more of being reveng'd upon a Nation that had so often baff'd the bravest Efforts of their elsewhere victorious Ancestors. In fine, they resolv'd to land, and accordingly enter'd the Mouth of the River *Esk*, took the Town of *Montrose*, in those Days call'd *Celurca*, put all the Citizens to the Sword, set Fire to the Houses, demolish'd the Castle, and from thence march'd through *Angus*, to the Firth or River of *Tay*, carrying every where along with them Destruction, Rapine and Slaughter. The King was at *Stirling* at the Time: He made all the haste he could to the Rescue of his People: But before 'twas possible to bring an Army to the Fields, Advice was brought, that the Enemy had pass'd the *Tay*, and invest'd the Town of *Perth*. He resolv'd immediately to attempt the Relief of a Place so near to the Court, and so well Situated almost in the Center of his Dominions. Thither he march'd upon the Head of those Forces he had rais'd, and having drawn them up in Order of Battle at *Loncarty*, a little Village; He exhorted them to their Duty, by representing the Inhumanity of their merciless Enemies, the Necessity of Vanquishing or Dying, the deplorable Condition of the Country in general; and in particular of their own Families and Fortunes, in case of their being defeated; their King's Glory, their Ancestors Fame, and the Victories so often obtain'd over this very Enemy, now in their view. Promising withal Immunity from Taxes for five Years to all those that should survive the Battle, and a Sum of Money, or the Equivalent in Land, to such as should bring to him the Head of a slaughter'd *Dane*. The Prospect of such a Reward, made the *Scots* fall on with incredible Alacrity: But, as Matters were manag'd, was like to prove fatal in the Event. For after a most fierce Onset; which oblig'd the *Danes* to descend from the declining Hill, where they had been posted, and come to handy Blows in the plain Fields,

Is attack'd
by the *Danes*.

Battle of
Loncarty.

the *Scots* Souldiers buſied themſelves more in cutting off the Heads of ſuch as fell in their Hands, than in killing ſuch as ſtood to their Defence. The *Daniſh* Commanders having taken notice of this, took Occaſion from thence to give their Souldiers to underſtand, that at this Raſe none of them could hope for one Minutes Life; unleſs they ſhould ſecure it to themſelves by the Death of Men, who thus maliciously and vainly inſulted over the dead Bodies of their Comrads. Upon this the *Danes* re-animatèd with Indignation, Spite and Revenge, exerted the utmoſt Vigour of their ſtrong Nerves and large Bones: They broke through and put to the Rout, both the right and left Wing of the *Scots* Army: And the main Body, where the King fought in Perſon, was very nigh envelop'd, and muſt have been entirely cut off, but for the ſtupendious Action of one *Hay* and his two Sons: Who placing themſelves in a convenient Paſs, beat back the Flyers, and ſo turn'd the Wheel of Fortune, never more deſervedly call'd *Bizarre* or Inconſtant, than upon this Occaſion. This *Hay* was at the time employ'd in Tilling a Field at no great diſtance from the two Armies; but how ſoon he perceiv'd that the *Scots* were flying, he left his Work, and animatèd with Indignation and Rage, he bethought himſelf of an Expedient to prevent the Ruine and Diſgrace of his Country, all Ages will ever admire and extol. He arm'd himſelf and his two Sons, Men like himſelf, of extraordinary Strength, and incomparable Courage, with their Plough Yokes: (It ſeems he had no other Weapons at Hand, or thought theſe the fitteſt, becauſe heavieſt;) And having reproach'd the foremoſt of theſe that fled, and perhaps prevail'd with ſome to return, he plac'd them and himſelf in the narrow Paſs through which he knew the Remainder of the worſted Army muſt flee, and as they advanc'd, he met and knock'd them down unmercifully with his mighty Yoke, in ſo much that he put a Stop to their Flight: And the *Scots* thus equally maul'd by, and in a manner pent up between their Friends and Foes, knew not what to do: If they continu'd to fly, they muſt needs encounter, as they imagin'd, freſh Forces of the prevailing Enemy; and if they ſhould face about again, they muſt re-engage Men animatèd, but at the ſame time wearied and fatigu'd by Victory. They thought fitteſt to turn upon the Purſuers, and did it accordingly. The *Danes* in their Turn ſurpris'd with this ſudden and unexpected Change, they knew not the Occaſion of, concluded, and 'twas no wonder, that the *Scots* Army muſt be reinforc'd with ſome conſiderable Acceſſion of a freſh Power. This perſwaſion damp'd their Courages, and they fled as haſtily as they had purſu'd. By this time the heroick *Hays* came up to the main Body of the Army, and every one became acquaintèd with what they had done, ſo that the *Scots*, now apprehenſive of no more Enemies but thoſe they had in their view, purſu'd their Advantage with incredible Alacrity, and moſt, if not all the *Danes*, fell Victims to their juſt Revenge. Whether any of them got back to their Ships I know not; but conſidering how far they

The great
Action of
Hay, the
Founder of
the Family
of *Errol*.

they had advanc'd into the Inland Country, 'tis probable they were all cut off in their Retreat, or, that the King satiated with Glory, and contented with the Peace so noble a Victory had procur'd to the Kingdom, was willing that some should escape; were it but to let their Country-Men know, that *Scotland* was not worth so much Blood, as must be lost in the conquering of it. However,

The astonishing Event of the Battle of *Louncarty* transported the whole Nation with Wonder and Joy; and the Army spent the ensuing Night in Mirth and Rejoicing, in Singing the Praises of their glorious King, and in extolling the admir'd Valour and Resolution of *Hay* their Deliverer. No Body was more sensible of his Services than the King. That grateful Prince rewarded him as he deserv'd: For he first order'd a large Share of the Enemies Spoils to be given to him, and then commanded him and his Sons to march by himself in a triumphant Manner, with their bloody Yokes upon the Head of the Army, into the Town of *Perth*. He did more: For, as the great Atchievement had already ennobl'd both *Hay* and his Sons, so the King advanc'd them into the first Rank of those about him, and which was very rare in those Days, gave them in Heritage as much of the most fruitful Soil of *Gowry*, as a Falcon could compass at one flight. The lucky Bird seem'd sensible of the Merits of those that were to enjoy it; for she made a Circuit of seven or eight Miles long, and four or five broad, the Limits of which are still extant. As from this Tract of Ground, call'd *Errol*, as then, the brave, loyal, and in every Sense illustrious Family of *Errol*, takes its Designation; so it retains the Sirname of *Hay*, upon the Account of its original Author.

I shall have elsewere Occasion to do Justice to the Worth of his hitherto, and I hope it shall ever be so, unstain'd Posterity. His own and his Sons Praises, a great many have celebrated, both in Prose and Verse: Among the rest, the polite and delicate Poet, *Arthur Johnston*, as follows.

*Hostibus, indignum! Cimbris exercitus omnis
 Scotigenum verso terga leone dabat:
 Signa Caledoniæ spectans incanduit Hajas,
 Qui patrios juxta forte colebat agros:
 Nec mora, taurorum, properans ingentibus ausis,
 Expediit incurvis colla torosa jugis.
 His genitor, natique duo, tria fulmina belli,
 Compescunt trepidam, nec sine cæde, fugam.
 Quævis fuga compressa est, armis agrestibus hostis
 Concidit, & qui non concidit haustus aqua est.
 Clava quid aut Harpe meruit, quid Pelias basta,
 Quæ perhibent Grajos arma tulisse duces?
 Sunt hæc nota quidem, cantataque vatibus arma:
 Haja tamen veræ plus juga laudis habent.*

I return to the Life of the King.

King Kenneth
quells
some Insur-
rections.

Crathilint put
to Death.

After these great Successes, 'twas no difficult Task for a Prince, so deservedly Respected, and so universally Esteem'd, to quell petty Seditious and Feuds among his own Subjects. But it may be thought strange, that henceforth any one should have been so bold, as to venture upon his Displeasure. Nevertheless there were who did it. And first, a Set of Robbers from the Islands had the Insolence to land in *Ross*, and Ravage that Country; but by the King's Orders were pursu'd. Some fell in their Retreat, others were taken, and of these severals, if not all, Executed. *Crathilint*, Lord or Governor of the *Merns*, and Son of *Fenele* (others write *Finabella*) did what was in it self more Criminal, and was afterwards attended by greater, but more dismal Consequences. This haughty, resenting Youth, thought himself Affronted by (one he ought to have born with, had a real Injury been offer'd) his own Grand-father *Cruchne*, the Governour of *Angus*. *Crathilint* complain'd to his Mother, and she, tho' the Daughter of *Cruchne*, was so monstrously Wicked, as to Animate and Aim her own Son against her Father. To be short, *Cruchne* was Murther'd in his own House, by the Direction of his Daughter, and the Hands of his Grand-child: Nay, his whole Family was together with himself put to the Sword, and his Lands laid waste. His Friends and Dependants, and indeed the whole Country of *Angus*, took Arms immediately, and passing the River of *Esk*, enter'd and destroy'd the *Merns*; And so a most desperate and unnatural War (if nevertheless a barbarous Feud between Subjects deserves that Name) was carried on, to the Destruction of both Parties. The King made haste to save the Innocent, by punishing the Guilty: He summon'd all concern'd in the pernicious Example to appear before his Tribunal at *Scoon*: But most of them, to avoid Judgment, fled to, and were apprehended in *Lochaber*. From thence *Crathilint*, and his Accomplices, were brought to their Trials, and put to Death at *Dunfinnan*. Yet, even in this Act of Justice, the King's Mercy was conspicuous: Some he only Fin'd, and others he freely Pardon'd; so that henceforth good Men would not, and ill Men durst not offend. Only one in all the Kingdom (and this one a Woman too, the infamous *Fenele*) continu'd to entertain in her private Breast, those impious Thoughts, which afterwards broke forth with so much the greater Violence and Effect, by how much longer she had had the Art and Force to conceal them. But, before I come to talk of that celebrated Piece of Villany, she contriv'd and accomplish'd, 'tis necessary to clear a most important Point of the *Scots* History, and to Account for the most remarkable Change, that perhaps was ever made, with Reference to the Government in this Part of the Island. Historians relate, and Party-Men descant variously about the Matter: I shall give an impartial Account of what all have said.

Buchanan, an incomparable Scholar, an eminent Master of the *Belles Lettres* and *Latine Tongue*, a delicate Poet; a judicious Historian, but withal, tenaciously attach'd, by the fastest Tyes of private Interest, Passion and Self-Preservation, to a Party of Men who acted those things against the Powers then in Being; which to Vindicate and License, he bent all the Strength of his Thought, and directed the whole Draught of his immortal Pen. *Buchanan*, (a) I say, every where supposes, and in the Life of this King *Kenneth* plainly tells us, that 'twas the ancient Custom of the *Scots*, to choose their Kings; and that they were wont to Elect them from amongst the Relations of the last deceas'd, not the nearest in Blood, but the best, and fittest to command, provided still that such an one was of the Royal Family, and descended from the Founder of the Monarchy, King *Fergus I.* This Custom was, in his Opinion, not only necessary in those Days, when the Nation, naturally Stubborn, and ever embroil'd or in Civil, or in Foreign Wars, could not subsist without a Sovereign of Experience and Years, but also just and reasonable in it self. For, says he, what can be thought more foolish, than to trust that one Concern, the greatest of all that can be imagin'd, to Fortune; and not rather to the free Suffrages and Determination of the Wise? What more imprudent, than to submit to the Government of an Infant, but just now by Chance brought forth, and who himself needs, not only a Governour, but a Governess, whilst there are Men eminent for their Parts and Quality, and every way fitted to sit at the Helm? What if the Children, or nearest in Blood to the King, shall labour under any Infirmities, either of the Body or Mind? What if Boys had been Kings, whilst *Scotland* was attack'd by the *Romans*, *Britains*, *Picts*, *English*, and *Danes*, when the Question was not so much, who should Command the *Scots*, as whether or no the *Scots* Nation should be, like the *Carthaginian*, exterminated Root and Branch? God Almighty denounces a *Woe* unto the Land, whose King is a Child! But Children, by the old Custom were excluded from the *Scottish* Throne. And is it not the height of Madness to introduce that by a Law, which God in a manner curs'd, and Custom excluded? Neither did this new Law cut off the Dissentions of the People, the Ambition of the great Ones, the Quarrels and Animosities of the Princes, the Slaughters so often committed upon the Persons of Sovereigns, nor any of the least Inconveniencies, pretended to flow from Monarchies Elective in the Sense above-mention'd. For still the Regents or Tutors of the Minor King, being generally his nearest Kinsmen, are no less apt to cut off their Pupils, nor their Pupils less afraid of the aspiring Thoughts of their Tutors, than formerly; when these last were Kings in effect. And if these Regents are not the nearest to the Crown; in that Case, is it not probable they'll endeavour to raise their own Families while the Power is in their Hands, and so prefer their private to

The ancient and modern Right of Succession in *Scotland*.

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to the publick Interest of King and Country? Hence the Envy and Jealousy of their Equals, and all these Calamities that attend Minorities. Besides, Hereditary Succession cannot be perpetuated by this or any other Means. 'Tis in vain to study or seek for Duration in Families; The *Romans* did it; but to what Purpose? The *Scipio's*, *Fabii*, &c. are long since extinct, in Spite of all their Efforts toward Immortality: Nay, the way to ruine a Royal Family, is to ascertain the Succession to the immediate Heir, for that's to advance him so far nearer to Tyranny: And Tyranny is a Mark, all Men will shoot at. Many *Scots* Kings, or Kings Sons and apparent Heirs, were before King *Kenneth's* Law, by their Successors Contrivance or Connivance, upon various Pretences, imprison'd, poyson'd and kill'd. But what then, says *Buchanan*, all the Devastations, Slaughters, Murthers, Regicides, Parricides of former Ages, were but slight and tolerable Evils, if compar'd with that one War that ensu'd upon the Death of *Alexander III.*, a War, which, in this Place, he attributes only to the Removal made from the suppos'd Custom of electing our Kings.

Sir *Thomas Craig*, one of *Buchanan's* own Principles, with Reference to Religion and Church-Government, of undoubted Honesty, of natural Parts and Acquirments equal to those that have been most admir'd in any Nation or Age; An indefatigable Reader, a sound Reasoner, a judicious Writer, and a Lawyer incomparable, either in Reach of Thought, Combination of Circumstances, Variety of Citations, Fluency of Stile, and unbyass'd Search of Equity and Truth; Sir *Thomas Craig*, I say, and with him Sir *George Mackenzie*, *Barelay*, *Blackwood*, &c. all Men of eminent Learning and Parts, differ widely from *Buchanan*, and those of his Opinion in this Point. If we may credit them, (a)

•The *Scots*
Monarchy
never E-
lective.

The *Scots* Monarchy was from its first Foundation Hereditary from Father to Son: For all *Scots* Historians, and among those *Buchanan* himself, tell us plainly, "That the *Scots* swore Allegiance to King *Fergus I.* and to his Posterity for ever: Consequently *Fergus* his Son, ought by Law to have Succeeded; since his Brother was none of his Posterity. Yet the Brother was prefer'd to the Son: Not at all: For he was only made Guardian of his Infant Nephew, tho, that he might Rule with the greater Authority, he was allow'd the Title of King, a Precedent afterwards follow'd by such as like him came to Administrate the publick Affairs; by reason of the Non-age of the more immediate Heirs. The like Custom did sometimes obtain in *England*, *Spain*, and *France*. *Lewis*, *Carloman*, and *Charles le Gros*, were Tutors of *Charles the Simple*, and Crown'd as such, under that Designation, but were never declar'd Kings in their own Right, tho they are reckon'd among the Kings of *France*, by some blundering Ignorants in the History of that Nation. In *Spain*, *Aurelius*, *Sito* and *Veremundus* Reign'd successively during the Non-age of *Alphonfus*, firnam'd

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(a) Sir Geo. Mackenzie's Right of the Succession — Craig of the Succession;

“ *The Chaste*, to whom, as being the legal Heir, the Kingdom was
 “ by *Veremundus* restor’d, after the second Year of his Reign, or
 “ rather Administration. By the same Rule, and for much the
 “ same Reasons, in *England*, *Athelstane*, Bastard Son to *Edward* the
 “ Elder, succeeded him, his two legitimate Sons being past by :
 “ But they were Minors, and the *Danish* Wars requir’d a stout and
 “ manly King ; And such an one, the *English* found in the Person
 “ of *Athelstane*, yet fail’d not afterwards to restore *Edmund*, the law-
 “ ful Son and Heir of *Edward*, to his natural Right. *Edward* the
 “ Confessor, was also made King of *England*, by reason of the Absence
 “ of his Nephew, another *Edward*, the Son of his elder Brother
 “ King *Edmund Ironside*: And to this Prince, as to the rightful and
 “ and true Heir, the pious King *Edward* would have yielded the
 “ Crown. But the Nephew, emulating his Uncle’s Naturality, de-
 “ clin’d to take it during his Life, who had worn it, only to preserve
 “ it for him. This Custom, thought necessary by several Nations,
 “ upon certain Junctures, was nevertheless attended by fatal Con-
 “ sequences, where ever it took Place, particularly in *Scotland*:
 “ For few of these Guardian Kings were like the *English Edward*, so
 “ just or Generous, as willingly to abdicate in favour of their Ne-
 “ phew, even when these last sprung up to be Men. ’Tis true,
 “ some did it, and others, as *Feritharis*, offer’d to do it: A plain
 “ Proof that they accounted it their Duty. And *Buchanan* him-
 “ self confesses, that upon the Death of *Durustus*, a wicked Prince,
 “ it was debated, whether his Son should not succeed, *juxta sacra-*
 “ *mentum Fergusio prestitum, veteremque esse morem servandum.* Nay,
 “ after the Death of *Fergus II.* his Son *Eugene*, tho a Minor, was
 “ Crown’d, and his Grand-father *Græma* allow’d to be his Tutor:
 “ Another Proof that Hereditary Succession was, even in those Days,
 “ establish’d by Law, by Oath and Custom. And had it been o-
 “ therwise, with what Front could we *Scotsmen*, and in parti-
 “ cular *Buchanan*, assert our Sovereign’s Title to the *Pictish* King-
 “ dom. ’Tis not doubted, but most Laws, and especially that
 “ concerning the Succession of Kings, were the same in both Na-
 “ tions. Our King *Alpine* was the nearest in Blood to *Dostolargus*,
 “ King of the *Picts*; and, as such, he put in for the Crown: But the
 “ *Picts* rejected him, and elected *Feredlech*. If they had Right to
 “ do so, (and sure they had equal Priviledges in this with the *Scots*)
 “ why did not *Alpine* and his Son *Kenneth* desist from their Preten-
 “ sions? And how came they to extirpate, as some write, a
 “ whole Nation, and to be said to have done it justly, and that
 “ merely because that Nation, as the then *Scots* would have done,
 “ stood to their Priviledges, and elected a King of their own? By
 “ the same Rule, *Mordredus*, King of the *Picts*, challeng’d and fought
 “ for the Throne of *Britain*, as his Right, because nearest in Blood
 “ to the *British* King his Grand-father: And this he could not have
 “ done, had not that Kingdom been Hereditary. From thence it
 “ follows, that all the States in *Britain* were really so, and that such

“ Guardian Princes as did not lay down their Office, upon the Ma-
 “ jority of their Pupils, acted against Law, and as Usurpers might
 “ be depos'd. No wonder then, if we read of so many *Scots* Kings
 “ cut off, and that perhaps most justly by their Successors. A Tutor
 “ ought to account for his Intromissions, and a great many *Scots*
 “ Kings were but Tutors. Nevertheless, Ambition, so Natural to
 “ all Men in Place and Power, Length of Time, and numerous Pre-
 “ cedents, made that customary, which in it-self was Usurpation.
 “ But Custom cannot prescribe against Law; and therefore 'twas but
 “ reasonable to renew the old Law, by abolishing an abusive Cu-
 “ stom. Neither did this Custom, bad as it was, allow the People,
 “ as *Buchanan* every where insinuates, to elect even these Tutelar
 “ or Guardian Kings. For 'tis plain from the whole Tract of his
 “ own History, that the People had no manner of Concern in the
 “ Government, till, by the gracious Concessions and Appointment
 “ of our modern Monarchs, Parliaments were introduc'd, and in
 “ them, some Burrows, or Representatives of the People allow'd to
 “ sit. If any then had a Power of nominating or electing Kings,
 “ sure these were the Nobles and Chiefs of Clans. And 'tis very
 “ true, that the *Scottish* Kings made use of their Counsel and Ad-
 “ vice in the most weighty Affairs of State, and appointed them,
 “ or such of them as they pleas'd, to attend their Persons at such
 “ Times and Places as they pitch'd on. These Meetings, Historians
 “ call *Conventus Procerum*, and so they may be term'd in *Latine*.
 “ But these *Latine* Words can by no means be interpreted, so as to
 “ import a Convention of the States; since then there were no States;
 “ but may be very well, *English'd*, the *King's Council*: For such, it
 “ seems, they were, and no more. And who is the King that stands
 “ not in need of a Council? Now, that even they had no Power
 “ to Elect their Kings, is plain. For, in the first place, King
 “ *Fergus* I. was not elected, but constituted himself King, as is
 “ prov'd in his Life, or came to be such in Right of his Blood: Or,
 “ if he was Elected, the next in Blood to him was so too. And
 “ the Electors had no more Power to invalidate this Deed, had
 “ it been their own, than a Husband, who to Day chooses and mar-
 “ ries a Wife, has Right to divorce her to Morrow. Nay, the
 “ very Law pretended by *Buchanan*, for this Right of Election, is,
 “ even as worded by him, a Demonstration, plain as the Sun-shine,
 “ that they had no Power to Elect the Kings of *Scotland*, properly
 “ so call'd. His Words in the Life of *Feritharis* are these: *Post*
 “ *longam disceptationem, ratio inita est, qua hec puer, etate nondum regno*
 “ *matura, imperaret, neq; iurjurando fraus fierat: ut videlicet Regem liberis*
 “ *nondum adultis, propinquorum, qui maxime regno videretur idoneis, is re-*
 “ *rum summae praescriberetur: eo mortuo, regni successio ad Regis superioris*
 “ *liberos perveniret.* After a long Debate, says he, an Expedient was
 “ found out, whereby Children, by reason of their Non-age, unfit
 “ for Government, were debar'd from the Command; and yet the
 “ Oath (tender'd to King *Fergus* and the Heirs of his Body) re-
 “ main'd

main'd unviolated: The Expedient was this, when the King's Children were, at his Death, in their Non-age, the fit est, (others say, the nearest of his Kindred) was appointed to rule with Sovereign Power: And he being Dead, the Succession was to return to the Children of the preceeding King. " Now, if 'twas determin'd by " Law, that upon the Death of the Guardian, the Succession should " return to the Children of the preceeding King, I hope none will " say, but that the Succession was Hereditary by Law; at least so " far as concern'd the Children of the Kings preceeding. Those I " justly call Guardians; consequently these Children were not " elected, neither by the People, nor by the Nobles, who, if they " had any Power of Election at all, had it only with Reference to " those that succeeded not in their own Right, and by vertue of " the *Fergusian Law*, but of such as came to govern, by reason of " the Non-age of their Pupils: I say their Pupils, for so does *Buchanan* himself term them, as do *Boethius* and others. Nay, it " may be contended, whether they had Right to Nominate or E- " lect those Kings, the same *Buchanan* is forc'd to call Tutors: " For even these came to succeed, not only by reason of " the Blood-Royal which ran in their Veins; but (says " *Lesly*, and he knew as much of the Matter as *Buchanan*) " because of their being, *The nearest in Blood to their Pupils.* " This is so much the more credible, because *Buchanan* acknowledges, " that the Kings of *Scotland* were wont to name their Successors, by " declaring them Princes of *Cumberland*. And he says, that this " was an Encroachment upon the Right of the People or Nobles, I " no where find that they quarrel'd it. 'Tis probable then, that " the Nobles met upon the Death of their Kings, not to Elect or " Choose, but to Recognize the Right, and swear Allegiance to " such a Successor, as the Law or Custom pointed out. But should " it be granted, that they did choose the Guardian Kings, when the " immediate Heir was a Child; what then? Did this make the " Monarchy elective? And is not *Buchanan* very much to blame, " who commences the Lives of all Kings, indifferently telling us, " that they were Elected. For the Assertion is evidently false, at " least with reference to the Kings, properly so call'd, and but dubi- " ous at most of the others. These last, being once admitted to " this *Fidei commissaria* Title, differ'd in this from Regents, that they " were generally wont to wear the Crown, and exercise the royal " Power, not only till their Pupils grew up to be Men, but while " they themselves liv'd. An insufferable Abuse, which no Law " did authorize; nay, contrary to all Laws, Divine and Humane: " For God Almighty decreed, (a) *That if a Man hath no Son nor* " *Daughter, his Inheritance shall descend upon his Brother.* The Son is " then preferable to the Daughter, and both to their Uncles or " Cousins: And *St. Paul* (b) asserts, *That if Sons, then Heirs.* " Which Conclusion, if false in Speculation, or if in Practice it may

be disappointed, all his Divine Reasoning in that Chapter comes
 to nothing. Besides, this Right of Succession is so natural, that
 every Man finds it grafted in his own Heart, and obeys it
 without Reasoning for it. For who doubts, when he hears of an
 Hereditary Monarchy, as *Scotland* was from its first Foundation,
 but that the next in Blood must succeed? And from this Ground
 it is, that tho' a remoter Kinsman did possess as Heir, he could,
 by no length of Time, prescribe a valid Right; since no Man,
 as Lawyers conclude, can prescribe a Right against the Law of Na-
 ture. This is acknowledg'd by all Nations and Ages: For, as *Bodinus*
 (c) has it, *Ordo, non tantum legis natura & divina, sed etiam omnium ubi-
 que gentium hoc postulat.* And since 'tis expressly determin'd, that
 the Right of Blood can be taken away by no positive Law or Sta-
 tute, and that the Power of making a Testament can be taken
 away by no Law, it follows, that the Right of Succession cannot
 be taken away by a Statute; for that is the same with the Right
 of Blood, and is more strongly founded upon the Law of Na-
 ture, than the Power of making Testaments. Neither can any
 Power on Earth dispense with the Laws of God: And we have
 evinc'd, that by the Law of God, the Son ought to succeed to
 the Father. Since therefore the old *Scots* Custom was contrary
 to the fundamental Law made by the first Founder of the Mo-
 narchy, and sworn to by the then People, as also to those of
 God Almighty, Nature and Nations; 'twas necessary to take it
 away. But then the Kingdom must be govern'd by Children in
 case of Minorities; and *Wo unto the Land when thy King is a Child*.
 Indeed this is a great Misfortune, but who can help it? And is
 it not evident, that this same Inconveniency did more necessarily
 attend the allowing a Regent King, during Life: For both the
 Subjects and the true Heir rais'd Factions in that Case; whereas,
 the Subjects only are Factious in the other. Nor is it reasonable
 that the Remedy should have lasted beyond the Disease. If the
 King was Minor, why disinherit him for this? And if a Regent
 cannot govern in his stead, let the Parliament, Councils and Of-
 ficers of State do it. And if they cannot, then this, so much ad-
 mir'd Model of Governing by Parliaments, ceases to be of such
 Excellency, as is generally believ'd: If they cannot govern in the
 Time of a Minority, neither are they fit to Elect Kings. Facti-
 ons, Intrigues, Quarrels, Interest, Bribes, are ever prevalent,
 where many have Votes: And 'tis not to be suppos'd, that a
 Multitude of Men, Humoursom, Quarrelsom, Interested, Brib'd,
 and most probably over-aw'd by a prevailing Party, would, if met
 to choose a King, fix on the Fittest and Best, and not rather on
 the most Intriguing and Ambitious, that is, the very Worst.
 This is so true, that from King *Fergus I.* to *Kenneth III.* when (if
 we credit *Buchanan*) our Sovereigns were elected by the Nobles
 or People, we had Seventy nine Kings; and of those, according to

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“ the *false Buchanan*, almost the half were most notoriously Wicked :
 “ So happy and wise a Thing is this (so much magnify'd) Election
 “ of a Successor, by the People and their Representatives, to supply
 “ the Defects of the lawful Heir. Whereas, from King *Kenneth III.*
 “ to King *Charles II. inclusive*, we have had thirty one Kings ;
 “ twenty six of whom have succeeded by a due lineal Right, and
 “ have prov'd virtuous Princes, greater by their Merit than their
 “ Birth : As if God design'd to let us see, that he can choose a fitter
 “ Successor, than Parliaments can do. The other five Kings, who
 “ came to the Crown against that Law of *Kenneth III.* were all
 “ Persons undeserving their high Trust ; and who, as they ascen-
 “ ded the Throne, so they govern'd, without Law. 'Tis therefore
 “ but reasonable to trust more to the Care of God, by whose special
 “ Providence, in the Opinion of some Divines, every Throw of the
 “ Dice is influenc'd, than to our own ; and to hope more from him
 “ by Christian Submission, Humility and Obedience, than by Ca-
 “ balling, Rebelling, sacrilegious Murthering, &c. The Reason
 “ why in the first Period of Time condescended upon, so many
 “ Kings prov'd Wicked, and why in the second, they were Bountiful
 “ and Good, is obvious to any that has ever so little Insight in the
 “ Nature of Man. The former reign'd but during Life : Their Chil-
 “ dren, they knew, could not succeed them in the Throne : They
 “ themselves (I speak of the Guardian Kings, not of the Legal Heirs)
 “ ascended it, when but indifferently Opulent, and sometimes by
 “ Trick, Intrigue and Violence. Now, what could be expected
 “ from such Persons, but that they would employ their new-gotten
 “ Power, if not to perpetuate it to their own Posterity, by cutting
 “ off their Nephews, at least to supply their former Wants, clear
 “ their Debts, purchase Estates, raise their private Families from
 “ Want to Wealth, and leave their Heirs, if not Kings, at least the
 “ greatest and richest of Subjects ? To effect this, what must they
 “ do ? What we see Men, in Place and Authority, do every Day ;
 “ make use of the present Sun-shine, hasten to be Rich, embezzle
 “ the Treasury, divert the publick Money to private Uses, heigh-
 “ ten the Royal Duties, impose new Subsidies upon the People, in-
 “ vade private Mens Fortunes, intent vexatious Law-Suits, cor-
 “ rupt Justice, hire Informers, bribe Witnesses, forge Crimes, de-
 “ vise Plots, foment Divisions, and so proceed to Hanging, Be-
 “ heading, Fining and Forefaulting. To do these Things, is to
 “ act the Tyrant : And for this sort of Tyranny, many of the old
 “ Kings suffer'd deservedly, according to *Buchanan*. But he forgets
 “ to draw the Conclusion that naturally follows from thence : 'Tis
 “ just the Reverse of his Assertion, and is plainly this ; To set up a
 “ King, whose Posterity may be debarr'd from the Succession, is to
 “ set up a Tyrant : And Tyranny (I agree so far with him) is a
 “ Mark, most Men are inclinable to Shoot at. But these Kings, be-
 “ cause of their Age and Experience, made noble and immortal
 “ Struggles, in Defence of *Scotland*, against the *Romans*, *Britains*,
 “ *Saxons*

“ Saxons, Danes, &c. They did: And not these neither, for our
 “ most glorious Monarchs will be found to have been the legal
 “ Heirs; and so were sure their Posterity would sometime or other
 “ enjoy the Fruit of their Labours. But what if Children had been
 “ Kings in those critical Junctures? If so, these Children would
 “ have had Tutors, and their Guardian Kings were no more; only
 “ they did less Good, and more Mischief, than Regents (because
 “ accountable to their Pupils) would or durst have done. Nay,
 “ had not the Succession been interrupted by these Titular
 “ Kings, that is, had our Sovereigns of old succeeded, as those
 “ since King *Kenneth*, in a direct Line from Father to Son, 'tis
 “ probable, they had done something more than what was effected,
 “ upon certain Occasions. They had not only withstood and baff'd
 “ their encroaching Foes, but had been Aggressors in their Turn.
 “ King *Gregory* had perhaps secur'd *Ireland* to his Posterity, and
 “ King *Eugene* *Britain*. But these Heroes did enough for their own
 “ Glory; and since the prospect of their Offspring was but uncer-
 “ tain, they halted in the Midst of their Career, and preferr'd
 “ present Ease to Dangers, useless to themselves and their Heirs.
 “ This is certain, had not our ancient Kings been eternally busied
 “ in working, or averting the Malheurs, occasion'd by their irregular
 “ Succession, they would have had leisure to look abroad: And e-
 “ very Age presented them with such Opportunities of extending
 “ their Dominions, as they neither could, nor did they think it
 “ worth their while to improve: At least, they had been more in-
 “ tent upon Means of bettering the Constitution of their Country,
 “ of Cultivating its, otherwise unfruitful, Soil, of Forming and
 “ Peopling of Cities, Building of Ships, Applying to Navigation,
 “ and what else they could not but see did conduce to the Conve-
 “ niency, Plenty and Wealth of their *Roman* and *Saxon* Neighbours.
 “ These and the like Projects the whole Posterity of King *Kenneth*
 “ set always on Foot. And no wonder: An hereditary Monarch
 “ must needs consider his People's Wealth as his own and his Chil-
 “ dren's Inheritance: And when he enriches his Subjects, he pro-
 “ vides not only for himself, but for his latest Posterity. Nor is it
 “ in vain, as *Buchanan* tells us, to provide for Posterity, and to
 “ seek, in some measure, Immortality, by living in one's after-Gener-
 “ rations, down, if Providence permits it, to the last Period of
 “ Light and Time. Who is he that does it not? And why do we
 “ all Toil, if not for Posterity? The Patriarchs, these Men so re-
 “ sign'd to the Will of God, yet were inexpressibly fond of having
 “ Issue, numerous as the Sands of the Sea, and lasting as Sun and
 “ Moon. This natural and honest Desire was not unacceptable to
 “ God: He heard and granted their Request. And what Miracles has
 “ he not wrought to perpetuate the Race of our *Scottish* Kings?
 “ What stupendious Deliverances has he not brought about to pre-
 “ serve it? As for the War that ensu'd upon the Death of *Alexan-*
 “ *der* III. 'twas indeed a most fatal one; yet in no Sense so Mischie-

“vous as all the civil Wars, Devastations, Murders, Parricides, &c.
 “of preceeding Ages. Neither is it at all to be imputed to the line-
 “al Succession, but rather to the Competition of Kings: . And
 “where there is such a Competition, (and to such hereditary
 “Monarchs seldom, but elective Ones, witness *Poland* and *Hungary*,
 “are ever liable) there, 'tis own'd, Storms are gathering, and the
 “Seeds of Mischief are always shooting up, and Intestine War, with all
 “its calamitous Attendants, Rapine, Devastation, Murder, &c. is
 “at hand.

Thus far I have copied from the Authors abovemention'd. They have written Volumes on the Subject, and I could only hint at a few of their innumerable Arguments. Nevertheless, I humbly conceive, I have enlarg'd sufficiently to make my Reader understand the State of the Question, and to give him a View of the Reasons adduc'd by both Parties. •return to the History.

King *Kenneth*, either perswaded of the Iniquity and unavoidable Inconveniencies of the irregular Succession of his Predecessors, or desirous to Ascertain the Crown to his own Posterity, bethought himself of Means, how to abolish the Custom, introduc'd in King *Feritharis's* Reign, and of renewing the fundamental Law of the Monarchy, when first constitute by King *Fergus*. He had an absolute Authority over the Minds and Hearts of his Subjects, and he was sure they would quarrel nothing he did: He needed but to express his Pleasure, and this would remain a Law, whilst he liv'd; but upon his Death, he knew not but Pretenders might start up, and Factions break out anew. He therefore resolv'd to perswade as well as to command, and to obtain the Consent and Approbation of his Nobles, assembl'd in Council, hoping that they would thereby be engag'd to stand to that Alteration, themselves had solemnly declar'd for. Nothing could reasonably byass their Judgments, nor obstruct his Designs, but the Regard every Body had for *Malcolm* a Prince of the Blood, who long before had been created Prince of *Cumberland*, and consequently Successor to the Crown of *Scotland*. To remove this Obstacle out of the Way, *Buchanan* (a) tells us, That the King, not daring to Dispatch the Prince openly, caus'd him to be Poison'd by some secret Agents. *Lesly* says, that he caus'd sue him at Law, as an Accomplice of *Crathilint's* Wickedness, and so got him to be cut off, by an unjust Sentence. But *Fordon*, whom I more incline to believe than any of our modern Writers, lays nothing at all of the Manner of his Death, but seems to insinuate that 'twas Natural; and is positive, that the King did not create his Son Prince of *Cumberland*, till the Death of his Cousin, and about twenty Years after he had regulated the Succession: So that 'tis probable that his own Son might have succeeded to him by virtue of that Law, altho the Prince of *Cumberland* had liv'd; and if so, there was no Occasion for cutting off that Prince by Poison or otherwise. The Succession to the Crown had been determin'd in

Kenneth III.
regulates the
Succession.

(a) *Buchan, Boeth, Less. Ford, locis supra citatis;*

favour of the King's own Posterity, twenty Years before : And even by the Custom, now abolish'd, his Son, if a Man at the Death of the King his Father, would have succeeded preferably to the Prince of *Cumberland*. For I no where read, that the granting of that Title was ever design'd to preclude the Right of the lawful Heir, if come to Years. It was indeed an *Omen Regni*, a Step to the Crown, and never confer'd on any, but such as hitherto had come to be Kings : But this was chance, and 'tis ridiculous to imagine, that a Father, by Naming a near Relation to the Principality of *Cumberland*, did mean any more, than to declare him his Successor, or rather his Son's and the Kingdom's Guardian, in case his Son and Heir prov'd, by reason of his Non-age and the Custom receiv'd, incapable to Reign.

I conclude then, that by the old Custom, *Malcolm* the King's Son, if come to Years at the death of his Father, had succeeded to him in the Throne, preferably to *Malcolm* the Prince of *Cumberland*: And that by a Law of twenty Years standing, the King's Son, tho an Infant at his Father's death, had also succeeded preferably to his Cousin. If then the King was so Wicked as to Poison or Murther his Cousin, he was so much the more Criminal, that to compass his Ends, a Crime was unnecessary. But be this as it will, 'tis certain, that the King, designing to secure the Succession to his own Posterity, against all Events that could probably occur, appointed a Council to meet at *Scoon*; and 'tis probable, that he employ'd all the politick Methods he could think of, to obtain their Approbation. He prevail'd accordingly, and *Constantine* and *Grim*, two Princes of the Blood, and, as afterwards appear'd, equally Ambitious and Daring, were the very first that went into the Measures propos'd. They told the King, that 'twas his Prerogative to alter those Laws which were inconvenient, and to enact new ones as he thought fit. The whole Assembly were of the same Opinion, and there was not one, but was, seemingly at least, convinc'd of the Necessity and Equity of the Law propos'd. There are who write (a) that the People, abhorring the Impieties, and weary of the Distractions and Divisions flowing from the abusive Custom hitherto receiv'd, begg'd that these Laws might be enacted.

I. That upon the King's death, the next Heir of whatsoever Age should succeed.

II. That the Grand-child either by Son or Daughter should be prefer'd.

III. That till the King arriv'd at fourteen Years of Age, some wise Man should be chosen to Govern; after which the King should enter to the free Administration, and choose his own Curators and Council.

Several other Laws, common to the King and the Subjects, with Reference to the Succession, were, according to *Buchanan*, enacted at the same Time : So that to invert the Succession of the Kings of *Scotland*

Scotland, as then establish'd, is to endanger that of all the Subjects ; for in so far do they stand upon the same Basis.

Hitherto King *Kenneth* had all the Success in his Attempts, his Merits deserw'd, and he continu'd to Reign not so much over the Persons, as the Hearts of his Subjects. Every Body thought him inwardly Happy, as he was outwardly Fortunate: But, says *Buchanan*, after some of our Monastick Writers, he was very far from being so. He had Poison'd the Prince of *Cumberland*, and the Sense of so unnatural a Crime sticking fast to his, otherwise untainted Soul, gave him no Respite. He was tortur'd with Thoughts, when awake, and when sleeping with Dreams, insomuch that one Night, being in Bed, he heard, or fancied that he heard, a Voice from Heaven, upbraiding his Guilt, and denouncing quick Punishment. And now he became more thoughtful than ever: Fear, Terror and Remorse pursue him in all the Motions of his Body and Soul: In a Word, the deplorable Condition he was reduc'd to, cannot be more pathetically describ'd, than by applying to him that of *Horace*:

Kenneth
turns Melancholy
and Valentudinary.

————— *Timor & minis*
Scandunt eodem quo dominus : neque
Decedit arata triremi, &
Post equitem sedet atra cura.

But King *Kenneth* was a Christian, and he very well knew, that

Districtus ensis cui super impia
Cervice pendet, non Sicula dapes
Dulcem elaborabunt saporem :
Non avium citbaraque cantus
Somnum reducent.—————

• He did not endeavour to allay his Grief and to divert Melancholy, by indulging the cravings of Nature ; He drown'd not his Thoughts in Wine, nor charm'd them away in the Conversation or Embraces of Women. Such Remedies, (tho some of this Age would be apt enough to prescribe them in the like Case) he thought, would enflame the Disease. He apply'd to the Directors of his Conscience, confess'd his Sins with Tears in his Eyes, and Contrition in his Heart, says *Boethius* : And they, by this time degenerated, says *Buchanan*, from the Piety and Erudition of the Bishops and Monks their Predecessors, appointed him to perform Absurdities, that is, to redeem his Sins, by giving Alms to the Poor, by honouring his Spiritual Pastors, assisting at Mass, frequenting the Churches, visiting the Sepulchres of Saints, kissing their Reliques, &c. He obey'd with all the Submission of a sincere Penitent: And after doing his Devotions at the Shrine of *St. Palladius*, at *Fordon*, in the *Merns*, he was perswaded by the earnest Intreaty of the above-mention'd *Fenele*, to come, in order to his Diversion, and take up his

Lodgings at her neighbouring Castle of *Fetercairn*. The Historian *Fordon*, as he speaks nothing of, but rather confutes the Crime charg'd upon King *Kenneth*; so neither does he mention any Part of this Legendary Story concerning his Remorse or Penance; a Story most probably forg'd by an adverse Party, to make way to those Villanies, they afterwards effected, improv'd by Monks to magnify the wonderful Effects of penitential Deeds, and repeated by *Buchanan* to ridicule them, and asperse, what he seems to think, the Commencement of Lineal Succession in Scotland. However, *Fordon*, as I have said, tho he liv'd nearer to these Times, yet knew nothing of the Matter: But, he says, that while the King was a Hunting in the Neighbourhood of *Fetercairn*, the deceitful *Fenele*, vex'd that her near Relations *Constantine* and *Grim*, were, by a positive and plain Law, remov'd from Hopes of being made Kings in their Turn, but more particularly irritated by reason of the Sentence past and executed long since upon her Son *Crathlint*, came out, and upon her Knees beg'd of the King, that since he was so near at hand, he would please alight from his Horse, and honour her with a Visit; adding withal, that she had Matters of the greatest Importance to impart to him; that there was a Conspiracy against his Life, and that, would he but give her Time, she should unravel the whole Affair. Princes are naturally Suspicious, and ever fond of Discoveries of this kind. The Bait took: And the King, but slenderly guarded, enter'd the Castle, and there, as some write, was Murther'd, by means of an artificial Engine, which, how soon his Curiosity made him to touch, emitted a hundred Darts, capable to have wrought as many Deaths. Others, particularly *Winton*, say, that he was set upon by Horsemen, and slain in the adjacent Wood. *Fenele*, tho much sought for, by those of the King's Retinue, made nevertheless a Shift to escape to the Accomplices, at least the Abettors of the Parricide she had committed, and they for a Time made Advantage by: But of this afterwards. And,

Is mur-
ther'd by
Fenele, a
Lady at
Fetercairn.

A. D. 994.

Great Ca-
lamities in
Scotland.

Thus died, by the profound Dissimulation, cunning Artifice, and unjust Resentment of a Woman, one of the greatest of Men, and best of Kings; after a happy and glorious Reign of twenty five Years, Anno 994. a terrible Instance of God's Revenge upon Murther, if he was guilty of it, and if not, a heavy Stroak of the same Justice of God, who, designing to chastise a stubborn rebellious People, sometimes permits and gives Way to the most boisterous Passions of Parties, that with their own Rods he may afterwards lash them into a Sense of their Duty. That this was the meaning of Providence in the present Case, appear'd very soon afterwards: For an intestine War, and that one of the most Bloody and long lasting, broke out immediately, and seem'd to be prognosticated by Prodigious and Wonders. For 'tis reported, that Showers, not of Water, but Stones, fell down from the Clouds. That the Sea cast out such Heaps of dead Fishes upon the Coast of *Buchan*, that the Air was thereby infected, and a Plague ensu'd. That the Moon look'd bloody for

love-

Chap. I. *The Eighty First King of Scotland.* 195

several Nights, to the infinite Terror, of those that beheld her. And the following Summer prov'd so excessively Hot, an unusual Accident in *Scotland*, that the Corns were burnt up, and the Cattle, unable to Breath so scorching an Air, died by heaps. Insomuch that to the Plague succeeded a Famine, and such as got free of these, were preserv'd, but to encounter the Swords, not of Foreign, but of Domestick Foes, their own Country-men and Kinsmen. The like Appearances attended the Death of the first *Cæsar*, that gave Laws to subject *Rome*. The Poet *Horace* has left us an elegant Description of the most remarkable. He says, that *Jove*,

*Terruit gentes, grave ne rediret
Seculum Pyrrhæ, nova monstra questæ,
Omne cum Proteus pecus egit altos*

*Visere montes :
Piscium & summa genus hæsit ulmo,
Nota quæ sedes fuerat columbis :
Et superjecto pavida natarunt*

*Æquore dama.
Vidimus flavum Tiberim, retortis
Littore Etrusco violenter undis,
Ire dejectum monumenta*

*Audiet cives acuisse ferrum,
Quo graves Persæ melius perirent
Audiet pugnas, vitio parentum
Rara juvenus.*

Indeed it seems that the Murther of this Emperor was not at all pleasing to Almighty God. The *Roman* People, like all others, were incapable to govern themselves, nor could they any longer be rul'd by the Senate, while this last Body, as all other Assemblies of Men in the like Circumstances, was rent with Factions, divided by Parties, acted by Interest, swell'd by Ambition, and by Prosperity ruined. Nothing but Monarchy could heal up the Wounds of that Republick, and, of all Men then alive, *Cæsar* deserved best to be Monarch. His Character was nevertheless very different from that of King *Kenneth*. *Cæsar* usurp'd the supreme Power; *Kenneth* had an undoubted Right to it: The one overturn'd the Laws and Constitution of his Country, by Trick and Force; the other abolish'd the worst of Customs, and establish'd the best of Laws. The *Roman* Emperor brib'd the meanest Scoundrels into a Compliance; the *Scots* King commanded his Nobles to their Duty. *Cæsar* swim'd to a Throne through the Blood of his best Friends, and the noblest Patriots then in Being; *Kenneth* let out some Blood to keep his unshaken, but it was the Blood only of Robbers, Rebels, and foreign Invaders. As for the military Fame and heroick Atchievements of either, there is indeed no room for a Comparison: *Cæsar* outdid all

The Character of *Kenneth III.*

his Predecessors and Contemporaries, even *Pompey* himself, whose Glory, says *Plutarch*, had reach'd the Heavens. Nevertheless, King *Kenneth*, had he been as great a General, could not have won such Laurels: He did what a *Scots* King could do, and dar'd what perhaps some of the most fam'd *Romans*, if in his Circumstances, durst not have ventur'd upon: In fine, all Historians agree, that, but for one Crime, some of them charge him with, he was in all Senses, a most accomplish'd Prince: And if he was guilty of the Sin of *David*; so, like *David*, he repented. Mr. *Johnston* has written his Elogium or Character in Elegiack Verses: But they come so far short of what he deserves, that I forbear to transcribe them.

T H E

Life of Malcolm II.

T H E

Eighty Third King of Scotland.

Malcolm II.
his Birth.

THIS King *Malcolm* was the Son and Heir of *Kenneth* III. and was therefore surnam'd *Mackenneth*. He was created Prince of *Cumberland* at a Convention of the Nobles at *Scoon*: And after his Promotion, was sent, together with the *English* Ambassadors, who had been present at the Convention, to the Court of *England*, where he paid his Respects and Obeisance, as Prince of *Cumberland*, to *Edward*, surnam'd the *Martyr*, the then *English* Monarch. From this Time, till the unfortunate Death of his Father, we read no more of him: Nor is it certain, where he was when the Parricide was committed. Some write, that he waited on the royal Corps to *Icolmkill*, where this King was, as most of his Predecessors, interr'd. If so, he did his Duty; but he did it unadvis'dly: For he should instantly have taken upon him the Title, and enter'd upon the Office of King. His Right was unquestionable: For, besides the recent Law, made in his favour, and his Quality of Prince of *Cumberland*, he was Heir to the Crown, because the lawful Son of the late lawful King: And, since he was now come up to be a Man, and capable to govern by himself, he could not be postpon'd to any other, even by the Custom that had formerly obtain'd. If then he had been in *Scotland*, when his Father was murder'd, 'tis probable

he

he had just then assum'd his Right, or the Conspirators had follow'd their Blow, and dispatch'd him, as well as his Father: So that I am apt to think, that he was still at the Court of *England*, or in his own Principality of *Cumberland*. However, his Absence, whether occasion'd by his Piety in assisting at his Father's Funerals, or by his residing in *England*, gave Occasion to the greatest Mischief that Villany could Work. (a) For *Constantine*, the wicked Son of an execrated Father, King *Culen*, had thereby an Opportunity, not only of rescuing *Fenele*, from those that pursu'd her, and would have delivered her up to the Death her Crime deserv'd; but also of usurping the Throne. The fatal Stroak was no sooner given to King *Kenneth*, but *Constantine* took Horse, and with a great Retinue of Men in Arms, rode all over the Country, and by fair Promises, and some present Performances, prevail'd so far, as to get a Faction of the Nobles to meet and Countenance his Usurpation. He gave out, that the late King had overturn'd the Constitution, invaded the Rights of his Subjects, poison'd the Prince of *Cumberland*; and all this, in order to perpetuate the Sovereignty in his own Family, to the Exclusion of the other Branches of the *Fergusian* Blood. Rebellion never yet wanted a Pretence, and bold Calumnies seldom fail to take with the ignorant deluded People. 'Tis a Vulgar but true saying, *Calumniare audacter, & aliquid habebit.*

Constantine
II. usurps
the Throne

These Discourses had their ordinary Effect, and *Constantine* was Crown'd at *Scoon*; Anno 994, tho, says *Fordon*, few of the Nobles assisted at the Ceremony. The better sort resorted to Prince *Malcolm*, who, as soon as he heard of the News, drew an Army of about ten thousand Men together, and took the Fields. Thus, the Kingdom was divided in two Factions, and a Civil War broke out, which lasted nine Years almost, without Intermision: And it was so much the more mischievous, says *Fordon*, that no Body knew, whether he had best submitted to *Constantine*, because in Possession, or revolt to *Malcolm*, because of his Right. But Possession is ever found of weight to be no weak Title: It is its own Support and Security, it acts with Authority, opens the Tresuary, distributes Rewards, inflicts Punishments, silences Adversaries, encourages Friends: In a word, there's nothing so prevalent as Possession, but Possession and Right when join'd together. This Prince *Malcolm* experienc'd: He got Followers, but *Constantine* got more: And the first unwilling to lead on so many brave and loyal Men to inevitable Ruin, thought fit to dismiss them, with hopes of a fairer Opportunity to come; And the rather, because his Presence was necessary in *England*, where the prevailing *Danes* threatn'd the Destruction of those Territories he was possess'd of in that Kingdom. Nevertheless, his natural Brother *Kenneth*, a Man of great Reputation for his undaunted Courage, admirable Conduct, and invincible Attachment to the true Interest of the Crown, stay'd in the Country, and kept up the Party: Nay, he had the Resolution to meet the Usurper

A. D. 994

A Civil
War breaks
out between
Constantine
and *Mal-*
colm.

D d d

near

(a) Boeth. Buchan. Ford, &c. in vit. Constant. Grim. & Milcolmb. II.

near *Stirling*, and to bid him Defiance. The *Forth*, a River but in few Places fordable, and whose Banks are steep, divided the contending Parties: They lay in View of one another, watching an Opportunity of acting with Advantage: But neither could hit it for a long Time. So that at length overcome by Famine, and Diseases growing rife among their Men, they were forc'd to disband, and withdraw to their respective Homes. Some Parties kept still together, and would often break in upon their Enemies Lands, and add to the growth of Pestilence and Dearth.

The next Year, *Constantine* rais'd all the Forces he could make by North the *Forth*, and march'd into *Lothian*, in order to reduce that, and the other Countries, that adher'd to Prince *Malcolm*. He had got as far as the River *Almond*, where *Kenneth* met him upon the Head of a lesser, but a very gallant Army: But what was deficient in Numbers, that General supply'd with Prudence. He took up his Ground at *Cramond*, with a great deal of Skill and Forecast. And Fortune seconded his Conduct: For they had no sooner engag'd, but a Wind, favourable to *Kenneth*, began to blow with great Vehemence, driving the Sands from the Shore, in the Face of *Constantine's* Soldiers. Besides, their Eyes were dazzl'd, at the same time, with the shining Sun, while their Enemies, encourag'd by the double Advantage, exerted their utmost Vigour. They had need to do so; for *Constantine* did Wonders on his side: And after various Chances, which render'd the Victory for a long time uncertain, both the Generals are reported to have met, and singl'd out one another. This the brave *Kenneth* studied to bring about, not doubting, but that if he had the good Luck to kill the Usurper, he would by giving that one Blow, put an end to the Usurpation. But he was Mistaken: He kill'd *Constantine*, and *Constantine* kill'd him; so desperately did they both Fight: And notwithstanding *Kenneth's* Army gain'd the Day, yet it may be said, that Prince *Malcolm* lost it: For he lost his Brother, and in him, the fittest Man in Being, to retrieve his Affairs. But the Loss of King *Constantine*, who died bravely after a Year and an half's Usurpation, was soon supply'd: By whom, I shall give an Account, how soon I have transcrib'd the Character we have of him, from Mr. *Johnston*.

Kenneth,
a natural
Brother of
King *Mal-*
colm, de-
feats and
kills *Con-*
stantine.

Præfidiis procerum, & fretus popularibus armis
Imperii fasces ambitiosus adit:
Ex quo discissum studia in contraria regnum
Partibus adversis aspera multa tulit;
Et fera Tiphone, furiaque & tristis Erinny,
Et regnant pestes, & malesuada fames.
Exposcit Mavors connato in sanguine penas,
Adversoque cadunt vulnere utrinque duces.

Grim
also an U-
surper.

Grim, the Son or Nephew of King *Duff*, had been employ'd by *Constantine* in his most important and secret Affairs: And now he set him-

himself on the Head of that rebellious Faction, that chose rather to continue the Miseries of their sinking Country; than to expose themselves and their private Fortunes to the just Resentment of their lawful Sovereign. They had offended so highly, that they would not hope for Pardon: They judg'd, it seems, of Prince *Malcolm*, more by the Sense they had of their own Guilt, than by that generous and merciful Temper that's so natural to the Blood-Royal of *Scotland*. It appear'd afterwards, that had they return'd to their Duty, when they had so tempting an Opportunity, he had not only pardon'd their former Treason, but rewarded their present Services. But 'tis ordinary to pursue to the last, such as one has notably offended, to heap Injuries upon Injuries, and never to forgive the Innocent those very Wrongs he has suffer'd. This is more particularly the Character of Rebels: When once they dare to be such, they think it concerns their Honour and Safety, to be more and more so; and therefore they Plot, Trick, Perjure and Fight on, till Death or Justice overtake them, and God in his Mercy vouchsafes to pity the suffering People, after he has scourg'd them into a Sense of their Folly. Such Men as these waited upon *Grim* to *Scoon*, and set the Crown on his Head, amidst the loud Acclamations of the unthinking Mob, who applauded the Thing; And, notwithstanding their late Experience of the Miseries, *Constantine's* Usurpation had brought upon them, yet promis'd themselves; I know not what, imaginary Happiness from the Promotion of *Grim*. He was as most Usurpers are, a witty, daring, and popular Prince. He was Tall and Handsome, spoke Civily to every Body, and demean'd himself Gracefully. He affected Clemency, yet could be severe upon Occasions. He was profusely Liberal, and seem'd to take Pleasure in giving. By these Means he could not fail of winning upon the Minds and Hearts of the Interested: And most Men are certainly so: They catch at the present Gain, swallow down the pleasing Bait, and never advert to the Hook that it covers.

All this while Prince *Malcolm* was in *England*, where, tho' but young as yet, he signaliz'd himself in a very conspicuous Manner, in those *English* Armies, which, notwithstanding the Example and Assistance he gave them, could not stand in Opposition to the superior *Danes*. When first advis'd of the Battle of *Cramond*, and Death of King *Constantine*, he thought his Subjects would embrace the Opportunity they had, of putting an end to their own Calamities: But when News was brought, that they had set up *Grim*, and persever'd in Madness, he made Preparations for continuing the War, and in the mean Time sent secret Agents to *Scotland*, with Orders to sound the Minds of the noble and leading Men, and to exhort them to abandon the Tyrant, and by disclaiming the unjust Obligations forc'd upon them, to make good the Oath taken by their earliest Ancestors to King *Fergus*, and by themselves to his Father King *Kenneth*. 'Twas easy to give Arguments in a Case, that of it self was plain: Accordingly some were perswaded, and pro-

The Miseries of the Nation continu'd.

Malcolm
prosecutes
the War a-
gainst King
Grim.

promis'd to be assisting with their Lives and Fortunes to the Prince, how soon he should come in Person and challenge his Right. But others, less Honest, and more Interested, seiz'd on such as had apply'd to them, and sent them bound to King *Grim*. Upon this, the Prince made haste to rescue his Friends. He enter'd *Scotland* upon the Head of a numerous Army, and was join'd by those that had still acknowledg'd his Title by South the *Forth* and *Clyde*: But all those by North these Rivers adher'd to *Grim*: And his Army was much superior both in the Numbers and Hardiness of his Men. The Prince himself knew this very well: And fearing lest Fame, accusom'd to aggrandize every Thing, should dishearten his Army, by magnifying that of the Enemy, he caus'd all that came to join him on his March, to be brought to himself, before they were allow'd so much as to speak or tell News to any other. This Caution had no good Effect: For it made the Souldiers suspicious and fearful. Among these were a great many Merchants that follow'd Prince *Malcolm*, not so much out of a Principle of Loyalty, as to prevent their Effects being seiz'd on by his Army. They were principally Instrumental in communicating to others the Apprehensions and Terrors that affected themselves, so that in a short time the Consternation became almost universal. Some slipt away privately and retir'd to their Habitations: Others deserted to the Enemy, and not a few, under various Pretences, sought and got Passes from the Prince. By this Means, his Army was almost dwindl'd away to nothing. Nevertheless, he resolv'd to keep the Fields with those few that had the Courage to stay with him: And since he could not invade King *Grim*'s Territories, he hop'd at least to defend his own. With this View, he encamp'd on the Banks of *Forth*, and there waited till *Grim* should come up with him. While both Armies lay at a small distance from one another, *Fortbad*, the chief Bishop of *Scotland* came in his Pontifical Habit, first to King *Grim*, and then to Prince *Malcolm*, remonstrating to both, the unnatural War, the Miseries of the People, the Ruine of the Nation, the uncertain Event of Battles, &c. and proposing, at the same time, such Terms of Accommodation, as he thought the present Posture of Affairs requir'd; at length, by the Bishop's Mediation, a Truce for three Months was agreed to, and Commissioners nam'd to treat of a Peace. They met not long after at *Scoon*, and condescended upon the following Articles.

Makes
Peace upon
nonourable
Terms.

I. That *Grim* should enjoy the Title, and exercise the Office of King during his Life.

II. That, upon his Death, the Crown should return to Prince *Malcolm*, and to his Posterity for ever.

III. That henceforth it should be Capital in any to Question, or so much as by Words impugn the Law made by King *Kenneth* concerning the Succession.

IV. That till that Law should take place by the Death of King *Grim*, Prince *Malcolm* should remain possess'd of his *English* Territories.

teries, and of all *Scotland*, by South the Rivers of *Forth* and *Clyde*; And the King, of that Part of it that lyes by North these Rivers, as also of all the Islands belonging to it.

This Peace, so necessary to the Kingdom, might have been lasting; but for the Tyranny of *Grim*. He was now acknowledg'd King by a solemn Treaty, and therefore stood no longer in need of that Bounty, Complaisance, Liberality, and fair Out-side, he had affected to dazzle the People and win the Crown. But he was only a King during Life: And therefore, as *Buchanan* very well observes, (tho that very Observation overturns his System about the Succession of Sovereigns, which he would have to be Elective) had no Regard to Futurity; but making use of his Time to enrich himself, he violated all Laws divine and humane; and at length with open Force, wasted and pillag'd the whole Country, Burning and Massacring wherever his unbounded Rage and rapacious Avarice met with the least Opposition; insomuch that Churches were, by his Orders, robb'd of their Ornaments, and Church-men kill'd at the Altars. The groaning Nation now saw the Difference, ordinary between a King and an Usurper. They read their Sin in its Punishment, and detested the Idol they had set up and ador'd. They had no Hopes of Relief, but from that very Person, whose Right they had with Swords in their Hands disclaim'd. Every Body had his Eyes upon, and expected a speedy Deliverance from him. They had Reason: For never was there a more hopeful Youth than Prince *Malcolm* appear'd to be: (a) He excell'd in all the Exercises proper for his Age and Quality, foil'd all Contenders, whether in Riding with Skill and Grace, or in Fencing with the Sword or Lance, or in Shooting with the Bow and Arrow. The Constitution of his Body was Vigorous and Healthful, his Air Manly, his Face, to admiration, Beautiful. These exterior Qualifications charm'd the Vulgar; but the Wise admir'd yet more the Vertues of his Mind, and in particular, that inexhaustible Patience, with which he could endure Hunger, Thirst, Watching and Cold; and that unequal'd Bravery and Loftiness of Spirit, that elevated him above, and enabl'd him at last to retrieve his Misfortunes. In fine, he was the Darling of *England*; in whose Defence he had often stood the hottest Attacks of the *Danish* Invaders: Yet these last prevail'd so far against King *Ethelred*, that this unhappy Prince was forc'd to purchase Peace, at the Rate of rendring his Kingdom Tributary to their insatiable Avarice.

Grim's Tyranny.

The admir'd Qualifications of *Malcolm*.

Cumberland was, as the other Provinces of *England*, appointed to pay its Quota of the Money; but this Prince *Malcolm* would never allow. He wrote to the King, that he ow'd no Tribute to any on Earth, further than his and his Vassals of *Cumberland*, &c. their personal Service in the Wars: That this *Ethelred* might command at his Pleasure, and that he should always find them willing to Fight for Liberty with Swords, but never to buy it with Gold. Thus in the Middle of Adversity, and at a Time, when *England* was Tributary to

E e e

For-

(a) Ford, apud Scriptor. XX. p. 681, & 682.

Foreigners, and *Scotland* was equally impoverish'd and afflicted by Usurpation, Prince *Malcolm* continu'd undaunted.

Malcolm II. recal'd from England by a loyal Party of his Subjects.

At length the Groans of his native Country pass'd the Borders, and reach'd him in *Cumberland*, where he kept his Court. He had always entertain'd a close Correspondence with the Loyalists at home, and they fail'd not to give him Accounts of the Disposition of the People; who, by reason of the heavy Taxes impos'd, and Violences committed by the present Government, were infinitely desirous of a Change; and the rather, because Fame brought every other Day fresh Accounts of the Bounty and Prowess of their natural Prince. He was, (as I have related from *Boerhius*, *Buchanan*, &c.) oblig'd by Treaty to yield the Sovereign Power, to *Grim*, during his Life: But *Buchanan* tells us, that for that very reason, that he was to Reign but during his Life, King *Grim* acted the Tyrant, and seiz'd before hand on those Duties which were not then payable, to prevent their being reap'd by the Successor, in case of his own Death. By this Means, the Subject was starv'd and ruin'd: And Prince *Malcolm*, upon his Accession to the Throne, was like to have but few Men to command, and but desolate Lands to possess. This he thought he had reason to quarrel, and thereupon declar'd War, and enter'd *Scotland* for the second Time. *Fordon* tells the Story otherwise: He speaks nothing of the Treaty of Peace: He insinuates on the contrary, that the War was never entirely laid aside; but that Prince *Malcolm*, unable to raise Armies sufficient for the Purpose, stole frequently, but still cautiously, into the Country, visited his Friends in secret; And, having win over the greater and better Part of the Kingdom to their Duty, he sent word to the King, that he must choose one of two; or to descend willingly from the Throne he and his Predecessor had usurp'd, or to meet him in the Fields, and by Fighting, either Hand to Hand in a single Combat, or each upon the Head of such Forces as would follow him, to let God in his Justice determine, who ought to Reign, and who to be Subject.

The War renew'd.

This Message incens'd King *Grim* to the highest Degree of Indignation and Rage: He march'd immediately upon the Head of a numerous Army to find out his pretending Rival, and met him at *Athrebard*. *Fordon* tells us, that Prince *Malcolm's* Party was but inconsiderable; and probably it was so, when he first enter'd the Borders, but 'tis as likely that before the Action, it equal'd the Kings: For *Buchanan* says, that upon *Malcolm's* Return, huge Numbers flock'd in to him from all Parts; and that *Grim*, who for a long Time had been, for his admirable Parts, most dear to the People; tho now abandon'd by most of his Nobles, did nevertheless with such as adher'd to him, resolve to stand to it. He came in view of the Enemy upon the Feast of the Ascension of our Lord: And when the Prince and his Men were intent upon their Devotions, and thought of nothing but of celebrating the holy Day, he prepar'd to surprize them, by a brisk and unexpected Attack. But Prince *Malcolm*, either advis'd of the Design by his Spies, or discovering it
by

by the Movements of the Enemy, commanded his Men to their Arms, and tho secur'd. of Success, because of the Justice of his Cause, yet sent to the King, to entreat; he would have regard to the Day, and forbear to shed the Blood of Christians, at a time appointed for commemorating the glorious Victory and Ascension of Christ. King *Grim*, it seems, was not much liable to Scruples of Conscience: He mock'd the Advice, and gave out, that the terrified Enemy had no Means left to conceal their Cowardice, but by pretending Religion: In a word, he would needs fight, and did it bravely, as became one that had worn a Crown: But being mortally wounded in the Head, and the extravas'd or stagnating Blood obstructing his visual Faculties, he became Blind in a Minute, lost the Battel, and died the very next Night, after a calamitous Reign of about ten Years. His Character is not ill express'd by Mr. *Johnston* in the following Verses.

Grim kill'd
in Battle.

*Gratia, majestas, plucbroque in pectore virtus
Emicat, & sceptris degener hauri animus:
Ni fæda ambitio, regnique effrænâ libido
Turpe labans rebus deteriora daret.
Non iisdem auspiciis, avibus non regnat. iisdem,
Incubat heu propriis seu ferus hostis agris.
Deditur in penas. Cesset culpæ sinistram
Fortunam, quisquis, quod meruit, patitur.*

Malcolm, now rid of a Competitor, did not meanly Triumph or Insult the Party he had vanquish'd: On the contrary, he frankly forgave all those that had acted or fought against him, (a) and generously commanded the most intimate Friends and Dependants of *Grim* to do the last Duty to the Corps of their Master, which he would have to be Royally interr'd, as a King of Scotland, in the Island of *Hye*: Neither did he hasten to take upon him the Title and Authority of a King, but first call'd the Nobles to a Meeting at *Scoon*, and put the Question to them, whether by Law he had Right to the Crown, adding, that he pretended not to it, nor would he accept of it, unless his Title was understood to be unquestionable. They all agreed, that by Law he was King, and so proceeded to the Ceremony of his Coronation, which was perform'd with the greatest Demonstrations of Joy, a People, long harrass'd by all the Miseries which attend Usurpation, could give, upon the Restoration of a lawful Prince, and the certain Prospect of succeeding Happiness. Indeed the Nation had reason to hope for the best of Things, from a King, whose Parts, by Nature good and great, had been by Adversity and Exile improv'd. Such a one was never so necessary, as at this Time: For *Sueno*, the Danish King, had made himself, in a great measure, Master of England, and forc'd the unfortunate *Ethelred* to retire to Normandy. A great many of the English, worn

Malcolm II.
crown'd
King.
A. D. 1004.

(a) Ford, ubi. de Malcolm. 2.

out, and dispirited with repeated Losses, were content to bear with the Usurpation, so they might but breath in Peace. Others, particularly *Edric* and *Othred*, treacherously favour'd and serv'd the Usurper, tho both a Foreigner and a Heathen. No part of the Kingdom, but these Countries possess'd by King *Malcolm*, while Prince of *Cumberland*, had been free from Devastations and Slaughters; and *Malcolm*, tho in Exile from his Native Country, had nevertheless, on all Occasions, express'd the greatest Vigour and Resolution in Opposition to the Torrent that bore down every thing in its way but himself. For these Reasons 'twas, that an *English* Earl, by the Command of *Sueno*, had invaded and plunder'd *Cumberland*: But being upon his Retreat, was met by *Malcolm*, and, after a most bloody Engagement, defeated at a Place *Fordon* call's *Burg*.

His War
with the
Danes.
He defeats
the English
and Danes, at
Burg.

Defeats
them again.

The *Danes* and *Northumbrians*, as if one People, again invaded *Cumberland*, upon King *Malcolm's* Accession to the Throne of *Scotland*: Which he wisely foreseeing, had sent his Grand-son Prince *Duncan* to prevent: And *Duncan* had the good luck to give the Enemy a notable Overthrow. This Success, the Fear of the like Attempts, and the Birth-right of *Duncan*, for he was the Son of *Beatrix*, the King's only Child, and of *Crown Abthane* of *Dul*, occasion'd him to be nominated Prince of *Cumberland*. *Ethelred*, the King of *England*, ought to have been pre-advertis'd of the Promotion design'd: And the Prince should have gone to the *English* Court, in order to do Homage, and swear Fealty for the beneficiary Lands: But at this time, neither was the King of *England's* Consent desir'd, nor did Prince *Malcolm* repair to his Court: For the *Danes* Lorded it every where over all the Kingdom, and none durst travel by Sea or Land. Besides, the Court it self was unsafe, and so pester'd with Knaves and Traitors, that an honest Man durst not attend it. The most notorious Villain, and the greatest Man in the Kingdom, *Fordon* call's *Educ*, (I believe he means *Edric*) and gives us this short, but substantial, Character of him; He was the Shame of Men, the Disgrace of *England*, a cunning Rogue, a Master in the Arts of Dissembling and Feigning: He would Pry into the King's Counsels, by pretending Loyalty, and like a Traitor divulge them. He was often sent to the Enemy as a Mediator for Peace, and laid hold of the Opportunity to inflame the War.

Hitherto the *Scots* had defended *Cumberland*, and offended the *Danes*, but their own Country had not been disturb'd but by themselves: For *Sueno*, whether 'twas that he had enough to do in *England*, or that he thought *Scotland* weakn'd by the Civil Wars, above related, would become an easier Prey in an after-Game, did not offer to attack it, while King *Grim* liv'd. But now *Malcolm* was come to the Throne, and was like to continue his Enemy; He endeavour'd by all means, or to lay him aside, which, after Trial, he could not effect, or to divert his Forces from *England*, by finding Work for them at Home. With this last View, he appointed a great Fleet of *Norwegian* to Sail for *Scotland*, where all but the Seamen land-

landed, and stay'd for a long time, ravaging and destroying all that Coast. What Coast it was, my Author *Fardon* does not mention: But he tells us, that the King fell on these Robbers unawares in the Night, and cut them all off, with the Loss of but thirty of his own Men. This Action he compares to that of the great *Pompey*, who also in the Night attack'd and routed King *Mithridates's* Army, consisting of forty thousand Men; with the Loss of but twenty of his own Souldiers, and of two Centurions. And again.

The next Attempt of the *Danes* prov'd more successful: And indeed 'twas the only successful one they ever made against King *Malcolm*. *Olaus* (a) a *Norwegian*, and *Eneus* a *Dane*, each upon the Head of numerous Forces of both Nations, landed without Opposition in the Mouth of *Spey*, and marching through *Murray*, they laid all waste before them, as their Custom was, killing, burning, and pillaging, without Distinction of Age or Place, wherever they came. Some strong Castles resisted their Fury, and gave time to the King to come up with the Enemy. While both Armies lay in View of one another, the *Scottish*, which being rais'd in haste, and compos'd, for the most part, of raw, unexperienc'd Men, was seiz'd with sudden Terror, by beholding the huge Numbers and warlike Engines of the *Norwegian* and *Danish*. The undaunted King went about among the Ranks of his own Men, encouraging and reassuring their Timidity. His Discourses had but little Effect upon the Generality: But some few were thereby animated to such a Degree, that they cry'd to be instantly led out to Action: And without further delay, run like Madmen without Order or Command, upon the more wary *Danes*; who standing their Ground with Deliberation, and receiving them with Steddiess and Resolution, cut off the foremost. Upon this, the rest gave back immediately, retreating with greater Precipitation than they had advanc'd. The King himself was wounded, and with Difficulty made his Escape. This Defeat occasion'd the Surrender of the Castle of *Nairn*; And tho' the Garrison capitulated, yet they were all put to the Sword. Which Cruelty intimidating those in the Fortresses of *Elgin* and *Forreß*, made them to desert and abandon those Places, to the Invaders; who having now got Footing in that not unfruitful Part of the Country, resolv'd to secure it, and conquer the rest. Accordingly they sent home their Ships, with Orders to return with their Wives and Children, and Recruits sufficient for the Purpose. In the mean time they made good their Winter-Quarters. And the next Year advancing Southwards, they came as far as *Mortlich* or *Murthlack* in *Mar*. But here they must fight their Way or Retreat: For King *Malcolm* met them upon the head of a gallant Army, to whose Resentment and Courage, the King's Presence, and that of three noted Commanders, *Kenneth*, Thane of the *Isles*, *Grim*, Thane of *Strathern*, and *Dunbar*, Thane of *Lothian*, added a great deal of Strength. But these three last mention'd had the Misfortune to fall, one after another; The Danes gain a Battle.

(a) Boeth. Buchan. Less. Ormond. &c. in their respective Lives of this King.

as soon as they came to engage, which so disheartn'd their Souldiers, that they began to give way, retreating to an old Strength, fortified, probably during the civil Wars, by a Wall and Ditch, and Trees cut down and laid cross-ways, to detain and embarrass Assailants. The Danes nevertheless pursu'd, and doubted not of Victory, but were stop'd in their Career by the unforeseen Incumbrances, and as little expected Resistance they met with. In the mean time, one of their Generals *Onetus* was kill'd, and those he commanded envelop'd; insomuch, that, on a sudden, Fortune chang'd to the Advantage of the Scots, and *Olaus* with his surviving few, fled back to *Murray*, happy that he, or any of his Army, had escap'd. But the King seeing so many of his bravest Men kill'd, and finding that more were wounded, did not think fit to follow the Chase, but just so far, as to put it out of Doubt, who had the Honour of the Day.

Are routed
at *Murthblack*

The unwelcome News of the Battle of *Murthblack* went no sooner to *England*, where King *Sueno* continu'd to Triumph, but he caus'd a considerable Detachment of his Veteran Army to be embark'd in that Kingdom, and numerous Recruits to be rais'd in *Denmark* and *Norway*, with Orders to set Sail, and join their fellow Subjects in *Scotland*. One *Camus*, a memorable Officer, was appointed to Command all these Forces in Chief. He steer'd his Course straight to the Firth of *Forth*: But the Inhabitants of the adjacent Countries were upon their Guard: And he, after several fruitless Attempts to land somewhere, during the space of a Month, (for so long did he keep the River) was forc'd to tack about to the Northward. 'Twas not long before he descry'd the Promontory call'd *Red-head*, in the County of *Angus*. There he landed his Men, and ascending the adjacent Hills, he had the pleasure to spy some Marks of the Danish Successes; I mean the Town of *Celurca* or *Montrose*, which those of that Nation had formerly defac'd, and laid into a heap of Rubbish. From thence he detach'd Parties to scour the Fields, and ravage the Country: And the hungry avaricious Souldiery being refresh'd with Plunder, he march'd straight to *Brechin*, an old Town which had belong'd to the *Picts*, and was still conspicuous for its noble Church and strong Castle. The Castle was not to be easily taken: For which reason the Danes, irritated by the Resistance it made, fell foul upon the Town and Church, destroying both with Sword and Fire; insomuch, that, to this Day, *Brechin* has not recover'd its ancient Lustre, nor was the Church ever rebuilt with that Magnificence the *Pictish* Piety had given it; only its round and high Tower remains, as yet to be seen and admir'd by modern Architects, who must needs own, that in Structures of this kind, they're outdone by the Ancients, as barbarous as we generally take them to have been.

Camus a Danish
General

Camus turn'd more and more fierce by the Cruelties he himself had commanded. And hearing that King *Malcolm*, with a numerous Army, was come in Search of him, as far as *Alectum*, now *Dundee*, he thought fit to raise the Siege of the Castle of *Brechin*, which, upon the

the lucky Event of a Battle, he knew would fall of course: He therefore march'd, and encamp'd at a little Village, call'd *Panbride* or *Balbride*, within two Miles of another call'd *Barry*, whither he was advis'd that the King was come.

The next Day both Armies engag'd, and fought with that Fury, ancient Hatred, and present Hopes are wont to inspire. The Action The Battle of Barry gain'd by the Scots. lasted long, and the Slaughter was incredible; insomuch that, as the *Lochny*, a rapid Rivulet in that Country, was thought to have convey'd more Blood than Water into the Sea; so 'tis certain, that the Field of Battel, tho' Dry and Sandy, was visibly wet and everywhere humect'd with humane Gore: And no Wonder, since many, tho' mortally Wounded with Darts, which they could not, or scorn'd to draw out of their Bowels, were nevertheless observ'd to catch hold of their Adversaries, with whom they would never part, till the kill'd and Killers fell both at once, and breath'd their last, as it were, in mutual Embraces. Huge heaps of the slain lay scatter'd here and there, and some of their big Bones hid under the Sands, and by Winds frequently uncover'd and laid open to the Eye, evince two Matters of Fact: The first, that a most bloody Battle has been fought of old in those Fields: And the next, that Nature it self decays, and that we are not those tall, robust Men, it appears our Ancestors have been. At last the *Scots* prevail'd, and *Camus* fled towards the Mountains, he saw at a distance, hoping if he could reach them, to be free from any further Pursuit, and so to make the best of his way to his Country-men in *Murray*: But he was overtaken within about two Miles from the Place, where the Armies had first engag'd, and, together with all that attended him, cut off. That Camus a Danish General kill'd. Village where he was kill'd, is to this Day, from his Name, call'd *Camistone*, and an Obelisk or large square Stone, plac'd by way of a Pyramid in the Ground, stands hard by, and on it some Remains of the graven Images of *Camus*, and of those that slew him, are observable.

No doubt, but, that as on other Occasions, so here, many *Scotsmen* perform'd those Things that should have immortaliz'd their Names, yet only one is recorded, the valiant *Keith*, a Youth, so eminently deserving, that his noble Services were afterwards rewarded with a Barony of Lands in *Lothian*, and his Posterity, who, Keith, the Ancestor of the present Earl Marischal. to this Day, have not degenerated from their Ancestors Glories, are still dignified with the hereditary Title and Office of Marshals of *Scotland*. To him, and it seems he was not an Upstart, or *novus homo*, the present Earl *Marischal*, and the other Branches that have sprung from his illustrious Family, owe their Name and Honours. His and their Praises, and the Victory obtain'd, chiefly by him, Mr. *Johnston* has celebrated as follows,

*Lothia vix modicis reptans modo languidus undis,
Nunc tumidus tumidas sanguine voluit aquas,*

*Despectansque super clades, & funera Danum,
 Mersit arenosis corpora strata vadis.
 Dux Cæmus ipse cadit, virtute insignis & armis;
 Nomina vicinus signaque servat ager.
 Cætera turba nihil; tibi enim dux sternitur ingens,
 Unus cunctorum qui tamen instar eras.
 Hinc, te authore, ingens effert se gloria gentis,
 Auctior est meritis facta subinde novis.
 Haud frustra est virtus, quantum te surrigis armis,
 Tam te felicem postera secula probant.*

Battle of A-
 berlemno
 gain'd by
 the Scots.

The Misfortunes of the Invaders did not end with the Life of their General: Another Body of them was by the victorious Scots intercepted at *Aberlemno*, about four Miles from *Brechin*, and the most part cut to pieces: And here again there is another Obelisk to be seen, which stands erected in Memory of this second Overthrow of the Enemy. Nevertheless, some few found Means to get to the Sea-side and regain their Ships, with design to sail about to the Coast of *Murray*, where they were sure of being made Welcome by their Friends, as yet in Possession of that Country: But a Tempest arising, they were miserably tost to and fro for several Days, and at length cast upon the Coasts of *Buchan*, where they durst not venture to make a Descent, and yet could not, by reason of the contrary Winds, put forward as they design'd. They choose to ly at Anchor, till the Wind should alter: But they lay so long, that their Provisions being exhausted, and Famine pressing hard upon them, about five hundred of the most daring, resolv'd to land, and either to die bravely, or to purchase the Necessaries of Life. They did both: For in the first place, they found out and master'd large Herds of Cattle, but as they drove them to the Sea, the Thane of *Buchan* one *Mernane*, with a Multitude of Country People, got betwixt them and their Ships, and so cut off their Retreat. Upon this they withdrew to a little, but exceeding steep Hill near *Gemry*, and from the Top of it threw down Stones upon the foremost that offered to dislodge them; and by this Means defended themselves for a long time; like Men in Despair, with that Resolution that allay'd the Heat of the Assailants. But *Mernane* remark'd the drooping Courage of his Men, and they at length got up to the Enemy; and without Mercy put every one of them to the Sword: And Danish Boies are still to be seen here, as at *Barry* in *Angus*. These on board the Fleet had better luck, the Wind grew favourable, and they got at length to their much long'd for Haven in *Murray*.

Battle of
 Gemry gain'd
 by the Scots.

Sueno was heartily vex'd at the repeated Losses he had sustain'd in *Scotland*: But his great Spirit was not to be curb'd by Adversity. He once more resolv'd to fit out a powerful Fleet, and to raise a new Army, in order to the Prosecution of the *Scottish* War, and to shew he was in earnest, he gave the Command of both to his own Son *Canute*, that afterwards mighty King of *England*, *Denmark*,

Nor-

Norway, and part of *Swedland*; a King so Fortunate and so Great, that his Flatterers stil'd him *Lord of the Earth and Seas*. This same *Canute* landed on the Head of his formidable Army in *Buchan*, whither King *Malcolm*, to prevent the ordinary Devastations committed by the barbarous Enemy, march'd with all imaginable Expedition, but thought not fit with his new rais'd Forces to hazard a decisive Battle: He contented himself to harass the Invaders, by brisk and frequent Skirmishes, and to intercept the Means of their Subsistence, hoping thereby to fatigue and starve them into a Necessity of returning to their Ships. But this did not content the Minds of his impetuous Subjects: They were like to Mutiny against him, and swore they would fight of themselves, unless he would instantly lead them on to Death or Victory. Thus the King, tho' contrary to his first Design, was willingly constrain'd to Humour the Ardour of his Men: He sought out and found the Enemy as desirous, because of the Scarcity of Provisions, to fight as himself. The Battle was, as the former ones, most terrible, most of the Nobility and Officers on both sides being kill'd. The Scots had the Victory, but it was such as occasion'd more Grief than Joy in the Camp. They did not pursue the flying Danes for two Reasons: The first, They could not for Lassitude and Weariness, their Spirits being spent in the heat of Action: The second, because so few of the vanquished surviv'd, that it was scarcely worth the while to overtake the Remainder. The Night succeeding the Battle, both Parties (for they could no longer be call'd Armies, their Numbers being so vastly diminish'd) lay sad and melancholy at some distance from one another, and the next days Light presented them with the most dismal Spectacle their Eyes had ever beheld, the confus'd Carcases of almost all their Numbers. This blunted the Edge of their Resentment, and their Inclinations turn'd in an instant from War to Peace. By this Time many of the Danes and Norwegians were become Christians, and among these *Canute* himself: So that the Priests and Religious, whom, by reason of their Character, both Nations respected, had an Opportunity of mediating a Peace; which being so necessary, was soon concluded in the following Terms.

Canute Son of *Sueno* King of *Denmark* invades *Scotland*.

Is defeated at *Crudata* by King *Malcolm*.

Who makes Peace with the *Danes*.

- I. That the Danes and Norwegians should withdraw their Persons and Effects from *Scotland*, and within a set Time evacuate those Places they held in *Murray* and *Buchan*.
- II. That during the Lives of both Kings, *Malcolm* and *Sueno*, neither of the Nations should attempt any Hostility against the other, nor be assisting to such as would.
- III. That the Field of Battle should be Consecrated after the Rites then in use, and made a Cemetery, or Burying-place for the Dead.
- IV. That in it the Danes as well as Scots should be decently and honourably interr'd.

Malcolm and *Canute* swore to the Observation of these Articles, and both perform'd their respective Obligations. *Canute* with all his Country-men left *Scotland*, and *Malcolm* not only caus'd bury the dead Bodies of the *Danes* with Honour, and Decency, but also commanded a Chappel to be built on the Spot: Which to perpetuate the Memory of the Thing, he Dedicated to *Olaus* the Tutelar Saint or Patron, both of *Denmark* and *Norway*. Some Vestiges of that old Chappel was to be seen in the Days of *Boethius*, but it being in a great measure overlaid and drown'd by the Sands, which on that Coast the Winds frequently raise, and are blown in a tempestuous Manner over Houses and Fields, another was erected in a more convenient Place, and is still to be seen; as are also the huge and almost Gigantick Bones of those that fell in the Battle of *Croju-Dane*, or *Cru-dane* (for so is the Village, near to which it was fought, call'd to this very day) that is, the *Death or Slaughter of Danes*: A convincing Proof, I take it, (and many more such are extant throughout the Nation) of the *Scottish* Valour and martial Atchievements in those Days; Atchievements, which had they been perform'd in attacking foreign Countries, and not in Defence of their own, the *Scots* had certainly boasted of Conquests greater than those made by these fierce Nations, they, and only they, had the Honour always to resist, and for the most part to defeat.

Others then may talk and write of their Invasions upon Foreigners, of the Countries their Arms have over-run; of the Devastations they have made; of the Lands they have laid Waste; of the Cities they have Depopulated; of the Edifices, Churches, Monasteries, Palaces, Academies, &c. they have Burnt and Defac'd; of the Laws, Liberties and Constitutions they have overturn'd: In a word, of the Dutchies and Kingdoms they have usurp'd and enslav'd. This has been, and I hope shall ever be the proper and peculiar Glory of *Scotland* and *Scotsmen*; That they have resisted and foil'd the greatest Powers that were ever in Being; They never stoop'd to a foreign Yoke; They never submitted to Laws but their own; They were never conquer'd, or if they were, they reconquer'd their Conquerors, regain'd their Country, and always freed it from foreign and domestick Usurpation. That they have not extended its Limits, nor made Conquests abroad, is no Matter of Wonder: They had to do, or with the *Romans*, that is, the Masters of the rest of the World, or with the *Danes*, that is, a World of Nations, united in one, or with the *English*, a People, who, tho by reason of their own Divisions and the Treachery of some of their great Men, twice subdu'd, yet still by their very Subjection aggrandiz'd, and made more Potent by the Accession of those Territories their new Masters had formerly possess'd. Besides, Money is still and ever was the Nerves of War: This *England*, a fruitful well cultivated Soil, ever had; and *Scotland* in it self barren, and (by reason of an unlucky Constitution, and some concurring Circumstances) but little improv'd, did ever want. I say, that *Scotland* has been unlucky

in its Constitution; and (tho by reason of its Harbours, and Seas very capable of, yet because of its Constitution and Circumstances) no ways fitted for Improvement and Acquisition of Wealth. I am sorry, that the Hero, whose Life I write, should have been the first Author of that Part of the Constitution, which, in my Opinion, has so much contributed to the Non-improvement of the Country, and the continu'd Malheurs of the Kings and People.

Till his Time, I have a great many Reasons to believe that the Kings of Scotland were sole Lords and Proprietors of all the Lands in Scotland: For, to say nothing of their Neighbours the Britains and Picts, with whose Laws we are but little acquainted, 'tis certain, that in Ireland, which was either the Mother or Daughter of Scotland, by the Law (a) of Tanistry, whoever receiv'd the Dignity of King, maintain'd himself and his followers by certain Lands appointed for that use, call'd Loghty; but chiefly by certain tributary Impositions, which he exacted at his Will, call'd Colherings, &c. from which only the Lands of the Church, and such as he indulg'd by particular Priviledge, were exempt: So that, says Sir James Ware, every King among them was a Tyrant: Which if true, 'tis highly probable that the Kings of Scotland, who either borrow'd from or lent their Customs and Laws to the Irish, were Tyrants in this Sense, that is, all the Lands which their Subjects till'd and liv'd by, were properly their own, and they could, and did give or take them away at their Pleasure: And this Right, improv'd by the Titular or Guardian Kings, to enrich their own Posterity, was one of the Causes why so many of them were by their oppress'd and impoverish'd Tenants (for such were the greatest of the then Nobles) cut off. Another Reason for believing that the Scots Kings were Proprietors of all the Lands in Scotland, is this: They, and not their Subjects, had a Right by their Blood to the Kingdom of the Picts, which accordingly they conquer'd and ascertain'd to themselves and their Posterity. If the Pictish Subjects had any Lands in Property, they forefaulted them by their Rebellion, and being subdu'd, were, if not quite extirpated, at least outed of their Possessions, and so all their Lands became the conquering King's Property. His own Subjects did indeed assist him in the Prosecution of his just Quarrel: They were, as Subjects, oblig'd to do so, and their Sovereign's Victory gave them no Title to the conquer'd Lands, which he, and he alone could keep or dispose of as he pleas'd: But that he did not give them away appears from this. King Kenneth III. (b) willing to reward the noted Services perform'd by Hay and his two Sons in the Battle of *Lancarty*, desir'd that Heroick Peasant to pitch upon any Spot of Ground he lik'd best, *quo vellet loco*, says *Boethius*, and there set a Falcon to the Flight, promising, (and he did perform) a Grant to him and his Posterity of all those Lands the Falcon should fly over without Resting. Now, had not all, or most Lands in Scotland, belong'd to the King in those Days, he neither could have desir'd Hay to choose such as he lik'd best, nor

The Kings of Scotland of old sole Proprietors of all the Lands in Scotland.

(a) Sir James Ware *Antiquit. of Ireland* p. 21, & 22. (b) *Boeth. in vita Kennet.*

could have measur'd them out, by the uncertain Flight of a Falcon. The Falcon might have flown over, and *Hay* pitch'd upon Lands the King had no Power to dispose of. Besides, the very words of the Law made by this King *Malcolm* import no less, than that he had the Property of all the Lands of his Kingdom: Sir *John Skene* translates them thus, (a) *King Malcolm gave and distributed all his Lands of the Realm of Scotland amongst his Men.* But because these Words, *All his Lands of the Realm*, may be interpreted, *All the Crown-Lands*; to put the Question out of doubt, we need but to consult *Fordon*, who certainly knew more of the Matter than any Historian now extant: (b) He tells us plainly, "That King *Malcolm*, as all his Ancestors before him, had all the Countries and Provinces of the whole Kingdom in Property: That of old the Kings were wont to give their Souldiers, by way of Fee, certain Provinces or Thanagies of Lands: That in those Days, almost the whole Kingdom was divided in Thanagies; and that of these the King gave so much as he thought fit, and resum'd them at such Terms as he was pleas'd by his Grant to determine: For Example, some, as Husband-men, held their Lands, but during the space of one Year; others had them for ten Years, or twenty, or sometimes for Life: Others again of the better Sort had Grants of them, to themselves and their Heirs, for a Generation or two, and a few Thanes or Princes in Perpetuity; yet never so freely, but that each of the Subjects, of whatever Rank or Condition, was bound to pay an annual or yearly Cess, to their Lord the King. And what that Cess should be, 'tis probable the Kings of Scotland, as those of Ireland, did determine and exact at Pleasure. Nor is this to be thought a Matter of Wonder, since before the Feudal Law took place, all the sovereign Princes in the World had the same Prerogative, for ought we know: And those in the East, we are sure, are in Possession of it to this Day.

When the Feudal Law came to obtain, is not certain: Most Lawyers, and in particular our Sir *Thomas Craig*, are of Opinion, that it was first in use among the *Lombards*, from whose Language all its Terms or *Vocabula artis*, as *Homage*, *Vassal*, &c. are evidently deriv'd. That from *Lombardy* it spread into *France*, and from *France* into *Scotland*, and that very early, by reason of the old League enter'd into by these Nations, and the constant Correspondence thereby occasion'd: However, this was a Commodity we stood less in need of than of their Wines, sometimes prohibited as useless and expensive, but never, it seems, to be wanted, so long as Money can purchase them, if not from the Place of their Growth, at least from elsewhere. For, tho' all *European* States have unanimously receiv'd that Law, yet none have escap'd from being some time or other thrown into these deadly Convulsions and Ravings, it naturally gives Rise to. The Reason of the Law was this,

The

(a) *Skene's old Laws, &c. print. Edinb. 1609. p. 1.* (b) *Ford. apud Scriptor. XV. p. 686.*

The Barbarians from the North having over-power'd the *Roman* Empire, each of their Kings or Chiftains bethought himself, how to secure to his Posterity those Territories he had conquer'd. The Natives were still numerous, and they were injur'd: And it was to be fear'd they would sometime or other take Heart, and endeavour to regain what they had been dispossest'd of. To prevent this, was thought necessary to keep up a standing Army, or to have some Force equivalent to a standing Army, who, for their own Interest and Self-preservation, should be always ready to quell Insurrections, and repel Jayaders. The conquer'd Lands were therefore distributed upon certain Conditions among the Officers and Souldiers that had help'd to win them. This was very just, in one Sense: For why should not the Souldiers, as well as their General or King, reap the Fruit of their common Labours? And in another, Politick; for, to be sure, they would, with the Hazard of their Lives, defend those Fortunes, they had with the same Hazard attain'd to. But their respective Princes were too lavish: And to be secur'd against the People they had dispossest'd, they laid themselves open to the Encroachments of those they had enrich'd. They knew not, that, as Mankind is fram'd, Dominion will ever consist in Property: (I say, as Mankind is made, for I plead not that it ought to be so:) Nor did they foresee, that in an After-Game, when once the old and new Inhabitants should come to coalesce, the last, tho' their natural Subjects and Country-men, would make use of the Weapons put in their Hands, I mean their Riches, Estates, and Sub-vassals or Followers, to pull down the Prodigal-giver, that had rais'd them too high.

Harrington, the famous Author of the *Chimerical Oceana*, has many odd, delusive and impracticable Notions about Government: But he is certainly in the Right, with Reference to what he calls the Balance of Power, or Property in States. Empire, according to him, must needs follow this Balance, whether lodg'd in one, in a few, or in many Hands; that is, if one Man be sole Land-lord of a Territory, or over-balance the People; for Example, three Parts in four, as the ancient Kings of *Scotland* did (and all others might have done, had they not introduc'd the Feudal Law) He is truly a Monarch, and will continue so, whilst he continues the Balance on his own side. If a few, viz. The Nobility, or the Nobility and Clergy, be Landlords, or over-balance the King and People, in the like Proportion of Wealth, whatever way acquir'd, these few will in process of Time Lord it, and Domineer not only over the inferior People, but also over their King. If again, the whole People be Land-lords, or hold the Lands and Wealth of the Nation so divided among them, that no one Man, nor any number of Men, over-balance them, they'll aspire to higher Matters, give Laws to the Nobles and Kings, and bid fair for the Establishment of a Commonwealth: The Reason is plain.

The generality of Men are not acted by Conscience, nor Law, nor right Reason: Interest, Self-Interest, is the Spring of all their Actions, and every one would be Lord of the World, if he could: But this being impossible, each in particular endeavours, at least to move in a higher Sphere than his own, to better his Circumstances, out-do his Equals, and vye with his Superiors. This continual Contention about Honours, Riches and Power is moderated and confin'd by nothing, but the Ballance of Property; and whoever has this Ballance on his side, that is, whoever is richest and ablest to give, is sure either to keep, or bring under, such, as being poorer, cannot give so much. Thus the great *Turk* and *Czar* of *Muscovy* command all within their Dominions, because Richer than all, and therefore only capable to reward their Servants; raise their Friends, prefer to Places, and, to say all in a Word, to keep an Army, or the Equivalent of an Army, in constant Pay. Should either of these go about to divide their Lands, to make heritable Lords of his temporary Tenants, and yet pretend to be Master, would very soon find, how grossly he had been mistaken: The Lords would have Lands, Lands would get Money, and with Money Enemies would be mollified; Friends secur'd, Mobbs stir'd up, and Armies rais'd. The Nobles in *Venice*, that so much admir'd and long lasting common-Wealth, are no less absolute than the *Grand-Seignor* at *Constantinople*. Why so? Because the Ballance of Property is in the Hands of the Nobles. Would they but give their Lands to the People, *Venice* in a few Ages, would become indeed, what it is but in Name, a Common-Wealth; but I doubt if it would long Boast, as it now does, of Duration. Even *Holland*, the High and Mighty *Holland*, is ballanc'd by Property: The People do but Toil for the States: These are Rich in reality, and therefore Command, those only in Shew, and so submit and drudge on. Did they but know their own Strength, (and Time may come to discover it) *Holland*, like the Common Wealths of *Athens*, *Lacedemon*, *Rome*, &c. and the Kingdoms of *England*, *France*, &c. where the Ballance of Property has not been evidently preserv'd, or on the King's side, or on that of the Nobles, or on that of the Commons, must needs in its turn be liable to these violent Struggles, Convulsions, and Revolutions, they have all felt, and must again feel, without the Ballance of Property be unchangably fix'd, on either King, Nobles, or Commons, according as the Government is Monarchical, Aristocratical, or Democratical. Which of these is most perfect and desirable, I do not enquire: They have all their respective Advantages and Inconveniencies: For my part, I think every one ought to submit to, and zealously serve that Government, what ever it is; his native Country and Country-men have been indebted to for their Protection, Support, Interest and Honour. And had it been my Fate to have been born in *Rome*, and present at the Battle of *Pharsalia*, I had certainly been with *Cato*, *Brutus*, *Tully*, &c. on *Pompey's* Side of the Field: Nor do I take *Cesar*, who overturn'd a Common Wealth, to have been less an Usurper,

Usurper, than *Cromwel*, who ruin'd a Monarchy, tho it must be own'd, the former was not so much a Tyrant, and that he was by far the honestest Man. Both had the like Opportunities of undoing their respective Countries: The Balance of Property was both at *Rome* and in *England*, in the Hands of the People: They knew their Strength, and therefore aspir'd at depressing, the one their Senate, the other their King and Peers, but they knew not the whole Extent of it, and therefore wanted Heads to direct and lead them: Such were found in the Person of *Cesar* and *Cromwel*, who having win over the People (no uneasy Task, where the People are, with Liberty and Property, that is, Ease, Peace, Plenty, and Luxury, debas'd into a liking of their Persons and Proceedings, and a Detestation of the legal Magistrates) first pull'd down these, then tramp'd upon the People their Tools. How this came, not only naturally, but necessarily to be brought about in *England*, *Harrington* explains at large.

Whether the Feudal Law obtain'd in *England* before the Conquest or no, is debatable. The famous Sir *Henry Spelman*, the Reverend Doctor *Hicks*, and our Sir *Thomas Craig*, are of Opinion, that it did not: And from thence, the ingenious Mr. *James Anderson* draws this demonstrative Argument, viz. If Feudal Tenures were not in *England* before the Conquest, the Kings of *Scotland* did not upon any Account pay Homage to the Kings of *England* before the Conquest. Be this as it will, all acknowledge that *William* the Conqueror brought the Feudal Law from *France*, together with his successful Arms, and in Imitation of the *Lombards*, *Franks*, &c. did by the Rules and Maxims of that Law, parcel out and distribute the Lands of the conquer'd among the *French* and *Normans*: Thus he at once rewarded the past Services of his followers, and ensur'd them of constant Pay for those, they were oblig'd to perform in all times to come. And by this means he thought, that he had as good as a standing Army of Men well pay'd and appointed, who having no Right to their Estates or Pay, but from his Liberality, would, for the Preservation of these, be ready on all Occasions to assert and support his Royal Power: A mistaken Maxim, for which his Successors afterwards smarted. 'Twas but reasonable to reward his Followers, and Prudent to fasten them, by the strongest Tyes he could devise, to a Dependency on the Crown. But this was not the proper Means: He should have given them Lands, but no Heritages: Or, had he annex'd all these Lands to the Crown, the yearly Revenues had been sufficient to feed Souldiers, fatten Officers, defray the Charges of his Household and Family, purchase thousands of Dependents, and in fine, would have enabl'd him and his Posterity to depend upon none: Whereas, by giving away most of the conquer'd Lands, he unwarily divested himself, at least his Posterity, of that Ballance which alone was capable to secure their Prerogative. And it so fell out, that these very *Normans*, who, while they were but Foreign Plants, and had no Security against

the Natives, were fain to lean to, and grow up by their Prince's side, were, nevertheless no sooner rivetted in their vast Possessions, but they came up, according to the infallible Consequence of the Ballance Domestick, and pretending the National Interest of the Baronage; grew as fierce in Vindication of these ancient Rights and Liberties themselves had invaded, as if they had been, always Natives and True-born *Englishmen*. Hence the Barons Wars, wherein the Kings were foil'd again and again: And the Nobles having thustry'd their Strength, got the Trick of it, and never gave over setting up, and pulling down their Sovereigns, according as they were influenc'd by the various Passions, Humours, Intrigues and Interests of the different Ages they liv'd in; till the two Factions of the *White* and *Red Roses* came to be united by the means of King *Henry VII.*

This subtle Prince, reflecting at once, says my Author, upon the exorbitant Power of the Nobles, and the Inconstancy of their Favour, began to find another Flaw in this kind of Government, *viz.* That a Throne supported by a Nobility, is not so hard to be ascended as kept: Wherefore his secret Jealousy and Fear, lest the Dissention of the Nobility, as it brought him in, might throw him out, made him travel in Paths, undiscover'd by them, to Ends as little foreseen by himself; while to establish his own Safety, he by mixing Water with their Wine, first began to open those Sluces, that afterwards overwhelm'd, not the King only, but the Throne. For, whereas a Nobility, may, nor a discontented standing Army, such as the *Roman* Emperors kept on foot of Old, and such as are the *Janizaries* in *Turky* at present, never strikes at the Throne, which after all is their Support, but at some King they have a mind to Quarrel with, Popular Power strikes through the King at the Throne it self, as that which is incompatible with it. However, King *Henry VII.* as Wise as he was, was not aware of this: He meant to depress the Insolence and Power of his Factious Nobles, and to effect this, he rais'd the Commons, who in process of Time got the Ballance of Property into their Hands, and manag'd it consequentially to the Principle laid down: Three Statutes, too long to be explain'd in this Place, that for Population, that against Retainers, and that for Alienations, made by King *Henry VII.* had all the Effect he intended. King *Henry VIII.* by dissolving the Abbays, continu'd to bring in so vast a Prey to the Industry of the People, that the Ballance of the State was too visibly in the Popular Party, to be unseen by the wise Council of Queen *Elisabeth*; and she unwilling to struggle with the strongest, and converting her Reign, through the perpetual Love Tricks that pass between her and the People, into a kind of Romance, neglected the Nobility, and went down with the Stream; insomuch that by these Degrees the House of Commons came to raise that Head, which has since been so high and formidable to their Princes, that they have look'd Pale upon these Assemblies: They quarrell'd with King *Charles I.* and the House of Peers

Peers, sinking down between both, he was, because not so Rich and able to maintain Armies as the People, by the deluded People and their abusive Leaders, overthrown: And so Monarchy it self came to be overturn'd in *Britain*, and out of its Ashes, under the Name of a Common-wealth, a new Monarchy, or rather Tyranny, erected.

The like Inconveniencies and Malheurs have attended all the *Gothick* Constitutions in the World: For this Government, the necessary Consequence of Princes Grants in the manner express'd, tho' thought the Master-Piece of humane Prudence, and cry'd up to the Skies, as the only Invention, whereby at once to maintain the Sovereignty of a King, and the Liberty of a People, has nevertheless prov'd no other than a wrestling Match, wherein the Nobility, as they have been stronger, have thrown the King; or the King, if he has been stronger, has thrown the Nobility; or, the King, where he has had a Nobility, and could bring them to his Interest, has thrown the People, as in *France* and *Spain*; or, the People where they have had no Nobility; or could get them brought over to their Party, have thrown the King, as in *Holland*, and, during *Cromwel's* Usurpation, in *England*. Nevertheless, *England*, in Spite of those Factions, Dissentions, intestine Wars, and amazing Revolutions, that have so often shaken, and almost torn her to Pieces, has ever been, and is still, one of the most populous, wealthy and formidable Nations in the Christian World. Whether this is owing to the Situation of the Country, the ambient Sea, the Fertility of the Soil, the Industry of the Inhabitants, the Wisdom of some Statutes, the Bounty of some Kings, the Encouragement given to foreign Artists, and to the publick Spirit that's so happily dispers'd through the whole Kingdom, or to all these together, I shall not determine: 'Tis certain, that *Scotland*, by reason of its *Gothick* Constitution, or Feudal Law, has been very nigh as unlucky; and for want of those other Qualifications, not near so happy.

King *Malcolm*, as I have said, had all or most of the Lands of his Kingdom in Property, and the Ballance was fairly on his side: But whether out of meer Generosity and Gratitude (for never had Prince been better serv'd by his Subjects, than he had been in the late *Danish* Wars) or, that he thought large Gratuities would encourage them to the like Performances, when again necessary; or that he erroneously believ'd, that Men possess'd of large hereditary Estates, would for the Preservation of these, dare more than stipendiary Souldiers: Or in fine, because the Feudal Law had obtain'd in foreign Countries, and was in Fashion at the Time, He (to use the very words of his Laws as they are translated by Sir *John Skene*) gave and distributed all his Lands of the Realm of *Scotland* amongst his Men, upon Condition nevertheless, that they should serve him in his Wars upon their own Charges, and grant to him, as they did, the Ward of their Lands, with the Benefit that might accrue by the Marriage of the Heir: A casual and uncertain Fund, and no ways adapted to the Grandeur of the Sovereign, nor to the Necessities of the State, for he reserv'd nothing in

Property to himself but the Royal Dignity, and the Mute-hill in Scoon: Than which nothing could be more Impolitick: And all our Historians, even *Buchanan* among the rest, discommend this Act of Prodigality, as unadvis'd, and equally ruinous to the King and People: To the King, because by this Means the Ballance of Property being transferr'd from him to the Nobles, these last immediately got the Ascendant over the Royal Prerogative; and, having the Nerves of War in their Hands, Lorded it in some Measure over their Master. Their Tenants and Sub-vassals became more Subjects to them, than to the King. He could no longer give, or take away their Possessions; whereas the Nobles, their immediate Superiors could. Valour and Loyalty (now the Sovereign had no more Lands to bestow, nor Money to gratify performing Men) wanted these Rewards that beget them; and all the Retribution a brave Man could look for, after atchieving the most glorious Actions, was to continue in the Possession of his own Estate: An Advantage a Coward needs not lose, if he dares but to be a Traitor, I mean, if he sits at home and comply's with the Conqueror, whether a foreign Invader, as the *Danes*, or a domestick Usurper, as *Constantine* and *Grim*. Another Mischief that follow'd upon the King's impoverishing the Crown, and enriching the Nobles, was this: As often as the Nobles combin'd together, they were sure not only to thwart the King, to break his Measures, and to render both his private Designs, and publick Laws ineffectual; but also to seise on his Person, give him Battle, dethrone or kill him. But none of these Things can be attempted or effected without Blood-shed, Devastations and Wars: So that to set the Nobles above the Sovereign in Power, is to entail Blood-shed, Devastations and Wars upon a Nation: And the rather, because, when back'd by numerous Vassals, and strenghtm'd by Alliances with other Families, they are apt to quarrel with, and incroach upon their Neighbours. Hence those Fewds, and petty, but most obstinate and bloody Wars, so often carried on by private Men against one another, to the Ruine of the inferior People, Neglect of Agriculture, Devastation of the Country, Scandal of the Government, and Shame of the Nation. Hence also the slow Advances made in *Scotland* towards the Improvement of Arts, Manufactures, Navigation and Trade: For 'twas below a Gentleman to become a Mechanick, and Merchandising was consider'd as ignoble, insomuch, that the Kings, either intent upon repelling foreign Invasions, or busied in allaying domestick Jarrs (a Province too hard for the greatest of them) had not Leisure nor Means, to set about Improvements: And the Commonality oppress'd and harass'd by the Pride, Avarice, and almost despotick Power of their imperious Landlords, could think of nothing besides Tilling the Ground, which as manag'd by them, could never yield but Subsistence, and scarcely that, to their Families.

I could enlarge upon the Malheurs of this Constitution, which yet succeeding Kings had frequent Opportunities of rectifying, but never

never did. The continual Misdemeanors and Rebellions of great Families, occasion'd the Estates of a great many to be forfeited, but then they were immediately gifted away to others, who, equally ungrateful, misbehav'd and rebell'd in their Turn. Had our Sovereigns upon these Occasions been so Wise, as to have annex'd the forfeited Lands to the Crown, and by an unalterable Law, put it out of their own Power to Alienate them; in that Case the Ballance of Property would have return'd to the Kings; and they, instead of gratifying the Ambition or Covetousness of an ungrateful few, would have had in their own Hands, the Means of making thousands happy, and themselves secure. Thus Merit might have been rewarded, Loyalty encourag'd, Valour preferr'd, Taxes lessen'd, Oppression banish'd, and the Commonalty taught something more than to Drudge and Starve. But this had been an Inlet to Tyranny, and the Kings might have misus'd their Power, and misapply'd their Wealth. 'Tis true, they might: But for my part, I had rather be subservient to one Tyrant, than to a hundred: Neither do I yet see how a rich King, if in his Wits, can be a Tyrant: I'm sure, 'tis his Interest that his People thrive; if he seek to be Wealthy, he must make them so; and if he would Command, he must have Subjects, and those by his Bounty made willing to Obey. On the contrary, a poor depending Monarch, will ever seek to be Richer and Independent: To effect which, he is sometimes necessitated, and always tempted to do wrong. King *Malcolm* is a notable Instance of this Truth: He had unadvys'dly squander'd away his Revenues among Subjects, indeed very deserving; but he liv'd to see and feel the Effects of immoderate Largesses. He was now as Poor, as they were Rich: And while he endeavour'd to mend his Condition, he stumbl'd upon several Injustices, and to recover some of the Lands, illegally put to Death not a few of the Possessors. This irritated their Friends; and every one fearing the like Treatment, a Faction of the Nobles conspir'd, and an open Rebellion had ensu'd; but for the greater Crime of a few, who going to Work more quickly, corrupted the King's Servants, and Murther'd him in the Castle of *Glamis*: So say *Boetbius*, *Buchanan*, &c. *Fordon* (a) tells the Story otherwise: He charges the King neither with Avarice nor Cruelty, but says, That notwithstanding he had generously Pardon'd, nay, Enrich'd the Relations and Friends of the two late Usurpers, yet he could never gain so far upon their Resentment, but that they sought all Opportunities of undoing the Prince that had sav'd them: That they found out one at last near *Glamis*, where a considerable Number of Ruffians set upon him, and his small Retinue. He thought, that after so many Largesses bestow'd, such generous and hearty Forgiveness express'd, and a Reign so remarkably Glorious, he stood in no need of numerous Guards. Those nevertheless that attended him, did Wonders in their Master's Defence: And he, tho' above eighty Years old, and much spent with Age and

King *Malcolm* is basely Murther'd by a few Ruffians.

(a) Scriptor. XX. p. 685.

Toil, yet exerted the Vigour of a Youth: He routed the Villains, and kill'd severals of them upon the Spot, but was himself unfortunately Wounded: And the Efflux of Blood was so great, that Chirurgery (at least such as was in those Days practis'd) could not stem it; so he died the third Day after the Villany was acted, to the infinite Regrate of all but the Actors. * Neither did they escape the Punishment due to their Crime: Swift Justice dogg'd them at the Heels and overtook them, at about two Miles distance from the Place, where they had committed the Parricide, I mean, on the Lake of *Forfar*; which being covered with Snow and frozen into Ice, they unwarily attempted to get over on Horse; but the Ice broke, and they were all drown'd: Their Bodies were afterwards taken up and ignominiously hang'd, as on different Gibbets, so in different Parts of the Kingdom.

A.D. 1034.

Thus fell the brave King *Malcolm II.* after a prosperous Reign of above-thirty Years, *anno 1034*, or, according to others, *1040*. How any one could find in his Heart to commit the Parricide is amazing; and the rather because he was come to that Age, which, of it self, one should have thought, might have secur'd him against impatient Violence: For a little Time had cut him off, and then the Regicides had been Guiltless, yet satisfy'd. But such is the Fury of Resentment, it admits of no Delays, and good Kings are more expos'd to the Sallies of Treason, than ill Ones; These are ever upon their Guards; those think they're sufficiently guarded by Merit and Innocence. But this is a Mistake: The best of Men, and worthiest of Princes have their Enemies: And, as I heartily detest, so I should as cordially exclaim against the Barbarity of my Country-men, amongst whom Villains were found, capable of laying violent Hands upon this King *Malcolm* and his Father *Kenneth*, two Princes, who had they been *Romans* or *Grecians*, would have been rank'd among the foremost of their Worthies. But *Rome* and *Greece*, as Civiliz'd as they were, have been in this Sense no less Barbarous than their Neighbours: Did not a *Miltiades*, to whom all *Greece* ow'd its Safety, suffer through the Malice and Envy of his fellow Citizens in *Athens*? Had not *Themistocles* the same Fate in the same City? Was *Lacedemon* more favourable to *Cimon* or *Agu*? And did not the best Patriots and most bountiful Emperors fall in *Rome*, much after the same Manner, witness the *Cicero's*, *Pertinax's*, &c.— An evident Proof, that the Crimes of Parties are not always to be laid at the Door of Princes, and that a Prince may be unfortunate, without deserving to be so. Sure none ever deserv'd less to have fallen by the Hands of his Subjects, than King *Malcolm*: He had pardon'd a double Rebellion, he had not only indemnified, but gratified his Enemies, and had impoverish'd himself, to enrich his Friends. Besides, his personal Qualifications were sufficient to endear him to the most Savage, and to win upon the Hearts of all that knew him: He excell'd most of his Cotemporaries in Beauty and Comeliness of Body, but much more in the Greatness of his inflexible Spirit,

His Chara-
cter.

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Spirit, who, when the King of *England* paid Tribute for his Crown, refus'd to do the like for a Vassal Principality : And when *England*, that mighty and glorious Kingdom, submitted to the *Danish* Yoke, kept *Scotland* free ; nay, made the Conqueror lay down his Arms, and solemnly Swear, that he should never take them up again while King *Malcolm* liv'd. In fine, the World was so thoroughly convinc'd of his Heroick Temper, and Martial Performances, that, if we may believe *Fordon*, in all the ancient Records that mention his Name, he is dignified with the Title of *Rex Victoriosissimus*. Nor was he Eminent only in War; for how soon he had a Release from the Toyl and Danger that attend it, he set himself wholly to improve the Advantages of Peace. He made many excellent Laws, yet extant upon Record. He regulated both the Courts of Justice, to which he gave Order and Form, and his own Court, to which he gave Splendor and Decency, and was the first that introduc'd Offices, at least the Names and Dignities of Officers of State, as of Constable, Marshal, Chancellor. &c. As for his Manners and Conversation, for ought we know, they have been untainted : Avarice is the only Vice laid to his Charge, nor that neither by all, nor with Probability by any ; he ought rather to be impeach'd of its Reverse, Prodigality. Neither was he deficient in those Acts of Piety, the then Times recommended : For at *Murthblack*, where he gave the first Overthrow to the *Danes*, he caus'd a Chappel to be built out of the Ruines of an old Chappel dedicated to *St. Molloch*, founded an Episcopal See, which was afterwards translated from thence to *Aberdeen*, and endow'd it with Rents out of the adjacent Lands. This, *Boethius* tells us, he oblig'd himself to perform, by a Vow made during the Heat of the Battle, fought at the Place I mention'd but now, in case it should please God to reassure the Courage of his Men (for they were giving Ground) and to grant Victory to his Christian Arms, over those of the Heathen Enemy; He caus'd also most of these Churches the *Danish* Fury had demolish'd, to be repair'd : And lest the scandalous Lives of Church-men should defile those holy Places (so they were then thought) he call'd the Clergy to an Assembly in the Town of *Perth* ; And, by Advice of Bishop *Gregory*, enacted divers Canons for their better Government, and very much tending to the Reformation of their Manners, and Edification of the People committed to their Care. So that, considering the whole Life and Reign of this Glorious, and, till his very Death, not unfortunate Monarch; I have reason to conclude with the Poetical Address, Mr. *Jobnston* has made to him ;

*Et tu dignus eras fatis melioribus. Hæc tu
Immerito, ast virtus nesciet ulla mori.*

C H A P. II.

From the Restoration of King MALCOLM CANMORE to the
Death of King ALEXANDER III.

Containing the space of about 225 Years.

KING *Malcolm Canmore* was seated upon the Throne of his Ancestors in *Scotland*, when his Ally and Benefactor King *Edward the Confessor* died in *England*. The Death of this last occasion'd such Troubles, as being begun by a new Usurpation, terminated in a fourth Conquest, and by consequence in a great Alteration of Laws, Customs, Manners, Language; and generally all Things but Religion, in the South Part of *Britain*. Nor was the Northern free from the Mutations at this time. These I shall give an Account of, in the Life of *Malcolm Canmore*; and of those, by Reason of their mutual Coherence and Relation, just now: Only I shall take care to insist but so long on Foreign Affairs, as seems necessary to the better understanding of our own.

A. D. 1066.

The Royal Line of the *West-Saxon Kings* (those Heroes that had first founded, and then preserv'd the Monarchy, during the Space of five hundred and forty seven Years) did not expire with King *Edward*. *Edgar* the Son of *Edward* the *Out-law*, and Grand-child of *Edmund Ironside*, was still alive, and by the late King Sirnam'd *Etheling*, (a) that is, he was design'd his Successor: But *England* must be enslav'd, and Providence would not permit that the Fate of the Nation should be involv'd in the fall of the Royal House: This was reserv'd to be the Work of an inferior one; out of which a Stranger should arise to pull down the whole Fabrick, and bury himself in its last Ruins. Had the *English* done their Duty, that is, had they, immediately upon the Death of King *Edward*, recogniz'd the undoubted Heir *Edgar Etheling's* Title to the Crown, then there had no Room been left for Pretenders: And the Duke of *Normandy* had never dar'd to attack, much less had he been able to De-throne, the King of *England*, if the then King had been undoubtedly such: But *Harold*, the Son and Grand-child, of two, the most notorious Traitors (*Earl Godwin* and *Edric*) that Age brought forth, who had no manner of Right, yet pretended, I know not what Designment of the late King, and taking the Advantage of the great Power he had in his Hands, stept up to the Throne: And the People, probably cheated into an Opinion that King *Edward* had nam'd him his Successor, universally submitted to him. What Sort of Nomination or Appointment that Prince did really make in this

Harold usurps the Crown of *England*.

Harold's

Harold's Favour, I find variously delivered by Historians: But the best of them are positive, (a) that he was only appointed to Govern as Regent, during the Minority of *Edgar*; and that 'tis absurd to think, that a Prince so Pious, and so Just as King *Edward*, who, not long before, was willing to abdicate in Favour of the Father, would have appointed (could he have lawfully done so, as 'tis most certain he could not) any other to Reign in Stead of the Son. 'Tis said indeed, (b) that when King *Edward* was himself an Exile in *Normandy*, during the *Danish* Usurpation, he promised to make his Cousin *William*, then Duke of that Country, his Heir to the Crown of *England*, in case he should come, by the Assistance of that Prince, to obtain it. And this is no Matter of Wonder: For at that Time, the more immediate Heirs were in *Hungary*, and accounted as lost; as indeed they had been, but for the Generosity of *Edward*, who afterwards recall'd them: And, to supplant the more hated *Danes*, he had very good Reason to prefer the friendly and most hospitable *Norman*. Nay it might have fallen out so, that this had been legally Practicable, or by Means of a Marriage between a Son of Duke *William* and a Daughter of *England*, or by a fair Election of the Nobility, in case the *Saxon*-Line had been extinct. But it was preserv'd in the Person of *Edgar* and his two Sisters: And no Promise or Conveyance whatever could invalidate their Right. Yet Duke *William* seeing them neglected, and *Harold* set up in their Room, thought fit to lay hold of this pretended Promise; and the rather, because *Harold*, when afterwards in *Normandy*, had sworn to be assisting to him, in case an Opportunity should offer for gaining the Kingdom. And, now King *Edward* was dead, and *Harold* had, without any Title, succeeded, the Duke sent him a Messenger to remind him of the King's Promise, and his own Oath: Lame and empty Pretences for invading the Right of an injur'd Family, and commencing a War, that must needs be destructive, at least to one Nation: But Ambition, when attended by Opportunity, never halts for want of a justifiable Reason.

An Usurper sat on the Throne of *England*; consequently the Kingdom must needs be divided, and, *A Kingdom divided in it self cannot stand*: Nay, the Animosities and Quarrels of Parties had already broken out into open War: *Tofti*, the King's Brother had taken Arms against the King, and he was supported by a Fleet and a Land Army, the King of *Norway*, hoping to draw Advantage from these Broils, had sent to his Assistance. On the other hand, Duke *William*, tho' but a natural Son of *Robert* the sixth Duke of *Normandy* (for it seems in those Days Bastardy was no Bar to Succession) was nevertheless, for his great Parts and noble Performances, equally lov'd and fear'd, both by his Subjects and Foreigners. He was of that Make or Constitution of Body, and had that Turn of Thought and Character of Soul, which are said to form the Herpes; so that in him the Saying was verified:

K k k 2

Hence

(a) Baker p. 27. &c. (b) Baker p. 31.

*Hence spring the Noble, Fortunate and Great,
Always begot in Passion, and in Heat.*

His Subjects refused him no Money they could spare: And his Coffers being full; he could not want Troops: All his Neighbours, nay, most of the States of *Europe*, contributed towards promoting his Pretensions, as lame as they were, upon *England*. The Counts of *Poitou* and *Boulogn*, nay, the Emperor himself, sent him Auxiliaries, and the Duke of *Brittany*, the Count of *Anjou*, the Viscount of *Thouars*, and a great many more sovereign Princes, came in Person, and served upon the Head of their respective Men, in his Army. The Pope too must needs give his Countenance to the Attempt: He did it frankly; nay, he did more, than he really could: For, together with a Gold-Ring and a consecrated Banner, he sent a Bull of Investiture, or Charter of Seafine and Infeftment to the Duke; that is, he gave him the Crown of *England*, provided he should first win, and then wear it at his Holiness's pleasure: So early did Popes begin to give Kingdoms, and claim Superiorities; an ambitious interested Practice, no Man of Probity and Sense, even of their own Communion, will offer to vindicate. The Duke scorn'd to become a Vassal to the Pope, but he was too wise to reject his powerful Concurrence, which alone was in those times sufficient, both to justify his Title, and sanctify his Arms.

Is kill'd in
the Battle of
Hastings, by
William
Duke of
Normandy.

Malcolm III. King of *Scotland*, and *Philip I.* King of *France*, were the only two neighbouring Potentates that declin'd to give any manner of Assistance or Encouragement to the aspiring Duke: *Malcolm* had no reason to wish for a Neighbour more Potent than the King of *England*, as such, must needs be: And *Philip* thought it by no means Politick, to aggrandize a Vassal, (for such the Duke of *Normandy* was to the King of *France*) already powerful enough to vye with his Sovereign. Nevertheless, none of these Monarchs offer'd to stir in Opposition to the Design: Perhaps King *Harold* did not think it worth his while to ask their Assistance, or, perhaps, since both Sides were in the wrong, they thought it unjust to concern with either. They were willing to look on and wait for the Event, which they did not long: For one Battle decided the Controversy; and King *Harold* was kill'd, after he and the undisciplin'd *English*, under his Conduct, had fought nobly, and very high foil'd, if not all the Strength, at least the whole Flower of *France*. After this never to be retriev'd Overthrow, which the *English* receiv'd at *Hastings*, *Edwin* and *Morchar*, two famous Earls and leading Men among them, fled with the Remains of the broken Army to *London*: And Duke *William* wisely follow'd with all convenient Speed, and not doubting, but that, if he should become Master of that Capital, as he was already of the Fields, the rest of the Kingdom would fall of Course. Notwithstanding of all this, a firm Union, (had the *English* been capable to Unite) and a wise Management, must still have put

put a stop to *William's* Arms: They needed but to do Justice, and acknowledge the lawful Heir, while it was yet in their Power. This had probably reunited the Minds, and rous'd the Spirits of the People, whose Darling (a) he was. But instead of this, they held tumultuary Assemblies, and came to no unanimous Resolution. The Nobility became Enemies to one another, and strove for that Crown, a Stranger was about to seize. Most part indeed were for setting it on the Head of *Edgar*, to whom it belong'd; but the Bishops and Clergy, for what Reason God knows, were so wicked, or so mad, as to defeat the Design. In the mean time, Duke *William* approach'd without Opposition, and all agreed to receive him as their lawful King, with great Joy in Appearance, but small Gladness at the Bottom. However, if he had not their Hearts, he had their Knees: For, (b) being by their prodigious Miscarriages, innumerable Vices, and unrelenting Factions, ripen'd for Servitude, they submitted themselves in the most servile Manner, and begg'd he would accept the Crown. No Body will think, that, after his great Preparations beyond Seas, his landing in *England*, his fighting at *Hastings*, his marching to *London* &c. he had a Mind to reject the obliging Request; yet he did it, (c) and (so shamelessly effronted is the Dissimulation of Usurpers) he shew'd much Aversion to his Acceptance of that Honour, and only yielded, after weighing all things with Deliberation, to the Importunity of so many Petitioners. Thus he suffer'd himself to be elected King; (for so do some *English* Historians phrase it) as if such an Election, so very far from being free, could either make good his Title to a hereditary Crown, whose immediate Heir was in Being, or wipe off the Stain and Disgrace of Conquest. He did yet more; for he took a Coronation Oath, and oblig'd himself to govern both the *English* and *Normans* by the same equal Law. How well he observ'd this, and whether he Rul'd as a Conqueror by the Sword, or as a regular Prince by the Laws of the Land, let any Man judge that reads his History. It must be ownd, that as a wise and great Man, he perform'd many things worthy of his Dignity: And be it said to his immortal Honour, he never sought to ascertain his Title, by cutting off his Competitor, the righteous Heir, tho he could have done it, and did meet with Provocations. Nay, it is also acknowledg'd (for so did Providence order it) that *England* became the more Glorious by being Humbl'd, and the Happier because Undone: (d) For before this time the *English* Nation had been but little known to the World, either for military Atchievements, or Learning, or Trade. They had been busied at Home in a divided State, or held a shatter'd Government with the barbarous *Danes*: But the *Normans* having more of the Sun and Civility, by mixing with them, begat a more generous and livelier Off-spring. They brought over from *France*, the free Temper, politer Manners, more laudable Customs; and in a word,

Who is acknowledg'd King of *England*.

(a) Baker p. 33. (b) Echard p. 133. Baker p. 33, &c. (c) Echard p. 137. (d) Echard p. 136. *Histor. of Engl. vol. 1. edit. Lond. 1701.*

the most valuable Qualifications of that gay and ingenious People. Hence the Discipline of the Christian Religion, then almost extinct in *England*, began to revive: Temperance, which the *Danes* had banish'd, was reintroduc'd by the *Normans*: Honour and Reputation came again to be valu'd; Churches might be seen new built in the Towns and Cities, and Monasteries erected after a nobler way of Architecture: Arts flourish'd, Agriculture was improv'd, and the People were taught to enclose Parks, and erect Towers, Forts and Castles: The very Language was soften'd by the Habit of the *French* Tongue. In fine, the *English* Nation, now larger in Extent and Dominion abroad, and more in State and Ability at home, attain'd not only to greater Honour and Name in the World, but in a short time gave Laws to the Victors, and conquer'd that Country, by which they had been subdu'd. These Advantages the Nation in General obtain'd, by mixing with their more civiliz'd and artful Neighbours, and the like do they still reap, from the continual Resort of Foreigners to their fruitful Soil and wealthy Sea: But these were the Product of Time, and at best the Effects of antecedent Slavery, Desolation and Ruine. For,

The high stomach'd and freeborn *English*, could not brook the Affronts put on them; and altho they tamely bow'd to the Yoke, yet they had not Patience enough to bear it long. They revolted frequently, and the Conqueror thereby exasperated, despoil'd the greatest and noblest Families of their States, or because they had fought in Defence of their Country at *Hastings*, upon his first landing, (which, to be sure, no Body but himself could judge to be Criminal) or because they had since that time been engag'd in Insurrections, and disturb'd the new model'd Government. The Lands of these Patriots (so I think they ought to be call'd) he distributed among his *French* and *Norman* Adventurers; a piece of Policy of very good use to himself, and to his more immediate Heirs, but destructive and ruinous to his Posterity. He should have kept all or most of them in his own Hands, and out of the yearly Revenues they would have afforded to the Crown, he might have sufficiently rewarded his Friends, and by Process of time regain'd even the Hearts of his Enemies. He is better serv'd who always gives, than he who gives all at once. But so liberal of *English-men's* Fortunes, or rather so prodigal was King *William*, that (a) to one *Norman*, his Brother by the Mother-side, he gave the Earldom of *Chester*, to hold of him as freely by his Sword, as himself held *England* by his Crown; that is, he made him a Sovereign: And accordingly the *Norman* created Barons, and prefer'd such as he pleas'd to Titles and Honours. Nor was he more tender of the Priviledges of the Church (A just Judgment on Churchmen, who hearing of his Regard to their Character, basely promoted his Accession to the Throne :) But he serv'd them as they deserv'd, accounting it no Sacrilege to seise, as he did, the whole Plate, Jewels and Treasure, he could find within
all

And governs as a Conqueror Despotically.

(a) Baker—Echard. Histor. of Engl. edit. Lond. 1701, in the Life of K. William.

all the Monasteries and Churches of the Kingdom: His Pretence was, that the Rebels had convey'd them thither to defraud him of his Due. Besides, he made all Bishopricks and Abbeyes contribute to the Charges of his Wars, and ordain'd that the Prelates should henceforth have no temporal Command nor Authority whatever. The inferior People he miserably harass'd and impoverish'd with exorbitant Taxations, which he arbitrarily impos'd on every Hide of Land within the Kingdom: Nay, he knew, by Means of a Register call'd *Doomsday-Book*, the Stock and Wealth of every Particular; and he compell'd all Men to pay Sums impos'd at his pleasure, for Confirmation of any Right or Priviledge, they had formerly enjoy'd. By these and the like Methods, inhansing to himself, by far the greatest Part of the Lands, Rents and Money, of the miserable Nation. In a Word, he so far reduc'd *England*, that it became, says *Malmsbury*, the Habitation of Strangers, there being no native original *Englishman*, who was Earl, Bishop or Abbot: But, adds he, Foreigners devour the Riches of *England*, and eat out its very Bowels. Nay, he would have had the very Name of *England* obliterated, says *Polydore*, and the Country to be call'd *Great-Normandy*, so that it was accounted the Height of Reproach to be call'd an *Englishman*, say *Cradock* and *Matthew Paris*.

As for his Laws, tho there might be some Veins of them, issuing from former Originals, yet the Stream of the common Law is acknowledg'd to have flown from *Normandy*. This is so true, that he would have them also to be written in *French*; in which Language he also order'd all Causes to be pleaded, and all Matters of Form to be dispatch'd, with a Design, or to intrap Men through the Ignorance of the Language, as he often did, or to make the *Norman* Tongue Predominant, as their Persons and Arms, in *England*: For he laid aside the Ancient and Royal Arms, and Bearing of former Kings, and put those of *Normandy*, viz. Two Leopards, in their Stead. But the most grating and distastful of his Laws was this, He delighted in Hunting the Deer, and therefore would allow none to share with himself in his Pleasure, under Pain of having their Eyes put out. But, that he might never want Objects to feed this strange sort of incommunicable Lust, he depopulated a great part of *Hampshire*, the space of thirty Miles, where there had been six and twenty Towns, and eighty Religious Houses, and made it a Habitation for such kind of Beasts. This he call'd, *The new Forrest*, and lest such Cruelties should be resented by a People so naturally Brave, nay, so Stubborn as he knew the *English* to be, he took the following Measures to depress their Courage. He not only disarm'd the Natives; but to prevent their Meeting and Conspiring together under the Shade of Darknes and Night, he commanded, that in all Towns and Villages, a Bell should be rung at Eight of the Clock in the Evening, and that in every House they should then put out their Fire and Lights, (this was call'd *Couvre-feu*) and so go to Bed. For further Security, he erected Castles, and kept Gar-

rifons in the most doubtful Parts of the Kingdom: Besides, he had a mighty standing Army of Foreigners, especially of Horse, having so distributed the Lands of *England* to his Followers and Souldiers, that he had fixty thousand Knights or Horse-men constantly at his Command, to be imploy'd in any Expedition where Occasion requir'd their Service.

Notwithstanding all these crying Severities and Indignities, which he put upon the Nation, (and indeed what less can be expected from a Foreign Prince, necessitated to bear down a People, not his own) there are who would fain insinuate, that he neither was, nor did he act as a Conqueror, but that the invidious Name was entail'd upon him by the Monks, whose Monasteries he Plunder'd, and continu'd ever since as a traditional Custom. But, whatever Moderns may write to efface the Stain of that Conquest, by which Posterity was substantially better'd, 'tis certain, nevertheless, that the bravest, and best of the then *English*, had other Sentiments: For, to say nothing of the other various Insurrections, and almost uninterrupted Attempts they made to retrieve their lost Liberties; in the second Year of King *William's* Reign, *Edgar Etheling*, call'd *England's Darling*, unable to see the Throne of his glorious Ancestors debas'd, as he thought, by the Person that had usurp'd it, and by being, by the nobleness of his Birth, the most apt to be sensible of Servitude, and perhaps dreading the usual Inhumanities of those in Possession of anothers Right, he stole secretly away to Sea, and took along with him his Mother *Agatha*, and his two Sisters, *Margaret* and *Christine*. Contrary, or rather favorable Winds drove them upon the Coasts of *Scotland*, where, being receiv'd kindly by King *Malcolm*, they remain'd all that Winter in Peace: And *Malcolm* was so affected with the Beauty and Vertues of the Lady *Margaret*, that about two Years after he married her. A happy Marriage, by which the Blood of the ancient *English* Kings was preserv'd, and twice re-seated on the Throne of *England*; First, in the Person of *Henry II.* and lastly, in that of King *James VI.* of *Scotland*, and *I.* of *England*. *Scotland* reap'd Advantages, yet greater than these, from the blessed Union of that incomparable Pair: But of this afterwards. To *Edgar* in *Scotland* great Numbers of the *English* Nobility and Clergy repair'd: Among others, the two great Earls *Edwin* and *Morchar*, Brothers to *Agatha* the late King *Harold's* Wife; as also, *Hereward*, *Gospatrik*, *Symard*, &c. and not long after, *Stigard* and *Aldred*, Archbishops. King *Malcolm* entertain'd them all most generously, rais'd an Army to assert their Rights, invaded the North Parts of *England*, forrag'd the Country, and stir'd up great Comotions, which nevertheless prov'd unsuccessful, because not attempted a little more early, that is, before the Settlement, while things were new and out of order.

Edgar Etheling retires to *Scotland*.

And with the Assistance of the *Scots* makes War upon the Conqueror.

This War, so justly and generously commenc'd by King *Malcolm*, was carried on with various Success for several Years: I shall enter into a more particular Detail of it, when I come to write the Life of

of that Monarch: It suffices to tell in this Place, that at length a Peace was concluded between the two Kings; and that *Malcolm* continu'd peaceable Possessor of *Cumberland*, and his other Lands in *England*, for which he did Homage to the Conqueror, and thereby recogniz'd his Title to, and acknowledg'd him King of *England*. This was no Matter of Wonder: All *Europe* had done so before; and unless the *English* had been more unanimous, and more ready than they shew'd themselves to be, when so often invited by frequent Invasions, to have their Darling restor'd, it was not to be suppos'd, that a *Scots* King, with his own Forces, and some *English* Nobles, could alone be able to dispossess and dethrone so mighty a Prince as King *William*: But the Generality of the *English*, (a) tho' they were perfectly well affected to *Edgar*, yet dislik'd the Company that attended him, and hated the Entrance of a *Scots* Army into *England*, more than they lov'd the Heir of their Crown. They therefore ungenerously deserted, or at least neglected, or even oppos'd him: And he, being of an easy soft Nature, no ways delighting in the Hurry and Confusion of War, resolv'd at length to yield to the Times, in order to the Enjoyment of the Pleasures of Solitude and Peace. Accordingly he left *Scotland*, and went over to *Normandy*, where the Conqueror then was, and together with a great many of his Followers submitted, and willingly, at least in Shew, abdicated his Title to the Throne; and that at a Time, when a new and formidable Conspiracy was forming in his Favour; and therefore, is by some Authors, (b) condemn'd for making that Submission too soon, which he ought to have made later or never. King *William* receiv'd him graciously, pardon'd him generously, tho' he had revolted twice, entertain'd him honourably in his Court, and allow'd him a Pound weight of Silver for every Day's Expence. Who of the two is to be most admir'd, I shall not determiné; or *Edgar*, who renounc'd his unquestionable Title to one of the fairest Crowns in the World; or *William*, who not only did not cut off, but on the contrary cherish'd his only Competitor. Both gave different Examples to Posterity, but such, as I believe, but few will imitate; tho' the last, in my Opinion, deserves by much the highest Encouragement.

Edgar Ethe-
ling submits
and returns
to *England*.

A. D. 1073.

The Submission of *Edgar*, and the Peace lately concluded between the two Kingdoms, gave Leisure to King *Malcolm*, and his incomparable Wife, Queen *Margaret*, to set about the reforming and bettering of their Subjects, who, by reason of the long Wars, were become more than formerly riotous, and by the Example of the many *English* settl'd in the Country, and entertain'd at Court, vain in their Apparel, sumptuous in their Feasts, and especially in Drinking excessive, to the Damage and Effeminating the hardy and warlike Temper of the Nation. All the Endeavours us'd by the King and Queen, could never quite eradicate these fashionable foreign Vices, which must have brought along with them the Fate of

Peace in
Scotland.

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(a) *Histor. of Engl. edit. Lond. 1701. p. 93.* (b) *Histor. of Engl. p. 94.*

the South, upon the North Part of *Britain*; had they not been by early Forecast in a great Measure discourag'd. For,

A. D. 1087. While *Malcolm* was thus prudently and piously busied, King *William* the Conqueror died, and was succeeded by his second Son *William*, from the Colour of his Hair, surnam'd *Rufus*, a Prince (a) as yet in the Vigour of his Youth, naturally Warm, Rough and Haughty, more Courageous than Pious, and more Gallant than Good: And, for these very Reasons, (b) nam'd by the Will of his Father to the Throne of *England*, preferably to *Robert*, the elder Brother. For the Conqueror fancied that Mildness and Bounty were Vertues, not at all necessary towards ruling the *English*; that is, he took the *English* to be a stubborn and factious People, and therefore would leave them a bold and imperious King. With a Neighbour of this Character, so different from his own, King *Malcolm* could not long agree, says *Buchanan*. (c) They quarrel'd probably, upon the Account of *Edgar Etheling*, who being by King *William's* Jealousy banish'd from *Normandy*, and depriv'd of all the Lands that had been given him in *England*, (d) came into *Scotland*, the usual Sanctuary of his injur'd Person and Family. King *Malcolm* was too generous, not to protect the Royal Exile his Brother-in-Law: He did it effectually, and *Edgar*, who mediated a Peace between the two Kings, was again reconcil'd to King *William*, and restor'd to his Country: But this Peace did not last, for when it should have been Ratified at *Glocester*, as before was appointed, the King of *England* would not so much as see, (e) or meet with the King of *Scots*, but upon such Terms, as this last, not only disdain'd, to comply with, but also resent'd the Affront and Injury done him so far, that he took up Arms anew, and invaded *Northumberland*. I shall give a full Account of these Wars in King *Malcolm's* Life: It suffices to tell in this Place, that that magnanimous Monarch was treacherously kill'd at the Siege of *Alnwick* by an *English* Souldier, (f) after he had reduc'd that Place to Capitulate. This great Loss was doubl'd, by that of the King's eldest Son, Prince *Edward*, who, while he too eagerly fought to revenge his Father's Death, had also the Misfortune to fall. Upon this the disconsolate Army broke up the Siege, and retur'd to *Scotland*; where now all things turn'd to Disorder and Confusion.

There were in the Kingdom, who, as they pretended a Dislike of the Effeminacy and degenerate Manners of the Nation, so they really grudg'd the Honours and Estates the late King had conferr'd upon the banish'd *English*, to whom they attributed the present Malheurs, and consider'd them as the Authors, at least the Occasion of all their Grievances. Queen *Margaret* had given up her unspotted Soul to God, not many Days after the Death of her Husband and eldest Son: The rest of her Children were as yet in their Non-age: The War with the King of *England* was not at an end, and both Court and

(a) Echard in his Life. (b) P. D'Ork. ad Ann. 1088. (c) in vit. Malcol. 311. (d) Echard ad Ann. 1091. (e) Echard ad Ann. 1092. (f) Buchan. Less. &c. in vit. Malcol.

and Country were under a terrible Consternation, by Reason of the War, and the Want of Authority and Commanders, either to carry it on, or to bring about a Peace. These concurring Circumstances rous'd up the Ambition of *Donald Bane*, the late King's Brother. Donald Bane Usurpes the Crown of Scotland. This Prince had resided in the *Æbude*, or *Western Islands* ever since the Usurpation of *Macketh*, and having had no manner of Correspondence with the *English*, he was the more agreeable to the wilder *Scots*: Besides, he had the Acquaintance of *Magnus*, King of *Norway*, whose Assistance he sought and obtain'd, upon Condition, that if he came to be King of *Scotland*, he should part with the Islands belonging to *Scotland*, in favour of the King and Crown of *Norway*. A Promise such as none but an Usurper would make, and such, as even a lawful Sovereign cannot lawfully give. Kings are at best but Liferenters, and the highest Flyers will not allow them, either to give away or dismember their Kingdom. However, *Donald* gave his Word for it, and made it good: For these Islands were by Virtue of this Agreement given up to the *Norwegians*, possess'd by them some hundreds of Years afterwards, and are in some measure govern'd by their Laws to this Day. So many and different ways does a Nation suffer, that admits of Usurpation or Competition for the Regal Power.

Donald, back'd by his Auxiliary *Norwegians*, obtain'd it without Difficulty: But, that the Nobility of *Scotland*, assembling unanimously, elected him to be their King, (a) as some *English* Historians have of late asserted, is absolutely false. All the *Scots* Historians are unanimously agreed to the contrary: And they must be allow'd to know more of the Matter, than the Modern *English*. *Buchanan*, and I hope *Buchanan* will be credited in a Matter of this kind, expressly tells us, That he invaded or usurp'd the Kingdom; and that by the Assistance of those foreign Troops he join'd to his domestick Faction, and thereby over-aw'd all good Men; by whom he was most heartily hated, and to whom the Memory of the late King and Queen, was not only dear, but sacred. This is so true, that (b) few or none could be prevail'd upon, notwithstanding of all the Endeavours he us'd, to take the usual Oath of Allegiance to him. This grated the Tyrant to the very Heart: And he was so mad, when in his Cups, as to threaten Destruction to the Non-jurors, who thereupon resolv'd to be before hand with him, as indeed they were.

Edgar Eubeling had been luckily restor'd to his Estate, before that War broke out, which was fatal to King *Malcolm*, and his Son Prince *Edward*; and he was thereby enabl'd to Protect the remaining Orphans his Nephews and Nieces. Accordingly upon the first News of the Revolution in *Scotland*, he call'd them into *England*; but because they were next to himself, the Heirs of that Crown also, he dreaded the Jealousy of King *William*, little less than the Cruelty of *Donald*, and therefore took care to have them entertain'd

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(a) Echard, Tyrrel. ad Ann. 1093. (b) Buchan, Boeth. &c.

and brought up, with all the privacy imaginable. But in vain: One *Organ*, an *Englishman*, delated him and them to the King, adding further, That he had boasted of their Title to the Crown, and that he had educated them in hopes of attaining to it, some time or other. King *William* was exasperated to the highest Degree, and had a second Witness been found to back the Accusation, 'tis probable that the old Age of *Edgar* had been but a feeble Defence against the raging Jealousy of the angry Monarch. But it seems that Knights of the Post were not rise in those Days, Knights of Honour there were, and one of these (a) (the MS. of *Icolmkill* tells us, that his Name was *Godwin*) had the Courage to assert the Innocence of Prince *Edgar* with his Sword in his Hand. He challeng'd the Informer to a single Combat, and had the good luck to kill him, to the great Satisfaction of all Ranks of People, who, as the Custom then was, flock'd from all Parts to Witness the bloody Trial.

King *William* is represented as a Man void of Conscience or Faith: (b) He suffer'd himself to be brib'd by a Sum of Money; to persuade a converted *Jew* to return to his *Judaism*: And when fifty Gentlemen, who had been accus'd of Hunting and killing Deer, had by the Trial of *Fire Ordeal*, miraculously escap'd Condemnation, he passionately cry'd out, *How happens this? Is God a just Judge in suffering it? Now a Murrian take him that believes it.* Nevertheless, that God, he thus dar'd to Blaspheme, not only induc'd him to believe that *Edgar* was free from aspiring Thoughts, but also to countenance and allow of the Kindnesses he continu'd to shew to the Children of *Scotland*: He suffer'd them to live, and to be brought up Nobly, as their Quality deserv'd, in his Dominions. But it seems he thought it no good Policy to restore to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, a Family that had so much Right to that of *England*. 'Twas in his Power to have done it, and he had one strong Motive to induce him to the glorious Action: He hated King *Donald*, the *Scots* Usurper, who had newly invaded *England*: (c) He therefore resolv'd to assist the Loyalists in the Design they had to dethrone him, and with this View, gave *Duncan*, natural Son to the late King *Malcolm*, a brave and experienc'd Commander, who had serv'd under himself in the Wars of *France*, an Army of *English* and *Normans*. Upon the Head of this Army *Duncan* march'd against *Donald*: And, the *English* say, gave him Battle, and put him to Flight: But they're mistaken, (d) for upon his first Approach, the *Scots* unanimously revolted in his favour, not doubting but that he would Act in the Name and by the Authority of the legal Heir his Brother. But this was, (it seems) no Part of the Instructions he had got from the King of *England*: He had the Power in his Hands, and made use of it to Usurp the Throne. But this the *Scots* could not brook, they made frequent Insurrections against him, by Force of Arms drove out of the Kingdom (e), all his *English* and *Norman* Followers, and constrain'd himself to

Duncan
Usurps in
Scotland.

(a) MS. of *Icolmkill*. (b) Baker, Echard, &c. in his Life. (c) Echard, Tyrrel ad Ann. 1093. (d) Buchan, Boeth. Less. &c. in vita Donald. (e) Polidor cited by Craig concerning Homage chap. 23.

to swear, that he should entertain no Foreigners in his Service. A plain Proof that he took no Oath of Fealty to his Benefactor King *William*, as Mr. *Tyrrel* asserts: Or, if he did, that he durst not keep it. Being thus destitute of foreign Guards, and heartily hated by the Subjects at home, he was left open to quick Destruction. For, after he had reign'd but one Year and six Months, *Mackpendir*, Earl of *Merns*, at the Instigation of King *Donald*, who had retir'd to the *Western Islands*; kill'd him in the Castle of *Monteith*, while he lay asleep in his Bed: And *Boethius* says, that as none regarded his Death, so no Body offer'd to pursue the Author of it. *Mackpendir* might have pleaded some Excuse for the Murther he was guilty of, had he not added a new Crime to the former. He had a great deal of Interest in the Country, and he made use of it to restore the lurking Usurper King *Donald*, who, after a most tempestuous Reign of about three Years, was again dethron'd: The Manner thus.

Edgar, the eldest Son of King *Malcolm*, was now come to the Age of Man, and the Scots Nobility, who long'd for nothing so much as his Restoration, sent private Agents to intreat he would but come to the Borders and challenge his Right, assuring him, that they would all join him as one Man. Nevertheless, some Force was necessary, and *Edgar Etheling* obtain'd leave from King *William* to raise a small Army towards the design'd Expedition. For what Reason that jealous Monarch comply'd with the Request, is Matter of Doubt. He did it probably, because he had no other Means of being reveng'd upon *Donald*; who, after having cut off King *William's* Creature, *Duncan*, continu'd still to carry on a War, tho not memorable for any great Action, yet troublesome (a) against *England*. Besides, that Prince was at this time very busily employ'd (b) against the *Welsh*, and he was forming vast Designs upon some *French* Provinces, being already possess'd of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, which his Brother Duke *Robert* had given him for three Years, for Security of a Sum of Money borrow'd towards the Recovery of the *Holy-Land*.

These Circumstances were favourable to both the *Edgars*, who march'd upon the Head, of a small, says *Buchanan*, of a great Army, say the *English*, to *Scotland*. They were come as far as *Durham*; when *Edgar*, the Prince of *Scotland*, had a memorable Dream: He thought that St. *Cuthbert* (c) appeared to him, bid him be of good Heart; and assur'd him, that if he carried the Saint's Banner along with him, his Enemies should flee before him, and he should sit upon the Throne of his Ancestors. Accordingly, the next Morning he went to the Monastery and Church dedicated to that Saint, got the Banner from the Monks, and display'd it together with his own.

N n n

In

(a) Buchan. ad Reg. LXXXVIII. lib. 7. — (b) Echard ad Ann. 1097. (c) Turgot cited by the MS. of Icolmkill. — Boeth. ad Reg. Edg. lib. XII. Lett. ad Reg. Duncan. &c.

A. D. 1098.
Edgar the
righteous
Heir of Scot-
land restor'd.

King Ed-
gar failly
said to have
paid Ho-
mage to the
Crown of
England.

In the mean time, King *Donald* was not wanting to himself: He rais'd a huge Army; but his Souldiers deserted him, as soon as they came in view of their lawful Prince. Upon this, the Usurper fled, but was apprehended by the Country People, brought back to *Edgar*, and being by his Orders imprison'd, died for Grief. How far the Intercession, or Banner of *St. Cuthbert* contributed to the cheap Victory and Restoration of the Royal Stock, I shall not determine: That GOD Almighty effected the Thing, by working upon the Hearts of the *Scottish* Army, is undoubtedly true: And *Edgar* (such was the Belief of those Times) did, in some Measure, ascribe the Protection of God, to the intercession of the Saint. It had been to be wish'd that he had not Dream'd at all, or that he had given less Credit to Dreams of this kind: For being restor'd to his Throne, he thought himself so highly oblig'd to *St. Cuthbert*, his Clergy and Monks, that, to express his Gratitude for the mighty Favour, he gave to the Monks of *Durham*, *Coldingham*, with its Appennages, and to *Ranulph* its Bishop, the Town of *Berwick*. But they prov'd not so thankful to him. The Bishop made a sacrilegious Attempt upon his Life, and therefore forfeited his Benefice: And the Monks of After-ages, to flatter the aspiring Designs of their then Soverigns upon *Scotland*, had the Impudence to Forge four Charters, two granted in their Favour, by their Benefactor King *Edgar*, and as many by their Persecutor King *William Rufus*, in Confirmation of the former two; which, if Genuine, would indeed evince, that the former paid Homage to, and held not only his Lands in *Eng'and*, but also the Crown and Kingdom of *Scotland*, of the latter. But these Charters have been of late, so fully and evidently disprov'd by the accurate and ingenious Mr. *James Anderson*, that I need but to hint at a few of his Observations upon them. (a) The Charter that is extant under Seal, and inserted in the Appendix to Mr. *Anderson's* Book, is of a Modern Character, its Syllabication and Words, and the Names contain'd in it, are also Modern. King *Edgar* speaks in the plural Number, which neither he, in his Authentick Charters still to be seen, nor the Kings of *England*, did in those Days. The Seal is different from the Seals of King *Edgar's* genuine Charters, and in many Respects inconsistent with the Seals, then us'd. In fine, such is the Candour and Justice of the present Clergy of *Durham*, that in the Repertory of the Deeds of *Coldingham*, they have mark'd this Charter under Seal, as suspected, and have not plac'd it among the other Charters of this King.

The second suppos'd Charter of King *Edgar*, wherein he acknowledges the Superiority of King *William*, is not extant, only we have a Copy of it, also transcrib'd by Mr. *Anderson*. But, as he very well observes, if ever there had been an Original of this Copy, 'tis not to be suppos'd that the Monks, who were the Keepers and Registers of the Deeds ingroft in the Monasterial Chartularies, would have

have been so careful to ingross, as they have done, five Charters of King *Edgar*, and omitted this one; and such an one too, as not only containd all the Lands granted by the other five Charters, but also made the King and Kingdom of *Scotland* dependant on those of *England*. No, the zealous Monks had dreaded Damnation, for this never to be pardon'd Sin of Omiffion.

As for the two Charters of King *William Rufus*, or rather his duplicated Charter, (for they are both the same upon the Main) mentioning, that *Edgar's* Grant of *Coldingham*, was with Consent of this *English* King, they are granted by one interested in a Plea and Cause which they Support; and none can Vindicate and prove their Right of Dominion, by their own naked Assertion: Besides, they relate to a Charter of *Edgar*, which is not extant, and, *non creditur referenti, nisi constet de relato*. But to put the Matter out of all doubt, and to demonstrate, that all the four Writes are plainly Spurious, they're all granted to *William* Bishop of *Durham*, and he, together with *Turgot* Prior of *Durham*, are plac'd among the Witnesses in the suppos'd Charters of *Edgar*, that insinuate Homage. But this Bishop can be no other but *Willelmus de Carilefo*; for there was none of this Name Bishop of that See, before nor after him, till the Year 1143, when *Willelmus de Barba* was prefer'd to it, and is call'd *William II.* (a) A convincing Proof that this other *William* was the first; nor was any Bishop *William* Cotemporary with *Turgot* the Prior, who succeeded *Alcuin* in that Office in 1087, but the same *Willelmus de Carilefo*; Witness *Turgot* himself (b) in his History of the Church of *Durham*. Nay, all Historians agree, (c) that for the Space of near thirty Years before, and for as many Years after the Beginning of the Reign of the Scots King *Edgar*, and the Death of *William Rufus* (in whose conjunct Reigns, these Deeds, if true, must needs have been granted) there were only three Bishops of *Durham*, *Walcherus*, *Willelmus de Carilefo* and *Ranulphus*: So that 'tis evident the Bishop *William*, mention'd in these Charters, if real, must needs be this *Willelmus de Carilefo*. Now,

This *William*, according to the unanimous Testimony of the Annals of *Durham*, the *Saxon Chronicle*, *Turgot*, *Florence of Worcester*, &c. cited by Mr. *Anderson*, who has the Honour of having first made this notable Discovery, died in King *William Rufus's* Court at *Windsor*, in *January* 1096; that is, more than a Year before King *Edgar* came to the Crown: For, if we may believe the same Authors, and the later, Mr. *Echard* and Mr. *Tyrrel*, (a) 'twas not till about *Michaelmas*, in *Anno* 1097, that King *William* sent *Edgar Etheling*, with an Army to *Scotland*, in order to the Expulsion of King *Donald*, and Restoration of King *Edgar*. Nay, the Reign of this last is not reckon'd, to have commenc'd till the Year 1098: By Consequence he could give no Lands nor Charters to Bishop *William*: Not before that Year, for he was an Exile, and had none to give; Nor after, for then Bishop *William* was, not in Being, to receive or Witness them,

(a) Angl. Sacr. Tom. 2. p. 712. 718. (b) Inter x. Scriptor. p. 49, 52, 58. (c) Anderf. p. 73. (d) Ad Ann. 1097.

them : Unless we shall suppose that St. *Cuthbert*, who gave Victory to the King, gave Life to the Prelate, after he had lyen interr'd, during the space of at least two Years : A Miracle no Legends have related ; and if they had, no Mortal would believe. This, I take it, is alone sufficient to sink the Faith of these Charters. But there are others of the same Prince, yet extant at *Durham*, and transcrib'd by the same Mr. *Anderson*, which at once evince the Falseness of the former, and ascertain the Independency of *Scotland*. For,

In the Direction, they run in these Words, *Scotis & Anglis*, preferring the *Scots* to the *English*, that is, if *Scotland* was then Dependent, the Servants to the Masters, and the Sons of *Ishmael* to the Children of *Isaac*. Besides, the Seal appended to these genuine Charters, which none, I humbly conceive, will offer to disprove, bears this Circumscription YMAGO EDGARI BASILEI SCOTORUM. A clear Indication of Sovereignty : For where did ever a Vassal King call himself *Basileus*, or pretend to that exalted distinguishing Title, Emperors have gloried in, and by *Englishmen* adduc'd to prove the Superiority of their Kings over others ?

After what I have said, and I could say much more to the Purpose, I cannot forbear to express some Astonishment at the manner the most Modern *English* are pleas'd to tell us this Story. Mr. *Echard* (a) says, That *Edgar Etheling* expell'd *Donald*, and plac'd his Nephew *Edgar* in his Room, who was the right Heir to the Crown, and accordingly did Homage to the King of England, that is, if I don't Mistake, because King *Edgar* had an undoubted Title to the Crown of *Scotland*, he therefore submitted, and yielded it up to King *William*, who had not so good an one even to that of *England*, as himself. Mr. *Tyrrel's* Expressions need no Commentary : He plainly tells us, (b) That *Edgar Etheling* plac'd his Nephew on the Throne, tho' under the Dominion of King *William*. An Assertion his great Parts, indefatigable Labour and constant Reading, will never enable him to make good. This is much of a Piece with what he tells us, (c) concerning the Succession of the *Scottish* Crown, which, says he, Was not yet so settl'd in a right Line, but that the Nation made bold to elect two Kings together (one of which was a Bastard) in prejudice of King *Edgar*, eldest Son to the late King *Malcolm*. The Nation was not so Villanous : They elected neither of these Usurpers ; (who, by the by, were the last domestick ones *Scotland* has been Curs'd with) nor did they fairly submit to their Government : But, on the contrary, struggl'd both hard and long against it ; and, how soon an Opportunity was offer'd, overturn'd it quite, and unanimously welcom'd their returning Sovereign. They had Reason : For

King *Edgar* (c) had all those Princely Qualities good Men endeavour'd to imitate, and even ill Men respect. He Reign'd nine Years and six Months : And during all this time, none at Home or Abroad offer'd to disturb his triumphing Quiet. Peace, Plenty and
Con-

(a) Ad Ann. 1097. (b) Ad Ann. 1097. (c) Loc. cit.

Concord sat with him upon the Throne, and People thought shame to offend a Sovereign, whose Nature was God-like, more than his Station. He died without Issue, and was therefore succeeded by his Brother *Alexander*, a Prince, like himself, Religious, Humble, Devout, and wholly given to works of Piety and Prayer. But his Example had not at first the same effect upon the Minds, and Manners of a few licentious Subjects: They mistook his Character, and call'd that Indolence and Cowardice, which was Courage and Fortitude. For he was so far from conniving at, or dissembling the Riots they ventur'd upon in the Beginning of his Reign, that, on the contrary, he punish'd them with great Severity: Nor could either the Quality or Wealth of an Offender skreen him from the Rigour of Law. Witness the Son of a great Man in the *Mems*: (Historians say, he was an Earl.) This riotous Youth had run himself in Debt, and when crav'd for a Sum due, he had had the Insolence to repay it with Stripes. The Wife of one he had first ruin'd, then beaten to Death, for offering to sue him at Law, came to the King, as he rode through the Country, and falling on her Knees, begg'd Justice. The Air and Gesture, Words and Tears of the injur'd Widow were moving; and She no sooner express'd the barbarous Action, but the compassionate Prince alighted from his Horse, and would not stir from the Spot, till the Criminal, who chanc'd to be present, was in his sight hang'd on a neighbouring Tree. This, and the like Acts of Justice begot Enemies to the Government, which some People unjustly accounted Severe: Nay, there were, who resolv'd to license small Crimes, by committing a most horrid one. They brib'd one of the King's domestick Servants, and he introduc'd six Ruffians into the Bed-Chamber in the Night: But the King was not asleep, as they imagin'd, nor were they all able to overpower him: He flew to his Sword, and with his own Hand dispatch'd all one after another. For this stupendous Action 'twas, some write, that he was afterwards surnam'd *Acer*, or the *Fierce*. Others ascribe it to an Expedition he made against some Rebels in the North. They had enter'd into a Conspiracy against his Life: And the Plot being discover'd, they had taken up Arms, and thought to have got to *Ross*, and there Canton'd themselves, and stood to their Defence. The King follow'd them in Person, and overtook them at the River of *Spey*. The Rebels had pass'd it before, and lay secure on t'other side, by reason, that the Sea being full had made it unfordable. But the King put the Spurs to his Horse, and would have enter'd it (notwithstanding the imminent Danger of the Attempt) had not the Loyalty of those about him prevail'd over the Greatness of his Courage, and detain'd him against his Will. However, what the King could not be allow'd to do, a great many of his Subjects did: They enter'd the River fearlessly, and swim'd over in Spite of the opposing Rebels, who, terrified by the amazing boldness and Resolution of the Loyalists, betook themselves to flight, and were for the most part apprehend-

*Alexander 3.
King of Scots
land.*

*His great
Courage.*

Alexander
Carron An-
cestor of the
Scrimgeours.

hended, and, as they deserv'd, put to Death. One *Alexander Carron* is reported to have signaliz'd himself above all others, on this remarkable Occasion: He was the Son of another *Alexander*, often mention'd with Honour in the *Scots* History, and the Father of a noble Family, now extinct; yet, because Loyal and Valiant, never to be forgotten by honest Men: I speak of the *Scrimgeours*, that is, *Sharp Fighters*, so called, say some, from the bold Action I have related. The last of them died Earl of *Dundee*, in King *Charles II.* his Reign. Mr. *Johnston* has left us the following Verses, to the Honour of the Author of that Family.

Quid trepidas? da signa mihi, superabimus anmem;
Terreat an pavidos nos fugitiva cohors?
Dixit, & arreptis signis ruit acer in hostem,
Nil rapidi metuens agmina torva wadi:
Hinc decus augusto surgit sub principe, ab armis
Scrimigeræ genti fama decusque manent.
Arma alius jactet, nos scimus fortibus armis
Utier; haud dici, malumus esse viri.

But to return to the History: This was the last Action of Vigour, King *Alexander* needed to perform: His Subjects, aw'd by his Courage, gave him henceforth no Occasion to exerce that moral Vertue. So that during the rest of his happy Reign, which lasted seventeen Years, he had Leisure to apply himself to the Exercise of those other Vertues, we call Christian. These, as the more Noble, he chose to cultivate; that he was Master of also, but practis'd only, when by Necessity oblig'd. He died without Issue, and therefore left the Crown to his younger Brother King *David*, who succeeded him in the Year 1124. To the Memory of this *David*, no Pen can do Justice; Nay, says *Buchanan*, *No Imagination can feign or describe so excellent a Prince, as he really was.* He was a Saint, if any ever deserv'd the Name, and yet he was a Warrior, and a very great one too. This last Qualification entitles me to write his Life apart: I shall therefore in this place insist upon the Transactions of his Time, only so long as is necessary towards understanding those of after-Reigns.

A. D. 1124.
David I.

The brave, but Tyrannical *William Rufus*, King of *England*, (a) was kill'd by the accidental Shot of an Arrow, as he was Hunting in his new Forrest. He was the Third of the *Norman* Race that met with his Death in that Forrest, as if Heaven design'd, say the *English* Historians, to Revenge upon the Children the Sin of a Father who destroy'd so many Churches and Villages, to make them a Receptacle for wild Beasts. To him King *Henry*, the youngest Son of the *Conqueror*, found means to succeed, notwithstanding the fair Pretences of his eldest Brother *Robert*, who was still alive, and determin'd to claim what he reckon'd his Right, by Force of Arms. *Henry* was a Prince of admirable Parts, and from his Learning, then uncommon to Persons of his Quality, Sirnam'd *Beas Clerk*. He was abundantly satisfied that his Title was disputable, which there-

Henry I.
of England.

(a) Echard, Tyrrel, &c. in his Life.

therefore to make good in Opposition to all Pretenders, he did many things agreeable to the Genius of the *English* Nation, contrary to the Maxims of his *Norman* Predecessors. For Example, he abrogated several rigorous Laws impos'd by his Father and Brother, remitted a great many Taxes, forgave all Debts due to the Crown, restor'd the Clergy from Exile to their Livings, and the whole Nation to the use of those Rights, which the *Conqueror* had prohibited. In a Word, to the infinite Satisfaction of the People, he confirm'd the so much celebrated Laws of *Edward the Confessor*; so that the *English* began anew to breath in a free Air, and they wanted nothing to compleat their Happiness, but to have the Blood-Royal of *England* reseatd on the *Saxon* Throne. This could not be effectually done, but by dethroning a King, who, tho originally *Norman*, was yet born in *England*, and seem'd to have an *English* Heart, and by placing the *Saxon* Heir *Edgar* King of the *Scots* in his Room, a Task too hard to be perform'd, in Regard that the *Normans* and *French*, tho not the more numerous, were still the more powerful, and by Interest, as well as Duty and Allegiance, oblig'd to assert the Right of their *Norman* Sovereigns. For these Reasons, the depress'd *English*, I speak of those that were originally so, never once offer'd, at least since the Death of the *Conqueror*, to attempt the compleat Restoration of the *Saxon* Line, and the Kings of *Scotland* had never Power enough to right themselves, unless the *English* had unanimously declar'd in their Favour, and even in that Case they might have been foil'd. But since what was best could not be effected, King *Henry* did that which was next to the best, He became a Suiter to *Edgar* King of *Scotland*, for his Sister *Matilda* the Daughter of Queen *Margaret*, and Niece of *Edgar Etheling*, a Lady that inherited the Goodness and Piety of her blessed Mother, (a) and was with much Difficulty perswaded to lay by the Veil of a Nun (she had taken during the Malheurs of her Family, as many others had done to preserve their Chastity from the Lusts of the conquering *Normans*) tho to put on one of the most shining Crowns in the World: A Crown her Ancestors had worn, and she by using, made it lawful for her Husband to possess; at least this was the Sense of the *English* Nation. They now thought, that they were no more subject to Foreigners, and consider'd themselves as a free People, since govern'd both by their ancient Laws, and the Posterity of their ancient Kings. 'Tis probable, that upon this Marriage, the King of *Scotland* and his Brothers, did, in favour of their Sister, renounce all their own Pretensions to the Kingdom of *England*, at least they did the Equivalent: For while King *Henry* reign'd, they not only liv'd in Peace with him, but frankly did Homage to him, as to the undoubted King of *England*, for the Lands they possess'd in that Kingdom. Nay, *Alexander*, when King of *Scotland*, assist'd him both with his Forces and Person (b) in his Wars against the *Welsh*, and was very Instrumental in forcing the Princes *Griffyth* and *Owen* to Terms of Peace.

He Mar-
ries *Matilda*
a Daughter
of *Scotland*.

(a) Histor. of Engl: edit. Lond. 1701. (b) Echard ad Ann. 1114.

These good Offices King *Alexander* might perform, or as an Ally, or as a Brother, the King of *England*, or even, as a Vassal for his *English* Territories: But he was so far from acknowledging any Superior besides himself over the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and so jealous of the Rights and Priviledges of it, that, (a) as Mr. *Tyrrel* very honestly observes, he would not admit of any Primacy or Jurisdiction of the See, either of *Canterbury*, or of *York*, over that of *St. Andrew's*, tho' as yet not advanc'd to be, as the former two, an *Archiepiscopal* See: Witness the Monk of *Canterbury*, *Eadmerus*, who himself tells the Story, and must be believ'd. King *Alexander* sent for him, and caus'd him to be elected to the Bishoprick of *St. Andrew's*, but the Monk, zealous to promote the Glory and Interest of his Country and National Church, would receive his Consecration from none but the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. This neither the King nor the *Scots* Clergy would suffer, upon which *Eadmerus* return'd to his Convent. But afterwards repenting of what he had done, he wrote to the King, as did the Archbishop of *Canterbury* in his behalf: But all in vain, tho' he submitted to the King's pleasure, and was Bishop Elect, yet no Intreaty nor Reason, could atone for the inglorious Crime of offering to make the *Scottish* Church subservient to the *English*. Much less had a King of this Character comply'd with an Encroachment upon his own Imperial Dignity. But to return from whence I've digress'd.

King *Henry* had by his Wife *Matilda*, only two Children, Prince *William* and Princess *Matilda*. *William* was about twelve Years of Age, when his Father being in *Normandy* (of which he had for Reasons, foreign to my Purpose, dispossest his eldest unfortunate Brother, Duke *Robert*) caus'd all the chief Men of that Dukedom to swear Fealty to him, as his lawful Successor. (b) From thence it became a Custom for the Kings of *England*, to make their eldest Sons, Dukes of *Normandy*; probably in Imitation of the Kings of *Scotland*, who, long before this, were wont to create their eldest Sons, or the Heirs of their Crown, Princes of *Cumberland*: And as these last did Homage for the beneficiary Principality to the *English* Monarchs, so did the former to the Kings of *France*, for their beneficiary Dukedom. Mr. *Tyrrel* (c) tells us, that King *Henry* caus'd his Son to do the Homage requir'd, because he thought it a Diminution of his Royal Dignity to do it himself in Person. 'Tis possible King *Henry* thought so: But that learn'd Author will not deny, that his Successors, Kings of *England*, have frequently pay'd their Homage in Person, own'd themselves Vassals, and been treated as such. For Example, that they have been su'd at Law before *French* Judicatories; and that upon Ruptures with *France*, their hereditary Territories in that Kingdom, by legal Sentences or *Arrests de Parlement*, have been adjudged to the Crown of *France*. This was no Dishonour: And there's no Potentate this Day in Being, but would stoop so low (if stooping would do it) to possess the large and fertile Countries

(a) Ad Ann. 1119. (b) Eachard, ad Ann. 1115. (c) ad Ann. 1120.

Countries of *Normandy, Anjou, Poitou, Aquitaine*, upon the same Terms.

King *Henry* did more for his Son, than to have him acknowledg'd his Successor in the Dukedom of *Normandy*: He had now a Title, tho perhaps upon some Accounts disputable, yet by no Pretender disputed, to the Crown of *England*, wherefore a great Council was summon'd to meet at *Salisbury*, where, not only the Nobility and Clergy, but also all the free-Men of *England* (a) of whatsoever Order or Dignity, did Homage and swore Fealty to Prince *William*, the Son of King *Henry* and Queen *Matilda*, vowing that if he should out-live his Father, they would lay aside all other Claims, and own him as the rightful Heir of the Crown: But he did not out-live his Father: For he was but a few Years afterwards unluckily cast away at Sea. And with him perish'd the Masculine Line of the *Norman* Family, and the Hope of the *English* Nation, say some, tho others write, that he hated the *English* so heartily, that (b) he often threatn'd, to make them draw the Plough, like Oxen. However, this is certain, King *Henry's* Affliction was inexpressible: He was a Father, and he was a King; as he was a Father, he regretted the Loss of his most promising and only Son, and as a King, that of an Heir to a most flourishing Kingdom; and not only of an Heir, but of such an one, from whom he himself deriv'd some Right, and reign'd secure. 'Tis reported, that he was never seen to laugh after that fatal Accident. And 'tis probable he had sunk under the Weight of his Grief, but for the Comfort he had in his surviving Daughter *Matilda*.

William, eldest Son to Henry I. drown'd at Sea.

This Lady had been married to the Emperor, and was, for the hereditary Vertues of her Mother and Grandmother which she possess'd, so much belov'd by the *Germans*, that upon her Husband's death she was desir'd to reign over them. But the hereditary Crown of *England* was preferable to the elective Empire. Her Father call'd her home, and at *Windsor* summon'd a grand Council or Parliament. (For it seems this *French* word, afterwards so very Significant, began about this time to be us'd.) Among the rest of the Members, *David* King of *Scotland*, the Empress *Matilda's* Uncle, assisted, by Reason of the large Possessions he enjoy'd in *England*: And the King, I mean King *Henry*, made all present to take a solemn Oath, that upon his Demise, they would receive his Daughter *Matilda* for their Queen, as being his only lawful Heir, by whom they should again be govern'd by the ancient *English* Royal Blood, from which he shew'd her to be descended. A forcing Recommendation with those that had *English* Hearts. King *David* was the first of the Laity who took the Oath, and he kept it inviolably: The second was *Stephen*, Earl of *Mortaign* and *Boloign*, and he brake it, how soon he found an Opportunity. This was not enough: The Empress had no Issue to perpetuate the Succession by her first Husband; 'twas therefore necessary she should take a second, and the Person condescended upon was *Jeoffry* *Plantagenet* Earl of *Anjou*, a Prince, Young, Handsome, Brave,

The Empress *Matilda* declar'd Heiress to the *English* Crown.

P p p

and

(a) Echard, ad

Ann. 1115. (b) Tytel, ad Ann. 1120.

and who was like, to the great Dissatisfaction of the Kings of France, to Aggrandize the Kings of England, their Rivals, by adding to their other Possessions beyond Seas, the beautiful Provinces of Anjou, Tourrain and Maine. Nor did the glittering Prospect fail in the Event: *Matilda* had Children to *Jeoffry*; and their Son and Heir was nam'd *Henry*. The Birth of this Prince was so agreeable to the King, that for the third time (for he had done the same before at *Windsor*, as I have related, and at *Northampton*) he summon'd the chief Men of his Kingdom with great Pomp, and again appointed his said Daughter and her Heirs to be his Successors, and caus'd them all to renew the Oath they had taken to observe this Ordinance; so that the People of England were thrice Sworn to the Succession. What greater Security could be exacted from them? King *Henry* settl'd the Succession upon his Daughter and her Heirs, by no less than three different Acts of Parliament. To her, he left, when on his death-bed, all his Dominions whatsoever, by a lawful and perpetual Succession: And all his Subjects swore again and again to the Observation of his Laws, and Performance of his Will. But Oaths were, it seems, in those Days, what they have often prov'd in after-Ages, Cob-webs, sooner torn than spun.

A.D. 1135.

Stephen
King of Eng-
land an U-
surper.

King *Henry* died, and immediately starts up a Pretender, the very same, who not long before had been the foremost, at least the second in the List of those, who had solemnly Vow'd to own no Pretensions, but those of the Empress, I mean *Stephen*, the Earl of *Boloign*. He had obtain'd that Earldom in Right of his Wife, firnam'd, as the Empress, *Matilda*, and she too was a Grand Child of *Malcolm Canmore* and *Margaret*, King and Queen of *Scotland*. By this means, his Son, at least Prince *Eustace*, was of the *Saxon* Blood, as well as the Empress, and he himself was of the *Norman*, being Son to *Adela*, a Daughter of *William* the Conqueror. He was a *Frenchman* Born, but had been long conversant in *England*, and for his great Qualifications, admir'd by the Nobility of that Nation. Together with a great deal of Ambition he had that Courage and that Genius successful Usurpers are ever observ'd to possess. His daring Temper, great Foresight, good Sense, perfect Knowledge of the Art of War, unwearied Patience in making Treaties, and managing Alliances, his Clemency, Liberality, Majestick Stature, and winning Behaviour, made him one of the most accomplish'd Princes in the World: And History charges him with no Crime, but that he would needs be, what he had no Title to, a King. He was so much satisfied of the Lameness of his Right, (a) that he meanly submitted to be Sovereign by Election, and suffer'd his Electors, particularly the Clergy, to take their Oath of Allegiance conditionally to obey him, so long as he should preserve their Dignities, and keep all Covenants. Before he was Crown'd, he made, as is usual upon the like Occasions, large Promises of Reforming whatever was thought amiss in his Predecessors Reigns; For which the

Bishop

(a) Echard. Tyrrel, &c. ad Ann. 1135. & 1136.

Bishop of *Winchester*, his natural Brother engag'd his Faith: A valuable Security to be sure. At his Coronation, he took an unusual Oath to the same purpose, and shortly after he sign'd and seal'd the Charter of Priviledges he had formerly promis'd. But, (a) as he very well knew, that the interested Faction had chosen him their King, to obtain their own Designs, so *Malmsbury* observes, that he granted these Immunities, rather to blind their Eyes, than to bind up his own Hands by such Parchment-Chains. This appear'd in the very second Year of his Reign, when he began to re-act the arbitrary Part of his *Norman* Predecessors, who, all but the last, and he too in a great Measure, had consider'd themselves Conquerors, and govern'd as such. And 'tis probable he had stretch'd the Prerogative as far as any of them, had he been as secure upon the Throne: I mean, had the Pretenders to it been weak as in the former Reigns. But those he had to deal with, were Potent abroad, and the Concessions he had unadvis'dly, say some, others with more reason, necessarily granted to his wavering Subjects, weakn'd him at Home: So that almost his whole Reign, was, as is ordinary in times of Usurpation, a continu'd Series of Invasions, Revolts, Defections, Associations, Skirmishes, Sieges, Battles, Devastations and Revolutions.

Matilda challeng'd her Right, and had almost won it: She vanquish'd the King in Battle, and made him a Prisoner: He got free, and she had almost fallen in his Hands, as he had been in hers; but made a shift to get off in time, and withdrew to her Possessions in *France*. Her Son Prince *Henry* enter'd the Field his Mother had left: And *England* continu'd a dismal Scene of Distraction, Desolation and Bloodshed, during the space of full seventeen Years.

All this while, *David King* of the *Scots*, like another *Cato*; who was deservedly said to be, *per omnia Diis quam hominibus similior*, sided with the justest Party, and that meerly for the sake of Justice. He was equally related to both the Contenders, since Uncle to both *Matilda's*: And 'tis not to be doubted, but if Interest had in the least influenc'd his Actions, the weaker Title had brib'd him highest: But he had sworn to *Matilda* the Empress: And tho all, or most of the Church-men in *England*, for whose Persons and Character, a Prince of his Piety had certainly a very great Veneration, had violated their Oaths, yet he could never be wrought upon to dispense with his. The Bishop of *Winchester* had a Legantine Power from the Pope: And Popes, even in those Days, pretended to a Power of dispensing with Oaths, as they do still in some Cases: But King *David* did not take it to be valid in the present. For this Reason King *Stephen*, in the very Beginning of his Reign, made bold to deprive him of some of his *English* Possessions, at least offer'd to do it: (b) But he reclaim'd them with his Sword in his Hand, kept his own, help'd *Matilda* to Victory, (c) and when Foil'd, supported her with his Royal Presence and fatherly Care. Nor was he less obliging to her Son Prince *Henry*, whom he receiv'd in his Distress, entertain'd

David King of *Scotland*, assists the Empress *Matilda* against King *Stephen*.

with Honour and Magnificence (a) at his Court, Knighted with great Ceremony, and assisted with an Army, to so very good purpose, that at length their United Forces compell'd (b) King Stephen to a Peace, which (notwithstanding he had a lawful Son, Earl William, and consequently a pretended Heir to the Crown, at the time) was concluded on these Conditions. *First*, That Stephen should enjoy the Crown of *England*, during Life. *Secondly*, That upon his decease Prince Henry should succeed him. And accordingly King Stephen died the very next Year 1154, and Henry II. of that Name succeeded.

A. D. 1154.

Thus 'tis plain, and I shall make it yet more evident in the Life of King David, that this Henry own'd, in a great measure, the Restoration of his Family, and his own Settlement on the *English* Throne, to his Grand-Uncle the King of *Scotland*. How he repay'd the generous Office, I am now to relate. But that the Causes of these Broils and Wars that ensu'd, may be the better understood, 'twill be proper, in the first Place, to give an Account of the differing Circumstances and Characters of the succeeding Kings, both of *Scotland* and *England*.

King Henry II. of England.

King Henry II. of that Name, and the first of the *Plantagenets*, the Third *French* Family that reign'd in *England*, was undoubtedly one of the greatest, and till the last Period of his Days, one of the most fortunate Princes that ever sway'd a Scepter in that Kingdom, or elsewhere : There were none of the Sovereigns his Cotemporaries that equal'd him, or in the Extent of their Dominions, or in the Vastness of their Designs. (c) His Father *Jeoffry* left him in Possession both of the Dukedom of *Normandy*, and the Earldom of *Anjou*. He forc'd his Way to the Throne of *England*, which was justly his own, in Right of his Mother *Matilda*, by his own Valour and the joint Assistance of the King of *Scots*, and the *English* Loyalists: And to his hereditary Territories, by his Marriage with *Eleanor* Dutches of *Guienne* and *Aquitain*, He found Means to add these and some others of the most fruitful Countries in *France*. 'Tis true, that the gainful Prospect made him do that, which a great many, inferior to him in every thing, but in their nicer Taste of the Honour of Men and Affections of Women, had never allow'd themselves so much as to think of. *Eleanor* was a noted Coquette, (d) and her Intrigues with one *Saladin* a Turk, had been the Discourse of the East and West : She had been Married with *Lewis* the King of *France*, and had born him two Daughters : And this Prince, unwilling to be Ranked among the facile-Husbands of the Age, had (e) under the pretence of Consanguinity, but in Reality for suspicion of Adultery, Divorc'd her, yet dealt so honourably by her, says Mr. *Tyrrel*, so impolitically, says *Pete D' Orleans*, as to restore her to all her own Territories, and give her leave to return Home in Safety, insomuch that she lost nothing by her Misfortune, but Honour : And in Lieu of that, she was

(a) Tyrrel ad Ann. 1148. (b) Echard. ad Ann. 1153. (c) Echard. ad Ann. 1149, & 1151. (d) *Pete D' Orleans*. liv. i. p. 154. (e) Echard. ubi supra. Tyrrel ad Ana. 1150. &c.

was re admitted to the Bed of a Prince, as much younger as King *Lewis* was older than herself; which, to be sure, was no uncomfortable Exchange for one of her gay and youthful Humour. King *Lewis* saw too late the honourable Error he had committed, and King *Henry* began very early to improve the Advantages he had thereby obtained: Master of *England, Normandy, Anjou, Guienne, Aquitaine, Poictou, Touraine, and Maine* he thought he had not enough: But (as *Alexander* of old) was wont to say, (a) *That the whole World was but sufficient for one great Man.* Nor did he stick at any thing to bring about his Ends: He was bound by no Civil nor Religious Duties: Gratitude had no Room in his Soul: And as for Promises and Vows, he made them but to serve a Turn, believing, as Mr. *Tyrrel* (b) observes, *That Princes are seldom ty'd by their Oaths, when contrary to their Interests.* His Father had appointed his second Son *Jeoffry* to succeed him in the Earldom of *Anjou*, (c) and, when on his Death-bed, made all the great Men about him to Swear that they should not suffer his Body to be buried, till King *Henry* had bound himself by Oath to the Performance of his last Will. This Oath Duke *Henry* took unwillingly; ; But when King broke it immediately: For having first procur'd a Dispensation of it from Pope *Adrian*, an *Englishman*, devoted to his Interest and Will, he rais'd an Army, and not only took from his Brother the Earldom of *Anjou*, but also the Towns of *Chinon, Mirabel and Lofdun*, which his Father had bestow'd upon him for his Maintenance. Pope *Adrian* did not only dispense with Oaths in favour of a Prince, he knew was not to be bound by them, but he gifted him with more than he or any other upon Earth had ever a Power to give, a Kingdom not his own: I mean that of *Ireland*; (d) but with this Proviso, *That he should reduce it to his Obedience, for the Increase of the Christian Religion, the correcting of the ill Manners of the Irish, and the Propagation of Vertue in that Island.* So early was Dragooning call'd Converting, Conquest nam'd Right, and good Manners, Vertue and Religion, propagat'd with *Apostolick Blows and Knocks.* The Project of that Conquest, set on foot in the Year 1155, was afterwards successfully carried on in the Year 1171 and 1172; (e) the miserable Natives of that unfortunate Island, having by their various Mismanagements, given Occasion to the forging of those Chains they have often, but in vain, endeavour'd to shake off, since that time. King *Henry* had the like Success in his Attempts upon the *Welsh*; (f) whole Nobles and Great Men he compell'd to submit. Nor could *France*, his Native Country, resist the Ascendant of his happy Star. How far he worsted the Sovereign of that flourishing Kingdom, (who was also his own, for those *French* Provinces he possess'd) I shall afterwards relate. In the mean time it suffices to tell, that having made War upon *Conan*, (g) the Duke of *Britany* for the Recovery of *Nantes*, a Town in that Country, the Citizens of which

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had

(a) Echard. ad Ann. 1189. (b) Ad Ann. 1156. (c) Tyrrel ibid (d) Tyr. ad Ann. 1155. (e) Echard. ad Ann. 1171. (f) Echard. ad Ann. 1157. (g) Dr. Brady in his Life p. 300.

had elected his younger Brother *Jeffry* for their Lord: And he being Dead, Duke *Conan* had taken Possession of it: But King *Henry* reclaim'd it, in Right of his Brother; and had not only that City deliver'd up to him, but at the same time negotiated a Match between a Son of his own, and the only Daughter of the Duke: By which Means all *Britany* came to be possess'd by his House, insomuch that he was at least as Potent, even in *France*, as the King of *France* himself.

As for his Subjects of *England*, they were dazl'd with the Glory of his Actions; and 'tis said (a) that in his Reign the unhappy Distinction between the Names of *Normans* and *English*, was in a great Measure ended. Yet to me it seems, that he commanded as absolutely, that is, that he acted as much like a Conqueror, as any of his Predecessors, since the Conquest: For, (to say nothing of the Taxes he impos'd upon the People; Taxes which must needs have been many and great, Since, says (b) Mr. Tyrrel, *his whole Reign was a continual Course of War, and that very expensive at Home, in France and Ireland,*) I find not that he cancell'd those Laws, acknowledg'd to have been partial in Favour of the *French*. On the contrary, he us'd the wonted Stile of the *Norman* Kings, his Predecessors: And in that very Charter of Liberties which he granted, in Imitation of his Grandfather, *Henry I.* in the beginning of his Reign, he begins thus; (c) *Henry by the Grace of God &c. to all his Barons and faithful Subjects, French and English, Greeting.* A Testimony that he prefer'd the former to the last. He also added in his Coat of Arms, the Leopard of *Anjou*, to the two of *Normandy*, formerly introduc'd by *William* the Conqueror: And consequently, like the Conqueror, wholly laying aside the Regal Achievement of the ancient *English*, He seem'd to derive the Lustre of his Crown, not from *England*, a conquer'd Kingdom, but from *Anjou* and *Normandy*, his own and his Ancestors native Countries, and hereditary Principalities. This is so notoriously known, that I need not cite a Voucher. Besides, upon his first Entrance to the Government, he recall'd all the Grants of his immediate Predecessor, and imperiously commanded the Lands of great Numbers to be restor'd to the Crown. The present Possessors pleaded the Title they had to them, by virtue of King *Stephen's* Charters, which they offer'd to produce: But he told them, (d) That *the Grants of an Usurper ought not to prejudice a Rightful Prince.* Nay, (contrary to his own Charter and Agreement with King *Stephen*) he dispossest his Son *William*, Earl of *Mortaign* and *Warren*, of the Castle of *Normich*, and of all the Lands his Father had left him, save only such as King *Stephen* had enjoy'd by the Gift of King *Henry* his Uncle. Those Noblemen the same King *Stephen* had created, he also reduc'd to a private Condition, and judiciously clear'd the Nation of foreign Souldiers, especially of the *Fleemings*, whose mercenary Swarms had been most burdensome to the Land, and per-

(a) Echard, ad Ann. 1189. (b) In the end of his Life, p. 466. (c) Vid. Tyrrel ad Ann. 1155. (d) Tyrrel ad Ann. 1155. Dr. Brady in his Life, p. 298, & 299.

pernicious to his Cause. How far he was in the wrong in all these things, I shall not offer to determine: In what follows, I'm sure he cannot be vindicated. King *Stephen* was, as he call'd him, an Usurper, and to prevent Usurpations to come, it may perhaps be thought politick, nay just, in a lawful Prince, to cancel and undo the Deeds of the latest Intruder: But if he himself had a legal Title, he certainly had it in Right of his Grandfather King *Henry I.* and of his Mother the Empress *Matilda*. Now 'tis certain, and I shall evince it in the Life of *David*, King of *Scotland*, that this Prince was by King *Henry I.* of *England*, acknowledged Earl of *Northumberland* and *Huntington*, in Right of his Wife, and Prince of *Cumberland* and *Westmerland* by Inheritance from the House of *Scotland*: And that, when dispossest'd of most of these Countries by the injustice of King *Stephen*, he regain'd them by Force of Arms, and got them confirm'd to his Son Prince *Henry*, by a solemn Treaty, concluded at *Durham* on the 9th of *April* in the Year 1139. Nay, 'tis own'd by the *English* (a) that not only the Empress *Matilda* did all she could to ascertain the Possession of those Territories to the Royal Family of *Scotland*; but also that her Son King *Henry* himself, when Knighted by his Grand Uncle and eminent Benefactor King *David*, did publicly Swear, That if ever he came to ascend the Throne of *England*, (and he had never ascended it but for the Assistance afforded him by the King of *Scots*) he would give *David*, *Newcastle* and all *Northumberland*, and that he and his Heirs should for ever possess all the Lands from *Tweed* to *Tyne*, peaceably without any Molestation. This Oath, so just, so necessary, and so solemn, he was never dispensed with, as he had been with some others, upon very lame Pretences by the *English* Pope, yet he kept it no better than these: And the only Reason he gave (indeed he could not find out another) for his signal Ingratitude, and Breach of Faith, was, (b) that he could not find in his Heart to part with so large a Share of his Dominions.

Malcolm, by reason of his admir'd Continency and Celibacy, firnam'd the *Maiden*, then Reign'd in *Scotland*, a Youth of about fifteen Years of Age: (c) He had been brought up in the School of Vertue, by his Grandfather and Father, King *David*, and Prince *Henry*; and indeed he was too Vertuous, I mean, too easy and too good for a King. His Youth and Bounty gave Occasion to some Disturbances in the very Beginning of his Reign: For *Somerled*, Thane of *Argyle*, one, whose Fortune was greater than his Birth, tho Noble, and his Mind above his Fortune, laid hold on the Opportunity to enrich or raise his Family: He set himself upon the Head of a turbulent Multitude of Robbers, and was seconded in the Attempt, by *Donald* the Son of *Malcolm Macbeth*, who had revolted, and made a considerable Bustle in the foregoing Reign: But *Donald* was apprehended at *Wairborn*, and committed to the same Prison with his Father. In the mean time,

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A. D. 1157.
Malcolm fir-
nam'd the
Maiden.

(a) Hoveden. p. 490. Tyrrel ad Ann. 1157. Anderson p. 161, 162. &c. Craig. of Homage chap. 4. &c. (b) Vid. Tyrrel ibid. Buchan. in vit. Milcolum, IV. (c) Boeth. Buchan. &c. in vit. Milcol.

the renown'd *Gilchrist*, Earl of *Angus*, was sent with an Army against *Somerled*, whom he defeated, and forc'd to make his escape into *Ireland*. This Victory, thus unexpectedly obtain'd, produc'd Tranquillity at home, but Envy abroad. King *Henry* of *England* took an early Resolution to crush the budding Greatness and Reputation of *Malcolm*. The Oath he had taken to his Grandfather, and the Gratitude he ow'd to his Family, were known to the World, and he wanted a colourable Pretence for an open Breach: He therefore industriously sought for Opportunities of trying his Patience, and affronting his Person. With this View, he first encroach'd upon the Rights of one of his Subjects, the Bishop of *Glasgow*, and then invited himself to a friendly Meeting at *Chester*, where he prevail'd upon his easy Temper so far, as to make him take an Oath of Fidelity to him: Whereas, says *Buchanan*, with a great deal of Reason, his Brothers, who had Lands in *England*, and not the King himself, were by former Articles of Agreement to take that Oath. However he took it for his Brothers, And says Mr. *Tyrrel* (a) *did him Homage after the same manner, as his Grandfather had done before to King Henry I. with a Salvo to all his Royal Dignities; by which Clause, it seems (he should have said, 'tis plain) that the Homage was not for the whole Kingdom of Scotland, but only for Lothian, (why for Lothian, I do not see) and those Lands, which were anciently held of the Kings of England. To be sure he means those Lands the Scots Kings were anciently possess'd of in the Kingdom of England: For as, Sir Thomas Craig (b) judiciously observes, the Kings of Scotland had no other Dignities but Scotland, which being preserv'd entire and independent in this Homage, with a Retrospect to the Homage paid to King Henry I. it follows, that the Homage, formerly paid by the Scots Kings, to Athelstane, William the Conqueror, Henry I. &c. was with a Salvo to the Royal Authority: Else King Henry I. a great King, if ever there was any such, was evidently overmatch'd and outwitted by his Contemporaries, Alexander and David Kings of Scotland; and this Henry II. a greater, if a greater could be, by King Malcolm, a Boy. This is, what I humbly conceive no Englishman will believe, and thence I conclude, that hitherto no King of England did ever pretend to a Superiority over the Kings of Scotland, as Kings of Scotland. King Malcolm then did, on this Occasion, nothing that was derogatory to his Royal Dignity. Nevertheless, his Subjects were highly dissatisfied with the Step he had made: For what Reason I cannot tell, perhaps they grudg'd that he should have paid Homage, even for his, or rather his Brother's, English Territories. But what the English Authors say, is more probable: They tell us, (c) that at this Meeting, King Henry contrary to his own Oath, and the Grants of his Ancestors, which I have shewn to have been founded upon Justice, Conquest and Gratitude, forc'd King Malcolm to surrender into his Hands, the Counties of *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*, together with the Towns of *Carlisle*, *Newcastle upon Tyne*, and the strong*

Ill us'd by
Henry II. of
England,

(a) Ad Ann. 1157. (b) Concerning Homage chap. 24. (c) Vid. Tyrrel ibid.

strong Castle of *Babanborough*, and permitted him to retain nothing in *England* but the Earldom of *Huntington*, which lying almost in the midst of the Kingdom, the King of *Scots* could draw no other Advantage from it, than what its bare Revenues afforded. That the *Scots* were dissatisfied with such a Surrender, is not at all to be wonder'd at, but rather that they broke not out into open Rebellion: But they were then sincerely Loyal, and would not be Criminal, because their King was young and simple. They therefore put up the Affront, and patiently suffer'd the Diminution of their Power. But their weak Sovereign was again deluded, and they could no longer brook the Indignities his Imprudence drew upon him. What occasion'd it, was this;

Eleanor the Queen had, together with her other Possessions, brought to her Husband King *Henry*, one of those litigious Claims to the County of *Tholouse*; which for the most part become certain, when in the Hands of Men in Power. *Lewis* King of *France* had formerly pretended to it, in Right of the same *Eleanor*, when his Wife; but had afterwards made it over to Count *Raimond*, his Brother-in-Law, whose Title he resolv'd to make good, and King *Henry* to make void. (a) This last stood in need of a great and well paid Army to compass his Design; for which Reason, he made every Knight's Fee in *Normandy*, to pay sixty *Anjouin* shillings; And in *England*, and all his other Territories, what he thought fit, say Mr. *Tyrrel* and Dr. *Brady*: A Proof that he rais'd Money in *England*, without Consent of Parliament, and, as I have said before, govern'd, as the Conqueror, with Despotick Power. He had already prepared for the intended Expedition; but thought not fit to engage himself in a War beyond Seas, while a disoblig'd and potent Neighbour remain'd in the Island. Wherefore he found means to draw King *Malcolm* (who was still his Vassal for the Earldom of *Huntington*) to *London*, and then constrain'd him with that little Retinue, which he had, to accompany him into *France*. Thither they went good Friends in Appearance: For *Henry*, as the Custom then was, knighted King *Malcolm*, and *Malcolm* express'd a great deal of personal Courage in the Quarrel of King *Henry*. At first, they carried all before them, took the City of *Cabors*, and advanc'd as far as that of *Tholouse*; but *Lewis*, the King of *France*, put himself into the Town, with any Army, determin'd to defend both him and it. Upon this King *Henry* desisted from the Enterprize, whether out of Respect to his Sovereign, (for at an Interview of the two Kings (b) in 1155, he had paid him Homage for *Normandy*, *Aquitain*, *Anjou*, *Tourrain*, &c.) or that he found himself unable to Master a Place, so strongly defended, is uncertain. However, from this daring, but otherwise imprudent Action of the King of *France*, arose great Enmity between the Kings, yet they were afterwards reconcil'd, by the Mediation of the Pope: And so King *Malcolm* was suffer'd to return

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(a) *Tyrrel* ad Ann. 1159. Dr. *Brady* in the Life of *Henry* II. p. 201. *Pere D'Orleans* p. 156 (b) *Tyrrel* ad Ann. 1155.

The Scots
angry with
King Mal-
colm.

to his own Country, where his discontented Subjects were very far from receiving him with that comfortable Joy, they express'd upon other Occasions. (a) They were hugely incens'd that he had join'd with a certain Enemy against an old and trusty Friend; and that he did not foresee the Artifices, by which he had been gull'd both now and before, when he made such an inglorious Surrender of Territories belonging to his Brothers in *England*. Scots Authors say, That he was not despoil'd of these Territories till after his Return from *France*: But I have follow'd the *English*, who I find are generally more exact in the Chronology of those times.

But be this as it will, 'tis certain, that the Scots unable to put up these repeated Affronts, took Arms and Besieg'd *Perth*, where the King was in Person. He made them to understand how unwillingly he had been carried into *France* by a Prince, in whose Power he was, and how unjustly he had been trick'd by the same Prince, out of the *English* Lands: He added, or his Ministers for him, that they had better turn their Arms against such a perfidious Neighbour, in order to the Recovery of these Lands, than thus to involve themselves in the Guilt of Rebellion to the further Disgrace of their own Sovereign, and the compleater Satisfaction of the incroaching Enemy. This was good Sense, and therefore prevail'd.

Who makes
War upon
England.

The Multitude laid down their Arms, and a War against *England* was decreed by the King, and assented to by the Nobles. It was accordingly carried on with various Successes on both Sides. But *Malcolm's* Genius was not fitted for War: He courted all Opportunities of bringing about a Peace, and concluded it in a Conference he had with King *Henry*, near *Carlisle*. By this Peace he continu'd in Possession of *Huntington*, and re-gain'd *Cumberland*; but contrary to the Advice and Desire of the Nobility about him, who boldly told him, "That he could not alienate any Part of his Claim to *Nor-*
" *thumberland*, for which his Grand-father King *David* as Religious
" a Prince as himself, had so long and so bravely contended.

Gilchrist a
famous
Comman-
der suppress
ses several
Insurrecti-
ons.

The King's Reputation was now quite sunk in the Minds of his Subjects; but his Person was still Sacred, and therefore by the Nation in general, at that time, sincerely Loyal, respected and guarded against the Attempts of some great and turbulent Men, who, despising the weakness of the Government, revolted one after another. *Angus*, or rather *Aeneas*, of *Galloway*, was the first that presum'd upon the Royal Authority; and he presum'd so far as to give three Battels to the King's Lieutenant *Gilchrist*; but lost them all: And being forced to take Sanctuary in the Monastery of *Whit-*
born, at length beg'd Pardon, which the King granted, but de-
priv'd him of a considerable part of his Estate, and kept his Son as an Hostage or Pledge of his good Behaviour for the future. But he was of a lofty Spirit, and could not brook the Diminution of his Greatness, nor the loss of that Esteem he had had in the World: He therefore left it, and turn'd a Monk in the Monastery of *Holy-*
rood.

(a) Duchan. Booth. &c. in vit. Reg.

rood-House in the Suburbs of *Edinburgh*, now a beautiful and stately Palace. This Insurrection was no sooner suppress'd, but another succeeded, and had Consequences by far more Fatal and Bloody.

The Inhabitants of *Murray* were in those Days extremely Mutinous. They took Arms under the Conduct of *Gildominick*, their Leader, and not only laid waste the Neighbouring Countries of *Ross*, *Boyn*, *Strathbogy*, *Garioch*, *Buchan* and *Mar*: But when Heralds of Arms were sent from the King, they barbarously slew them. *Gilchrist* was again employ'd against them: But he carried not his wonted Fortune along with him: His Valour and Conduct prov'd successful on this Occasion, because too much dreaded. The Rebels were terrified at the Approach of so fam'd a Commander: Conscious of their own Demerits, they despair'd of Pardon, and hop'd not for Victory. What should they do, but sell their Lives as dear as possible? They resolv'd to do it, and so sav'd them, contrary to their own Expectation: For they fought so desperately, that at length even *Gilchrist* gave way, and own'd himself foil'd. But it was not long before he retriev'd his Honour; and the King shar'd in the Glory of the joint Victory they gain'd. He march'd in Person against the insulting Rebels, who not daring to advance further, had now retreated to their own Country, which they resolv'd to defend. The King overtook them at the Mouth of the River of *Spey*; and a most bloody Engagement ensu'd. The *Moravians*, tho' unequal in Numbers, stood their Ground with amazing Resolution and undaunted Fierceness; till the King's Forces, almost worsted, were reinforc'd from the *Corps de Reserve*. At length they were envelop'd on all sides, and Orders were given out to give no Quarters to any of that perfidious People. Accordingly they were all Slain, and their fertile Country was thereby entirely depopulated, insomuch, that it was necessary to replant it with new Colonies from all Parts of the Kingdom: A severe, but just, and in a great measure necessary Punishment, of their otherwise incorrigible Inhumanity, frequent Rebelions, and late Breach of the Law of Nations.

Nor did *Sumerled* think fit to sit still in the midst of so many Comotions. He had revolted in the Beginning of this King's Reign: And being overthrown, as I said before, had fled into *Ireland*, from whence he would often come to Sea, and exercise Piracy upon the Coasts of *Scotland*. But now so many of the Military Men of the Nation were Slain in Battle, he doubted not to Purchase, or a rich Booty from such as would not fight, or an easy Victory from such as would. With this View, he gather'd together a little Army of Robbers, and made a Descent at a Bay of the River *Clyde*, and had the Boldness to penetrate into the Country, as far as *Renfrew*. But there his Men, regardless of Safety, and intent upon nothing but Plunder, were surpris'd and cut off by a few. He himself, some say, was taken, and to aggravate his Misery, brought alive to the King: Others, that he was kill'd, together with his Son in the Action. These things were acted about the Year of Christ 1165: And on the Ninth

The Rebels of *Murray* defeated, and that Country depopulated.

Sumerled a famous Rebel.

of December following, King *Malcolm*, when as yet but twenty five Years old, after a vexatious and turbulent Reign of twelve Years and some Months, died at *Jedburgh*, and was Royally interr'd at *Dunfermling*. He was a Prince more Amiable than Great, more Devout than Warlike, Eminent for his Charity and good Nature, and only thought Weak, because overmatch'd by the cunning Dis- ingenuity and mighty Power of his Cousin King *Henry II.* of *Eng- land*.

A.D. 1165.
William
King of
Scotland.

William, for his great Courage and Vigour in suppressing Riots, and in punishing Offences, Sirnam'd *The Lyon*, succeeded to his Brother King *Malcolm*. The first thing he did upon his Entrance to the Government, was to demand the Restitution of *Northumber- land* from the King of *England*. *Henry* gave fair Words to his Ambassadors, and desir'd, that according to Custom, the new King of *Scotland* should come to *London*, and do Homage for the Countries of *Cumberland* and *Huntington*. King *William* obey'd the Summonds, and when in the *English* Court, desisted not from pressing to have *Northumberland* restor'd: Nay, he is said to have spoken very bold Language, and to have told King *Henry* to his Face, of his Ingratitude and the Breach of his Oath. This he might do the rather, because, as the Kings of *England*, when they went to the Court of *France*; so those of *Scotland* when they enter'd *England*, had always a safe Conduct, and the publick Faith of the Nation to se- cure them from Harm. The wary King *Henry*, had neither a Mind to exasperate King *William*, nor to do him Justice: He therefore put him off with this Answer, (a) " That in regard *Northumberland* was by a " Legal Sentence adjudged from King *Malcolm*, and re-annexed to the " Crown of *England*, he could not alienate it, without the Consent of " a great Council of the whole Kingdom: But he should come to the " next Grand Meeting of the Nobles, or Parliament, and there ex- " pect Justice to be done. *William* seem'd satisfied with this Assur- ance, and so put on an Air of Confidence and Trust in the Friend- ship of so near a Relation. Nay, at the earnest Intreaty of King *Henry*, he accompanied him into *France*, where he dissembl'd his Dissatisfaction so artificially, that at length he obtain'd a Convoy, and return'd Home. He had no sooner arriv'd and settl'd some Affairs for the Ease and Welfare of his Subjects, but he sent back Ambassadors to *England*, with Orders to demand *Northumberland*, or to denounce War in case of a Refusal. *Scots* Authors say, That King *Henry* being embarras'd with his other Affairs, did so far comply with the peremptory Demand, as to yield that part of *Northumberland* which *William's* Great Grandfather had held; and that the King of *Scots* accordingly took Possession of what was granted, but on this Condition, that he did not remit his Right or Claim to the whole. This, tho not mention'd by old *English* Historians, and therefore thought doubtful by the Modern, (a) to me seems the more probable, because I find that a seeming Peace continu'd hence- forth

Goes to
France.

Returns to
Scotland.

(a) Tyrrel ad Ann. 1166 p. 332.

forth between the two Nations, during the space of about five or six Years: Nay, *English* Authors tell us, (a) That in 1170, King *William*, and his Brother *David*, assisted at the Coronation of Prince *Henry*, and, together with all the Vassals of the *English* Crown, swore Fealty to him against all Men, saving that they ow'd to his Father. 'Tis worth while to give an Account of this important Transaction, which had strong and fatal Consequences, even with Reference to *Scotland* and *Scots* Affairs.

The Crown of *England* was ever, for ought we can see, Hereditary; but the lineal Succession had been often interrupted or diverted: First, by reason of long Wars that Kingdom had with the *Danes*, and then, by reason of the double Conquest it underwent; For the Conquerors, I mean both *Cannute* the *Dane*, and *William* the *Norman*, considering it as their own Acquisition, gave it to whom they pleas'd. *William* bestow'd it upon his second Son, notwithstanding his eldest was alive: The third succeeded to the second, and he, thinking to secure it to his own Posterity, made a Law in full Parliament to that purpose, and caus'd all the Freeholders of the Nation to swear to the Observation of that Law. Nevertheless, another found means to step in between him and his Off-spring: And this same King *Henry* II. his Grandchild and lineal Heir, had with great difficulty attain'd to his Right. He therefore dreaded and thought fit to prevent the like Difficulties, with Reference to those descended of his own Body. He had found by Experience, that neither Acts of Parliament, nor Oaths were capable to defeat Usurpation: For this Reason, he sought out a new and unknown Expedient to effect his Design, and 'twas this. He declar'd his eldest Son, Prince *Henry*, King, in his own Lifetime, and commanded him to be Anointed and Crown'd, as I have already said; but the Ceremony was no sooner over, but he found that two Kings cannot sit easy upon one Throne: (b) For at the Coronation Feast, he was pleas'd, in Honour to his Son, to carry up the first Dish, upon which the Archbishop of *Tork* took Occasion to congratulate him, For having a greater Serpitor than any in the World, adding, what a singular Obligation he ow'd to his Father, for the unexampled favour: But he haughtily reply'd, That it was no great Condescension in his Father, who was only the Son of an Earl, to perform that Service to him, who was the Son of a King. This insolent Answer gave Offence to all present, and the King, tho' a great Master in the Art of Dissembling, could not easily conceal his just Indignation; yet as Paternal Fondness is industrious to palliate the Failings of Children, so *Henry* drew from the Youth of his Son, Reasons in his Opinion sufficient, both to excuse his Fault, and to continue his own impolitick Behaviour.

The young King had been married some Years before with *Margaret*, a Daughter of *France*: And her Father took it ill, that she had not been Crown'd, as her Husband. The two Kings met at

S f f

Vendure

Henry the
Son of *Hen-*
ry II. of *Eng-*
land,
Crown'd
King.

(a) Tyrrel, Echard, &c. ad Ann, 1170. (b) Echard, Tyrrel, *ibid*.

Vendeure in *Main*, where having adjusted all Differences between them, Orders were sent to *England* for the Coronation of that Lady: And the Ceremony was perform'd with a great deal of Magnificence. The Joy of the Feast pass'd from the Court of *England* to that of *France*, whither King *Lewis* invited the young Couple, and receiv'd them with such Demonstrations of Kindness, as charm'd the young, but made the old King jealous. A short time discover'd that King *Henry* had Reason: For *Lewis*, who judg'd better of the Genius of his Son-in-Law, than t'other of his Son, made it his Business to win him over to himself: Young, Ambitious, Unquiet, and less affected with those Sentiments of Duty, which Nature inspire, than even the Generality of Princes are wont to be: *Henry*, I mean the younger, was exactly cut out to give trouble to a Father, who, tho he had nam'd a Co-partner to himself in the Empire, yet did not at all incline to give up his Power. *Lewis* saw the weak Side of both, and fail'd not to insinuate to the young Prince, That the Title and Dignity of a King requir'd suitable Revenues to support them; that his younger Brothers had got considerably from their Father, *Richard* being in possession of the County of *Poitou*, and *Jeoffry* of the Dukedom of *Britanny*; that 'twas but reasonable that he, now he was a King, should enjoy, if not the Kingdom of *England* it self, at least the Dukedom of *Normandy*, or County of *Anjou*: That otherwise his Dignity did not honour him, but he dishonour'd his Dignity; and that to be a King, such as he was, without Subjects, Revenues or Power, was a Jest the World would laugh at. To be short, the King of *France* wrought so powerfully upon the Mind of this unnatural Son, that his Father having refus'd to grant his unreasonable Requests, he enter'd in a League with his Father-in-Law, whose Interest it was, or to cut out work for his over-topping Neighbour, or to weaken him by dividing his Territories.

William, the King of *Scots*, had, besides these Motives, a just ground for a War, against a Prince that had so unfairly dispossest'd his Brother, and still detain'd all or part of *Northumberland* from himself. He had laid by his Arms, but not his Claim, and only wanted a favourable Opportunity of taking them up with Advantage. He thought that it was now offer'd: And accordingly, say the French Authors, (a) went over in Person to *Paris*, in order to negotiate a Confederacy with the two Kings, and to renew the ancient League, which had been first concluded in the days of *Charlemaign* between *France* and *Scotland*: A League now become so much the more Necessary, that the common Enemy of both was so dangerously Powerful. The Earls of *Flanders*, *Bouloigne*, *Blois*, *Chestre*, *Beaumont*, *Leicester*, and a great many more of the greatest Quality, that had any Dependence on the King or Crown of *England*, enter'd into this grand Confederacy, together with the three Kings, and bound themselves by an Oath, never to abandon the Cause of the young King *Henry*, till they had first compell'd his Father to grant all he ask'd: And he himself took

King *William* enters in a League with the King of *France*, King *Henry* the younger, &c.

an Oath to them, by which he oblig'd himself never to agree with his Father, but by their unanimous Advice and Consent.

Old King *Henry* had been unhappy, but by half, had the rest of his Family continu'd in their Duty: But he had not even this Comfort. His Queen *Eleanor* (Who would have thought it?) was as immoderately jealous, as he was incorrigibly addicted to Variety of Loves. He had been long captivated by the Charms of the fam'd *Rosamund*; whom he kept at *Woodstock*, some say, in a Labyrinth, where indeed she was inaccessible to the Allurements of more youthful Gallants, but not to the prying Revenge of an experienc'd Wife: For even there Queen *Eleanor* reach'd her, and found means to end her Life. But the more noble Object of the King's present Affection, and of the Queen's Hatred, was *Alix* of *France*, formerly contracted with Prince *Richard* his second Son: Her he doted on (as is usual in some old Men, whose cooler Blood and unactive Spirits inflame and heighten those Desires, they cannot satiate) beyond all things on Earth, happy! If not also beyond those in Heaven. *Eleanor* could not make away with *Alix*, as she had done with *Rosamund*; but she did what mischief she could: She made her Sons, *Richard* and *Jeoffry*, to fear, lest *Henry* transported with the Excess of his Passion for so great a Princess, should find means to marry her, and consequently raise her Children, if she should have any, upon their Depression or Ruin. In a word, she frightn'd them by these or the like Suggestions, into the Revolt of their eldest Brother; insomuch, that the old King found himself attack'd on all Sides; and that at the same time, both at home and abroad.

Any other but himself had sunk under the Weight of so much Grief, and so much Enmity: And indeed he was not insensible of his Malheurs: For, as if he had been Thunder-struck, he shut himself up at first in the City of *Rouen*, and by his Ambassadors complain'd to the Pope, who had the Honesty to emit his then terrible Bolts of Excommunication, against all the native Subjects of *England*, *Normandy*, &c. the King's Children; nay, and against the young King himself: 'Twas said of this King *Henry* II. that he *would not fly*: And to say the Truth, he did little less: How soon encourag'd by the holy Father, his Arms beyond Seas prov'd successful almost every where. But *England* it self was all in a Flame: Thither he came with great Expedition: And the first thing he did, after his Arrival, was to perform the Penance injoin'd him by the Pope's Legates, for the Murder of *Thomas Becket*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, which if not committed by his Orders, had been at least occasion'd by his rash Words. When he had come within three Miles (a) of the Church where the Prelate was buried, he lighted from his Horse, and walk'd bare-footed to the Sepulchre, and there prostrating himself, he was severely disciplin'd, and receiv'd no less than eighty Lashes by Rods on his bare Flesh: So that the only Person who in his life-time could make him bow, after his death

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(a) Echard ad Ann. 1174.

brought him upon his Knees : And tho he then prosecuted him as a Traitor, he now honour'd him as a Saint and Martyr.

The Monks of that Age attributed the ensuing Success of his Arms to the Reconciliation he thus made with God : For much about this time, he receiv'd Advice of the young King his Son's Fleet being by a violent Storm dispers'd at Sea, and of the King of Scotland's being made a Prisoner of War. This last, in Pursuance of the League, of which he was a principal Member, (a) had invaded England the Year before, and on his March through the Bishoprick of *Durham*, had ravag'd the Country, and destroy'd or made Prisoners most of the Inhabitants. The *English*, unable (b) to offend, contented themselves in the Absence of their King to act defensively; and all they could do, was to attempt a Diversion by burning the Town of *Berwick*, and spoiling the adjacent Country. (c) *Richard de Lucy*, Justiciary of England, and *Humphry de Bobun*, the King's Constable, were the chief Commanders in this Service : And Mr. *Tyrrel* says, that upon the News of the Earl of *Leicester's* Approach, who had lately come out of *Flanders* with a great Number of *Normans* and *Fleemings*, they made a Truce with the King of *Scots*. But this is otherwise reported by *Buchanan*, who tells us, that the whole Winter was spent in Action, and that many Incursions were made : Nor is it probable that the King of *Scots* would have condescended to make a Truce, after his prosperous Expedition into the Bishoprick, and at a time when the Earl of *Leicester*, one of the Leaguers, was understood to be at hand with a powerful Army. 'Tis true, that a Truce was afterwards concluded; But then the *English* paid dear for it : They own that in consideration of it, they paid three hundred Merks of Silver, and that at the same time a Truce was also concluded between their King and the King of *France*, which shews that King *William* did not act but in Concert with his Allies.

The Truce being expir'd, say the *English*, (d) King *William* march'd into *Northumberland* with a great Army of *Scots* and *Galloway* Men, (as if the *Galloway* Men had not also been *Scots*) and committed such great Slaughters and Barbarities, as would seem incredible, had we not read of the like committed in the Reign of King *Stephen* by King *David*; acknowledg'd by themselves to have been one of the most Religious and Merciful Princes in the World : And if his Grandson King *William*, did but react his part, I hope none will believe that he did amiss. But, as Sir *Thomas Craig* (e) has very well observ'd, this is the common Cant of the old *English* Monks, ever ready to exasperate their Countrymen into an irreconcilable Hatred against the *Scots* : While they search on all Sides how to raise the Animosities of the former, they are not ashamed to charge the latter, (tho Christians, and in those Days Religiously so, beyond any of their Neighbours) with all the Enormities, they themselves acted, when Pagans, upon the *Britains*; and afterwards the *Danes*, also Pagans, upon them. Nay, what their more ancient Writers say of the Cruelty of

A. D. 1173.
King *William*
invades
England.

Falsly charged with
Cruelty.

(a) *Tyrrel ad Ann. 1173.* (b) *Buchan. ut supra.* (c) *Tyrrel ibid.* (d) *Tyrrel ibid.* (e) *Concerning Homage chap. 2. 3.*

ty of those barbarous and inhumane Rovers, they transcribe and fasten word for word, upon the most bountiful and pious of the *Scottish* Kings, *Malcolm Canmore*, *St. David*, and this same King *William*. But to the purpose :

King *William*, having thus enter'd *England*, divided his Army into three Bodies : He gave the Command of one of them, to his Brother Earl *David*, with Orders to relieve the Town of *Leicester*, then besieg'd by *Richard de Lucy*, the King of *England*'s Justiciary : But before he could get thither, the Place was taken. He left another Body before *Carlisle* : And upon the Head of the third he himself pass'd quite through *Northumberland*, wasting the Country, and conquering wherever he came. : He took by Storm the Castles of *Burgh* and *Apleby*, and forc'd those of *Werkworth* and *Gerby* to surrender. . This done, he return'd to his Army before *Carlisle*, and after a vigorous Siege, *Robert de Vaus*, the Governour artick'd with him, That he would give up both the Town and Castle at *Michaelmas* following, if, by that time, he receiv'd no Relief from the King of *England* : And for Performance of this, he gave the King of *Scots* Hostages, and his own Oath besides. Thus the Siege was turn'd into a Blockade : And King *William*, unwilling to lose Time, left it in that Condition, and attack'd first *Prudbow*, and then *Anwick*. Whilst he lay before this last Place, he sent the Earls *Duncan* and *Angus*, upon the Head of considerable Detachments to Forrage the Country, which they did, it seems, to very good Purpose, but with great Cruelty, if we may credit the *English* Accounts. In the mean time, *Robert de Staveille*, and *Robert de Glanville*, two *English* Commanders, having Intelligence that the *Scots* Army was considerably weakn'd by the Detachments, I have mention'd, left the main Body of their own Army, and march'd early in the Morning upon the Head of a chosen Party of light Horse, with a Design to surprize the King in his Quarters. They came in view of *Anwick*, by Sun-rising, and found the King secure, and taking the Air in the Morning, with about sixty Horsemen that attended him. At first when he saw the *English* a-far off, he was not at all concern'd ; for he thought they had been his own Men, commanded by Earl *Duncan* : But the *English* presently assaulted his small Party ; and, tho he made the best Defence he could, and had his Horse kill'd under him, made him Prisoner, together with *Richard Cumin*, *William Mortimer*, *William de Insula*, or *Lisle*, *Henry Revel*, *Ralph de Ver*, *Jordan*, a *Fleeming*, *Waldens Fitz-Baldwin de Biore*, and *Richard Malus Jewellus*, for the most part *Englishmen*, engag'd in the League. This fell out on the thirteenth Day of *July* 1174 : So say the *English*. But the *Scots* tell the Story, (a) after a quite different Manner. If we may credit them,

The Truce, formerly agreed between the two Nations, was not expir'd, and King *William*, a plain hearted Man, and not at all suspicious of the Treachery design'd him, lay secure, as he thought, (and who should have thought otherwise?) in his Camp at *Anwick*, while the

T t t

Invades
England a
second time.Is made a
Prisoner of
War.

A. D. 1174

(a) Buchan. Boeth. MS. of Icolmkil, &c. in vit. Guikelm.

the *English*, on the other hand, spent all the time of the Cessation in Preparations for War. But in the mean Time, they ply'd the King with Messengers of Peace, and large, but fallacious Promises: For their true Errand was to spy out Opportunities of violating their Faith with Advantage. They observ'd that the *Scots*, on Confidence of the Truce, were remis and negligent, and that the greatest part of their Army had gone abroad to fetch in Forrage and Provisions. They therefore return'd with Joy, and exhorted their Commanders not to lose the wish'd for Advantage. Their Accounts met with Cr dit, and their Advice with Applause. The Commanders instantly issu'd out their Orders to march, and having plac'd the greatest part of their Army in Ambush, they themselves advanc'd with about four hundred light Horse in the Night time, and before Sun-rising came in view of the *Scottish* Camp. The King having unluckily gone abroad so very early in the Morning, was riding in the neighbouring Fields with a slender Guard of no more than sixty Horse, when he perceiv'd the *English*, whom he mistook for a Party of his own Men: For they had disguis'd themselves with *Scots* Arms and Ensigns, and by this Means came up to him, set upon him, and made him a Prisoner, together with most of those about him, before he well knew who they were.

This, if true, was a Piece of Perfidy, all Men of Honour or Probity will ever detest, and never imitate. But Mr. *Tyrrel* (a) tells us, that the Story must needs be false, because otherwise related by the *English*; but owns, that the King was taken at unawares, and has this Observation upon the Matter, *That it was a great oversight in so warlike a Prince, who ought certainly to have had his Scouts abroad to watch the Enemy's Motions.* To which I shall only add, that the differing Relation given of the Thing by the *Scots* Authors, viz. that there was a Cessation of Arms at the time, to me seems the more probable, because *so warlike a Prince had not his Scouts abroad.* Mr. *Tyrrel* takes also Notice in this place, that the Chronicle of *Melrofs* was written for the greatest part by the Abbot of *Dundrain* and a *Scotsman*; and that this Chronicle says expressly, *That William King of Scots, hoping to repair old Losses, through evil Counsel began a cruel War, against his Cousin and Lord the King of England.* Therefore (he means to be sure) in the Opinion, even of *Scotsmen*, King *William* was in the wrong, and ought not to have enter'd into this War. But under favour the Conclusion does not follow: For as the most Learn'd and Reverend the Bishop of *Carlisle* has plac'd the Chronicle of *Melrofs* (b) in the *English* as well as in the *Scottish* Historical Library; so 'tis certain, that *Melrofs* was sometimes in the Hands of the *English*; that the Chronicle was in part compos'd by *English* Monks, and that the first part of it is a Continuation of *Bede*, an *Englishman's* History. That a *Scotsman* would not be apt to Stile the King of *England*, the Lord of *William* the King of *Scots*, is as certain: And I no where find, that *English* Writers are inclinable to

(a) Ad Ana. 1174. p. 386. (b) Vid. Dalrymp. p. 105.

to dignify the Kings of *France*, with the Title of *Lords over those of England*. The Case is the same in both, and I conclude from thence, that neither the Abbot of *Dundrainand*, nor any other *Scotsman* did write that Part of the *Chronicle of Melrofs*, that arraigns King *William* for making War against his Lord the King of England. That *English* Writers, and even such as liv'd at the time, may have done it I do not deny, but must needs say, that 'tis probable they were the more Partial in Favour of their own Sovereign, for that very Reason, that they liv'd at the time, and consequently may have dreaded his Wrath, or courted his Favour, or been influenc'd by the National Animofities that generally rage while War lasts between Princes. As to the Justice of the War, I need say nothing, but only repeat what I have already told and copy'd after Mr. *Tyrrel*: (a) And to be short, 'tis this, *Henry II.* of *England*, took from *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, *The Counties of Northumberland and Cumberland*, which had been made over to King *David* his Grandfather, by the *Empress Matilda*, and confirm'd by this King (*Henry*) his own Oath. To *Malcolm* succeeded King *William*, and he, To repair old Losses (as the *Chronicle of Melrofs* phrases it) made War upon King *Henry*. How far he was in the Right, I leave it to the impartial Reader to judge: This is certain, he was unsuccessful, because taken at unawares.

When a Prisoner, he was most uncivilly, nay barbarously us'd; (b) for he was carried to *Richmond* Castle, with his Feet ty'd under the *Horses* Belly, and there, by King *Henry's* Orders detain'd, till this last having with incredible Celerity reduc'd all Opposers in *England*, return'd to *France*, whither also he appointed his Royal Captive to be convey'd, and kept as before a close Prisoner, first in *Caen*, and afterwards in *Falaise*. His Success beyond Seas, was, as at Home, surprising and great: The City of *Rouen* was at the time besieged by the King of *France* and the young King *Henry*; but upon his Arrival they thought fit to retire, and not long after to conclude, first a Truce, and then a Peace; and that upon Terms much less Advantageous to the Allies, than those formerly profer'd. King *William* did as the rest, that is; he also made Peace; but a most disgraceful one, since upon such Terms as 'twas at once beneath his Dignity, and above his Power to grant. He subscrib'd a Paper at *Falaise*, and thereby became Liege-man of the King of *England*, even for *Scotland*: Nay, he undertook that his Subjects should do the like, and, which is yet more astonishing, prevail'd with them to comply: For what Reason, 'tis not easie to determine: The Tract of the History, and Circumstances of the Times may give some Light towards the Knowledge of some of them.

As soon (c) as the King had been made a Prisoner, the *English* elated with their unexpected Success, invaded *Cumberland*, and thought to have conquer'd it without Blows: But they were Mistaken;

T t t 2

for

(a) Ad Ann. 1157. p. 303. (b) Craig concerning Homage chap. 24. Pere D'Orleans ad Ann 1173. p. 193. Tyrrel ad Ann. 1174. p. 383. (c) Buchart. ubi supra.

Is carried to France.

He makes a disgraceful Peace, and subjects his Crown to that of England.

Huſfred
and Gilbert
make an
Infurrection
in Galloway.

for the Scots Army remain'd unbroken, and the valiant *Gilchrist* commanded it in Chief, and under him one *Rolland*, a brave and experienc'd Officer. They stood their Ground, and gave the Enemy so much to do, that e're long a Truce was agreed to, and the Scots kept their Possession, both of *Cumberland* and *Huntington*, but left *Northumberland* in the Hands of the *English*. This Treaty was the more easily brought about, because, as King *Henry* stood in need of his Men to carry on his Designs in *France*, so the leading Men of *Scotland* thought fit to recall their Army, in order to suppress a Rebellion that broke out in *Galloway*: For (a) *Huſfred*, the Son of *Fergus*, by *English* Authors design'd Prince of *Galloway*, and his Brother *Gilbert*, so soon as the King was taken, resolv'd to set up for themselves. With this View, they led Home their *Galwegians*; expell'd out of the Country all the Baillies and Ministers or Keepers the King had impos'd on them, besieg'd, took and destroy'd all the Fortresses he or his Predecessors had rais'd, put to the Sword such of the Defendants as fell into their Hands, and unmercifully Murther'd all the *English* and *French* they could apprehend. So far did the Rebellion succeed: But at length, the Rebels discorded among themselves, and the two Brothers unnaturally plotted the Destruction and Death of one another. To effect this, *Gilbert* call'd his Men together: And his Son *Malcolm* undertook to perform the Villany. He was as good as his Word; for not long after, he set upon the Island where *Huſfred* resided, took him, and, having first order'd that he should be emasculated and have his Eyes pull'd out, put him to Death. These Disorders that fell out in *Scotland*, were, it seems, no ways disagreeable to the King of *England*: He heard of them with pleasure, and, catching at the Opportunity, sent one of his Clerks, by Name *Roger de Hoveden*, to *Robert de Vaus*, the Governour of *Carlisle*, and appointed them both to go to the two Brothers, and endeavour to bring them into his Service: So unfairly did this King deal with his Cousin and Prisoner. But, say the *English* Historians, (b) when his Commissioners came to Treat with *Gilbert* and the *Galwegians*, these last offer'd them, to the Use of the King their Master, 2000 Merks of Silver, 500 Cows, and as many Hogs as a yearly Rent, provided he would take them into his Protection, and secure them from the Servitude of the King of *Scots*. This was just what King *Henry* desir'd, yet his Messengers would conclude nothing till they had further Orders from their Master: And he, when he heard how *Huſfred* his Kinsman was slain, would make no Peace with the *Galwegians*. They were at a Loss: For the King of *England*, by thus lying by, afforded an Opportunity to the Loyal *Scots*, to give the Rebels a signal Overthrow. *Gilchrist* (c) had the good Luck to do his King and Country that notable piece of Service, so much the more valuable, because more necessary, as Matters then stood, than any of his other Atchievements.

In

(a) Dr. Brady in the Life of Henry II. p. 218. (b) Dr. Brady pag. 322. (c) Boeth. in vit. Gulielm.

In the mean time, (a) *David*, the Brother of King *William*, Earl of *Huntington* in *England*, and of *Garioch* in *Scotland*, who then fought under the *English* Banners, receiv'd a Convoy, and came to *Scotland*, where, having taken the Administration of Affairs upon him, he sent Ambassadors to *France*, with Orders to Treat about the Redemption of the King his Brother. They redeem'd him accordingly: And he not only acknowledg'd himself the King of *England*'s Liege-man for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as I said before, but also gave twenty one Hostages, as Guarrantees of the Treaty, and put the Castles of *Roxburgh*, *Berwick*, *Jedburgh*, *Edinburgh*, and *Stirling* into the Hands of the *English*. Among these Hostages, (b) there were four Earls, besides the King's own Brother, and the rest were all Men of great Fortunes, and next to Earls, of whom we had then but few of the highest quality. I shall, for the Satisfaction of their Posterity, set down such of them as had Surnames, *Richard de Moreville*, Lord high Constable, *Richard Cuning*, *Walter Corbet*, *Walter Olifard*, *John de Valz*, *William de Lindsay*, *Philip de Coleville*, *Philip de Valoignes*, Grandfather of the first of the Name, of *Value*, that enjoy'd the Barony of *Panmure* (c) *Robert Frembert*, *Rob. de Burneville*, *Hugh Gyffard*, *Hugh Rydal*, *Walter Barkele*, *William de la Hays*, *William de Mortemer*.

The learn'd and laborious *Mr. Tyrrel* (d) is so just, as to own that this is the first time, *That the King of Scots did Homage to the King of England, for all Scotland, and not for these Earldoms or Counties which were held of him before.* "But the Scots say, (e) That even this Acknowledgement and Treaty was objected against by *Durefs*, whilst their King was detain'd in Prison, therefore he could not be obliged, much less his Successor, to observe it. That it was not only contrary to Law, but Inhumane and Cruel, to require of a Man, who was not his own Master but a Captive, and a Captive of the King of England, an Acknowledgment of Superiority over his Independent Kingdom of *Scotland*. That he who is in the power of an Enemy barbarously us'd, and rudely tofs'd from Prison to Prison, may be Compell'd to do any thing. That the *English*, by all Men, ought to forbear pleading any Right or Dominion upon such Deeds: For, add they, and 'tis true, *Richard I.* King of *England*, even the brave *Richard*, who for his Magnanimity, was surnam'd *Cœur de Lion*, or *Lyon's Heart*, when the Emperor's Prisoner, subjected *England* to the Emperor, and receiv'd Investiture of it from him, with this aggravating Circumstance, That he also obliged himself to pay 5000 lib. *Sterl.* annually, as a Tribute. (f) King *John* did yet worse, he not only offer'd upon certain Conditions, First, to hold the Kingdom of *England* of the King of *France*, and then of a *Mahumetan* Prince and *Negro*; but which is more, did

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actual

(a) *Buchan*: *ibidem*. (b) *Fæder. Angl. Tom.* (c) *Charta penes Comitam de Panmure.* (d) *Vid Reign of Henry II. p. 296.* (e) *Craig concerning Homage Chap. 24 Anderson's Essay p. 163, 164. and Dalrymple p. 207.* (f) *Hovenden p. 724.*

“ actually make *England* Feudatory and Subject to the Pope,
 “ by a most solemn voluntary Deed, made and Sworn to, with Con-
 “ sent and in presence of his Bishops and Barons. Nay, his
 “ Son and Successor King *Henry* ratified (a) his Fathers Deed, by
 “ doing the like Homage, yet we should all take it very ill if, at
 “ this time of Day, either the Emperor or Pope should lay
 “ Claim to the Superiority of *England*. But Reply the Eng-
 lish,

A.D. 1175.

King *William* did not only submit his Crown and Kingdom to the King of *England*, when a Prisoner at *Falaise*, but also confirm'd the Charter, then granted, by a publick and solemn Deed, when free and at Liberty: For in *August* 1175, (b) he and his Brother, Earl *David*, with almost all the Bishops, Abbots, and Nobles of his Kingdom; Abbot *Bennet* adds, *With all his Franc Tenents or Freeholders from the greatest to the lowest*, met both the old and young King of *England*, at *York*, took an Oath of Fidelity to them, and fairly gave up the Kingdom of *Scotland* into their Guardianship and Patronage. The Matter of Fact I shall not go about to contest; tho' 'tis plain, that all the Freeholders of the Nation, particularly the *Galwegians* were not present at the Meeting, nor did they consent to the ignominious Deed. However, 'twas certainly an unjustifiable, and hitherto unprecedented piece of Cowardice in the King, and in those that comply'd with him: He was truly no King at the time: For he had before unking'd himself, by the Paper he Subscrib'd at *Falaise*, and might have in Justice been treated as the *Baliol* was afterwards, upon the same account. *Buchanan* (c) would fain palliate the shameful Surrender, by telling the World, that tho' the Conditions were hard, yet the *Scots* were willing to accept of them, that so they might effect the Restoration of one of the bravest and best of their Kings. But, to say the truth, in this he was neither Good nor Brave, and was afterwards by far out-done by two of his Successors, when in the like Circumstances. Besides, as Mr. *Tyrrel* observes, (d) he had been restored in *February* before, so that the Clergy and Nobility of *Scotland* could not join in this Acknowledgement, out of a Desire to enjoy their King. But, adds he, Either because they were convinc'd that this Homage for *Scotland* was truly due, or else that they were then over-aw'd by the great Power of the King of *England*.

That the Homage was not truly due, Mr. *Tyrrel* (e) himself seems to Confess, when he tells us, That this Charter is the more remarkable, because 'tis the first, wherein we find it expressly mention'd, that the King of *Scots* did Homage to the King of *England* for all *Scotland*. Besides, as Mr. *Anderson* (f) judiciously observes, the Novelty of the thing is clearly imply'd in the very Deed it self: For tho' it retrospects to the even then pretended Subjection of the Church of *Scotland* to that of *England*, yet it does not at all mention

(a) Math. Par. ad Ann. 1216. (b) Tyrrel ad Ann. 1175. Dr. Brady ubi sup. p. 323. (c) In vit. Guliel.
 (d) Ubi sup. p. 397. (e) ibid. (f) Ubi sup.

tion, or so much as insinuate, that any Homage was formerly paid for the Kingdom. The *English* contriv'd, and drew out the Papers subscrib'd to, and no Body will think, that they would have omitted to express former Homages had any been perform'd, or so much as pretended to have been due. Sir *James Dalrymple* (a) has also this unanswerable Observation upon the Matter: He cites several Passages of *English* Authors concerning this and former Homages, and concludes, That whoever will be at the Pains to compare them together, must needs see the Difference, and acknowledge, that the former Homages were in ambiguous, general Terms, or with Restrictions and Reservations of the Lands possess'd by the Kings of *Scotland* in *England*: Whereas this one is simple, plain and express, for the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*; and by Consequence not due by Virtue of prior Deeds.

That the Scots were then overaw'd by the great Power of the King of *England*, I shall not deny: For (b) the King, and all the Power of *France*, had a little before fled at his Presence without one Blow given. His Children had submitted, his Rebels were under his Feet; *England* was secur'd, *Ireland* retain'd, *Wales* subservient to his Arms, *Normandy* in Possession, and all the Coasting Regions of *Britany*, *Guienne*, *Gascony*, and others as far as the Borders of *Spain*, under his Dominions. The King of *Scotland* had been his Prisoner, and in order to be freed, had put him in Possession of his best Fortresses: So that indeed 'twas no wonder that the Scots were overaw'd, nay, since the Enemy was actually possess'd of the Strength of the Kingdom, they were in a great Measure subdu'd. Yet 'tis not probable, that a People so Fierce, so Proud, so obstinately Tenacious of their Liberties and Independency; a People that had baffl'd the Power of *Rome*, given Laws to *South-Britain*, hem'd in the *Saxons*, expell'd the *Danes*, defy'd the *Normans*, and but lately so much contributed to the Restoration of this same King of *England*: 'Tis not probable, I say, that a People, such as the Scots were in those Days, and long afterwards, would have reckon'd themselves subdu'd, or comply'd with so inglorious a Surrender of their Country, precisely because overaw'd by the Power of *England*. This was one Motive no doubt; but they had others, in my Opinion, more moving, tho not at all Satisfactory: For I can by no means approve of, or excuse the Thing.

The King, in all the Actions of his Life but this one, had shewn himself to be a very great Man: The Authority of Kings in those Days was great, and the Respect most People had for the Memory of his glorious and worthy Ancestors and Predecessors, *St. David*, *Alexander the Fierce*, *Malcolm Canmore*, &c. was inexpressible: They esteem'd and lov'd himself, and every Body knows the irresistible Influence a Sovereign, tho inferior to him in Worth, and a Court Party devoted to their private Interest, and their Master's Pleasure, may have over a Nation. Besides, the Nation was then miserably

U. u u 2

divided,

(a) Ubi supra (b) Echard ad Ann. 1174.

divided, and the Country by intestine Broils brought almost to Ruin. *Gilbert*, the Chieftain of the *Galwegians*, was still in Arms against the Government: Nay, he had (a) taken upon himself the Title of King: And 'tis likely that the *Scots*, in Compliance with the Desire of their formerly belov'd Sovereign, chose rather to submit to the Yoke of a Foreigner, who after all was not to alter their Laws, nor to encroach upon their private Liberties, than to see the Extinction of the Royal Family, and a home-bred (and, by reason of his enormous Cruelties, abhor'd) Usurper, seated upon the Throne of a continu'd Series, both of Heroes and Saints. They hop'd to get free of that more remote, and, to vulgar Eyes, scarce visible Servitude. And indeed their Hopes were not in vain: But should both the King and his Brother be abandon'd? Should the Blood Royal perish? What then could they expect, but to be undone by an upstart Villain? Who, being unable to reunite their Minds, could never Protect their Persons nor Fortunes, against so formidable a Neighbour as King *Henry*. That this was the most pressing Motive that made them submit to the King of *England*, is the more probable, because *English* Authors tell us, (b) That after the Dispatch of this great Affair at *York*, King *Henry* gave leave to the King of *Scots* to march with his Army into *Galloway*, in Order to reduce *Gilbert* the Son of *Fergus*, and Prince of that Country, as they stile him: And *Buchanan* (c) in Confirmation of this, says also, that *William*, at his return, in a few Months, by Means of *Gilchrist* his Lieutenant, quell'd the Insurrections made during his Absence, in *Galloway*. This Success, it seems, did not allay the Ferment, former Miscarriages, and probably the last mention'd, had rais'd in the Nation. For,

Donald Bane
an Islander
Revolts a-
gainst King
William.

Not long after, one *Donald Bane* a great Man among the Islanders, and who, they say, deriv'd his Origine from the Kings, assum'd the Name of King. What colourable Pretence he could invent to justify his Title, I cannot tell; unless he suggested to the People, that one and the same Person could not at once be a Subject and King: And that in the same Respect, that *William*, by owning himself a Subject to *England*, for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, had declar'd himself no King of *Scotland*; That his Brother Earl *David* had done the like, consequently the Throne was Vacant; and that he, being of the Blood Royal, had reason to Ascend it. Had he made such a Plea, I dare say, he had brought over great Numbers to own him: Nor did he want followers, for he rigg'd out a Fleet, and made several Descents in different Places of the Inland Country: Nay, after having over-run and plunder'd both *Caithness* and *Ross*, he had the Boldness to fall down upon *Murray*. The King march'd in Person against him, and having first sent out Ships with Orders to Sail about, and burn the Islander's Fleet, he attack'd them with his Land Army, and put them almost all to the Sword. By this Means this Rebellion, or design'd Usurpation was crush'd

more

(a) Boetii, in vit. Gulielm. p. 272. lib. 13. (b) Tyrrel, Brady ubi sup. (c) Ubi sup.

more easily than the former had been: And by both it appears, that King *William's* Misfortune in being made a Prisoner, and the inglorious Ransom he paid for his Delivery, had very much weaken'd his Authority, and made his Government despicable, if not question'd as illegal. But, if this Prince was so unlucky, or so cowardly, as to bow under the *English* Yoke, he had also the Pleasure and Honour of effacing the signal Disgrace, and of retrieving the lost Liberties of his Countrey. The first step he made to that Purpose, was this,

He was now a Widower, (a) and he Married *Emergarde*, a Grandchild of King *William* the *Conqueror*: About the same time, he paid one Moiety of the Sum, condescended upon for his Ransom: In Consideration of which, his Castle of *Edinburgh* was evacuated by the *English*, and restor'd to the *Scots*. And to cement the beginning Concord between both Kingdoms, a Law was made, *That neither King should harbour the Enemy of the other*. Thus King *William* was in some measure restor'd to an Equality with the King of *England*; at least the King of *England* began to find it necessary to Treat with him upon Terms, not altogether unequal. But this same Law had almost ruin'd one of the bravest, and most deserving Men in the World; the often mention'd, and never to be forgotten, *Gilchrist*.

This great General, (b) whose numerous Exploits had charm'd all *Britain* into an Admiration of his Merit, had not Merit enough to Captivate the Heart of an inconstant Wife, or she had not Eyes to see it: She abus'd his Bed, or he was made to believe so, and therefore caus'd her to be Slain, notwithstanding she was the King's Sister. Upon this he was summon'd to appear, but failing to come on the Day appointed, he was Condemn'd in Absence: His Houses were demolish'd, and his Estate confiscated. He made his Escape into *England*: But upon the Promulgation of the Law, or Agreement, I have mention'd but now, was forc'd to return, and shifting from Place to Place as a Stranger among Strangers, he pass'd his miserable Life in great Penury and Want. While he was thus wandering with his two Sons, the King, in his Return from his successful Expedition against *Donald Bane*, chanc'd to spy upon the Road to *Perth*, three Peasants, who yet seem'd by their Air and Mien to be more than so, had it not been for their shabby Dress and coarse Cloaths. Upon his Approach, they left the Road, and seem'd to avoid meeting with any Company. This rais'd the King's Curiosity: He caus'd them to be brought to him, and viewing them intently, was very earnest to know who they were. *Gilchrist* plainly told him; and falling down at his Feet, made a moving Complaint of his Misfortunes. His Discourse, and the Memory of his former Glories and happy Life rais'd Compassion in the Hearts, and drew Tears from the Eyes of all that were present. The King himself could not chuse but to be sensibly affected by so re-

Gilchrist
disgrac'd.

X x x

markable

(a) Bosth. Buchan, ubi sup.

Restor'd to
Favour.

Ogilvies
their first
Rise.

markable an Instance of the Mutability of Fortune: He command-
ed him to get up from his Knees, gave him his Life, and gene-
rously restor'd him to his Honours and Estate; nay, and to the
same Degree of Favour he had before. From this great Man, or,
as *Boethius* has it, from his Brother *Bredus*, to whom he gave the
Land of *Ogilvie* in *Angus*, the Illustrious Family and Name of
Ogilvie is said to be descended; a Family that continues still to pro-
duce Captains and States-men, not unworthy of its first Author.
But to return to the History:

Death of
Henry II.
A. D. 1189.

The next thing that fell out, luckily for King *William*, and
which did certainly efface the Disgrace under which both he and
the Nation labour'd, was this. The Mighty Monarch, King *Henry*
II. of *England*, being now abandon'd (a) by that Fortune, that had
hitherto attended him, was, like the greatest Potentate of our Times,
Disgrac'd in his declining Age, and forc'd by the prevailing Ascen-
dant of *Philip* King of *France*, and by a second Rebellion of *Richard*,
his Son and Heir, (for *Henry* the young King was Dead) to yield
to such Terms of Peace, as his Victorious Enemies were pleas'd to
impose. Overcome with Rage and Grief, at his innumerable Dis-
asters, 'tis not my Province to relate, he curs'd the Hour of his
Birth, and laid God's Imprecations and his own, upon his Chil-
dren. Not long after, he sickn'd, confess'd his Sins, acknow-
ledg'd the Justness of his last Misfortune, and so Expir'd. And 'tis
observ'd, that immediately after his Death, his Domesticks serv'd
him after the same manner he had serv'd most part of his Neigh-
bours, that is, They laid aside all Decency and Humanity, rifl'd
him of his Cloaths, and left him Stript and Naked.

Richard I.
King of
England.

He was succeeded by his Son *Richard*, the same, who by his un-
natural Rebellion, had so much contributed to his Father's Fall:
A Rebellion, Heaven it self seem'd to accuse by a Miracle that en-
sued: For, when the violent *Richard*, now Heir of all, came to
meet his Father's Body, royally Adorn'd for the Funeral, the Corps
gush'd forth Blood: And he, touch'd with Remorse, melted into
Floods of Tears. He afterwards prov'd to be as great and as brave
a Prince, as his Father; and by much the better Man. He honou-
red and reliev'd his Mother from her long Imprisonment, punish'd
all those that had stood even for himself against his Father, did Ju-
stice to every Body, and in particular to *William* the King of *Scotland*.
He was sensible how much this Prince, his Neighbour, Cousin and
particular Friend, had been injur'd: And since he intended to make
War upon the Enemies of Christ, he thought it but reasonable to
begin by settling a solid and lasting Peace with Christian Neigh-
bours. With this View he invited King *William* to a Meeting at
Canterbury; and sent a Royal Retinue to receive him on the Bor-
ders, and to conduct him thither. (b) They met accordingly, and
soon adjust'd all Matters likely to beget Variance and Discord be-
tween

(a) Echard, &c. in his Life. (b) Dr. Brady in the Life of Rich. I. p. 423. Tyrrel ad Ann. 1189. p. 475.
Echard, &c. ibid.

tween them: For *Richard* gave up those Castles, *viz.* *Roxburgh* and *Berwick*, that till then had remain'd in the Hands of the *English*, and also acquitted King *William* and his Heirs for ever, from all Agreements, which his Father *Henry* had *Extorted* (from him and his Subjects) by new Charters, and his Imprisonment. By the same Deed, still extant amongst the Archives of *England*, (a) King *Richard* declares that King *William* of *Scotland* did pay Homage to him, only for these Lands his Predecessors held of the Kings of *England*. On the other Hand, King *William*, for the Restitution of his Castles, and the Release of the Fealties of his Tenants of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, paid to King *Richard*, the Sum of 10000 Merks *Sterling*; no inconsiderable Sum in those Days, From all which it plainly appears (says Mr. *Tyrrel*, honestly and fairly) that there was no Homage due to the King of *England* for *Scotland*, before that time. This ingenuous Concession is so much the more valuable, that it comes from one, who, as he has a clear Judgment and a great deal of Reading, so he is abundantly forward, (as all good Men ought to be) to Illustrate the real Glories, and to Assert the just Rights of his native Country. Nay, he had hitherto stick'd as to this very Point, and made it at least a Doubt, whether the Kings of *Scotland* did at any time pay Homage for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to the *English* Monarchs. But here his Doubts are remov'd: The Force of Truth prevails over National Prejudice, and by yielding to Truth, he Honours both himself and his Country: I say, he Honours his Country, which, since 'tis now become one and the same with *Scotland*, is the more Glorious, by how much more *Scotland* has been so. Yet there are, who in Spite of Evidence, and in Defiance of Truth (b) do still insist upon this Claim of Homage, the Wisest of the *English* have already given up, as I doubt not but henceforth all Mankind will.

Some have pretended, that this Deed was granted by King *Richard* in Consideration of a Sum of Money, which the *Scots* will never be able to prove was paid. They're mistaken, for there's a Charter extant, and transcrib'd by Mr. *Anderson*, in which Charter granted by King *William* to the Monks of the *Cistercian* Order, that Prince tells; That himself and his Kingdom being under Servitude to *Henry*, late King of *England*, he behov'd to pay Money to *Richard*, his Son and Successor, for Redeeming of his own Freedom, and for Restoring his Kingdom to its ancient Liberty. He adds, That this Event never before happen'd, and that he hopes the like shall never occur. A convincing Proof, that both the Money was paid, and that the Claim of Homage for *Scotland*, had been till that time unknown. But, says Mr. *Atwood*, This was only a private Deed of King *Richard*, for the sake of a little Money, when he was intent upon the holy War; and the Words of the Charter are ambiguous, except as to the Restoring of the Castles. That it was no private Deed, is plain, by the Number and Quality of the Witnesses: And, as Mr. *Anderson* judiciously

X x x 2

Renounces
all Title or
Pretension
to the Superiority of
Scotland.

(a) Append. to Brady's Hist. of Engl. Num. 68. Foedera Angliae Tom. I. p. 64. (b) Anderson's Hist. Essay p. 175, 176, &c.

ously observes, he who thinks the Words, *Extortion* and *New Charters*, to be ambiguous, may think or say what he pleases. *Hoveden* (a) who liv'd at the time, and from whom we have a Double of the Deed, did not think it ambiguous or private: He tells us plainly, *That King Richard restor'd to King William the Castles of Roxburgh and Berwick, and did acquit and free him and his Heirs for ever, from all Allegiance and Subjection for the Kingdom of Scotland, to himself and his Successors Kings of England, and that King William did Homage to him but pro dignitatibus suis habendis in Anglia, for the Dignities which he was to enjoy in England, as his Brother King Malcolm had done before.* Now, what Homage King Malcolm had formerly paid, the same *Hoveden* (b) explains, by telling us, that *Malcolm met Henry II. at Chester, and paid Homage to him, in the same Manner as his Grandfather paid to Henry I. saving all his Dignities.* With this *Salvo*, which must needs refer to the Kingdom of Scotland, since applicable to no other, did the Kings of Scots pay Homage to those of England; and justly, so long as they were possess'd of English Territories. *Mathew Paris* (c) agrees exactly with *Hoveden*, in the Accounts he gives of this memorable Transaction: Nor does *William of Newbriggs* (d) differ from either: He also liv'd about those Days, and tells us plainly, *That Henry II. was the first of the English Kings who had Dominion over Scotland:* In so much that 'tis plain, to a Demonstration, that all Charters of Homage, said to be made by any former Kings of Scotland, are so many notorious Forgeries; and that the Evidences brought from History to the same Purpose, are but like Dreams, Fantastical; and as Romances, Fictitious; Nay, which is worse, Calumnious and Impudent. From all which it appears, that the last Subterfuge and Supposition of Mr. *Atwood*, is no more pungent than his other Arguments. He says, *That if the Kings of Scotland had been formerly oblig'd to do Homage for their Kingdom, to the Kings of England, that Obligation was not lessen'd by the Charter, King Richard granted at Canterbury to King William.* Very true, but the Kings of Scotland had never till then been oblig'd to do Homage for their Kingdom to those of England; nor then neither, but by *Extortion*, says King Richard himself. For which Reason (and a very good one it was) that wise, as well as warlike Monarch, thought fit to give up, with Frankness, his new and ill gotten Superiority over a King and People, who, he very well knew, would never suffer him to keep it with Ease. His intended Expedition against the *Mahometans*, towards which he stood in need both of Men and Money, I truly believe, did much contribute to this Act of Justice; at least Historians, generally say so. However, he did Justice to King *William*: And King *William* fail'd not, in his Turn, to express his Gratitude, by supplying him both with Money and Men: For he not only advanc'd the Sum demanded, but also encourag'd his Brother *Earl David*, (e) to whom he gave

(a) Anderson's Histor. Essay p. 662. (b) *ibid.* (c) Craig concerning Homage chap. 24. (d) Lib. 1. cap. 4.
 (e) Boeth. Buchan. in vit. Guliel. Echard lib. 2. p. 216. ad Ann. 1189.

gave a noble Equipage, and an Army of 5000 Men to accompany him into the Holy Land. 'Tis not to be doubted but *Scotsmen*, some of whom never fail'd to share, if not with the *Engliſh-Normans*, at least with the *Saxons* of *England*, and the *French*, their more ancient Confederates, in all the Wars, either of these Nations wag'd, especially in the Defence of Religion and Right: 'Tis not to be doubted, I say, but *Scotsmen* had long e're now contributed their Endeavours towards the Relief of *Jerusalem*. But because this is the first time, for ought I can learn, that they made up a distinct and remarkable Body in that Service, I have delay'd till now to give my Reader the Survey he may expect from the Perusal of my Proposals of those Wars, commonly call'd *Holy*; the most Famous by far, if not the most Glorious, the Powers of Christian *Europe* did ever undertake.

By what Means the *Roman Empire*, or rather that of the World, came first to decay, and how it came afterwards to be divided into that of the East, commonly call'd the *Grecian*, and that of the West, we call the *Roman Empire*, a Shadow of which as yet remains, I have elsewhere related. The Empire of the East had much the same Fate with that of the West: Its People and Princes, enervated by Ease, Wealth and Luxury, turn'd Effeminate; and barbarous Nations laid hold on the Opportunity to invade and conquer those delicious Provinces, nothing but Paradise could vye with. The *Arabian Saracens*, (a) under the Conduct of their Califs, the Successors of the Impostor and false Prophet *Mahomet*, did chiefly contribute to depress the *Grecian Power*. By Process of Time, they made themselves Masters of all the higher *Asia*, and of *Egypt*; and they had been in Possession of the Holy Land, and its Capital *Jerusalem*, during the space of about 400 Years, when the *Turks* seiz'd upon it in their Turn; and by their Revolt establish'd a new Dominion or Empire in *Asia*. These last had for several Years serv'd the *Saracens*; by whom they had been invited into *Persia*, as the *Saxons* were by the *Britains* into this Island. And indeed both these Auxiliary Nations serv'd in the same manner, that is, they beat off the Enemy, against whom they had been call'd, and then turn'd their Arms upon their Pay-Masters, and subdu'd them. So dangerous it ever was to depend upon mercenary Souldiers, or to give footing to Strangers, in a Land better, or but as good as their own. Under the Tyranny of these *Turks*, from Heathens now turn'd, in Imitation of the *Saracens*, *Mahumetans*, did the Christians of *Asia*, *Syria*, *Palestine*, and principally of *Jerusalem* groan; when a *Frenchman*, one *Peter* of *Amiens*, by Profession a Hermit, undertook a Pilgrimage to the Sepulchre of our Lord and Saviour. He beheld with Indignation and Sorrow, the captivated Monuments of the Redemption of Mankind: And having convers'd about the Matter with *Simon*, the then Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, engag'd at first to use all his Interest in *Europe*,

Occasion of
the Crusa-
des or Holy
War.

A. D. 1093.

Peter the
Hermit.

Y y y

towards

(a) L' Histoire des Croisades par le P. Maimbourg. Tho. Mill's History of the Holy War. The History of the World by Mr. Chevereau. Favyn dans son Theatre d' honneur. Vigenere dans ses Annotations du Tasse.

towards rescuing them, and the Christian Inhabitants of the Country, from Oppression and Slavery. And indeed he was as good as his Word, he wrote to the Pope, he went to *Rome*, he importun'd *Urban II.* a *Frenchman* as himself, to perss the Princes of his Communion to an Attempt so Glorious, and, as he said, so Easy. He describ'd to him all the Glories of *Palestine* and the adjacent Places, and made it appear, that 'twas practicable to conquer them. Some have thought that *Urban* himself, or his Predecessor, *Gregory VII.* had contriv'd the Business, and sent the Hermit to *Jerusalem*, as his Emiffary, with Orders to act the Part he did, both there, and after his Return. Be this as it will, 'tis certain that the Pontif, whether acted by Policy or Religion; or both, I do not determine, embrac'd the Project with Joy, and pursu'd it with all imaginable Zeal. He first sent the Hermit (who, tho a little Man, and but despicable in Appearance, had nevertheless a great deal of Conduct to manage, and Courage to undertake the most difficult Enterprizes) through most Countries of *Europe*, with Orders to publish everywhere, both in Conversation, and from the Pulpit, the very same Things he had related to himself. The Success of this Mission was incredibly great: Whether the Ardour of the Missionary made him more Eloquent than he naturally was, or, that the Grandeur and Novelty of the Project inflam'd the Minds of his Hearers, or, that Providence would have it so, it must be own'd, that the Endeavours of one Man had never so sudden nor so surprising an Effect, as on this Occasion. And when the Hearts and Minds of all Ranks of People had been thus unexpectedly predispos'd, the Pope call'd a Council, first at *Placentia* in *Italy*, and afterwards at *Clermont* in *Auvergn*.

Pope Urban II the first Author of the Holy War.

A. D. 1094.

To that of *Placentia* came, among an infinite Number of others, the Ambassadors of the *Grecian* Emperor, *Alexius Comnene*, who humbly intreated, and pathetically exhorted the Western Potentates to join their united Arms with his, and to rescue those poor Remains of the Eastern Empire, the Infidels threatn'd to swallow up; and to add to those numerous and unjust Conquests, they had already made over the Cross of Christ. This Embassy was admirably well tim'd, and contributed extremely to promote the Design in Hand: For by this Means, the Justice of the War was unquestionable, and it could not but be thought lawful for Christian Princes to support with their Auxiliary Arms, a Christian Emperor, Infidels were about to destroy. *Alexius* had Reason to defend those Territories he still enjoy'd: Nay, he had a good Title to those his Predecessors had lost in War, but had never given up by a Treaty of Peace. These last, the *Europeans* had a Mind, and were by himself invited, to recover; but then they were willing, and did actually oblige themselves, upon certain Conditions, to hold them in Fee of the *Grecian* Emperors. So that 'tis evident, the War was in every respect Lawful and Just: But the Zeal of those Ages would have it also to be Holy and Meritorious before God. For, in the Council

Council of *Clermont*, the Pope, as did all other Ecclesiasticks in their A. D. 1095. Sermons to the People, insisted chiefly upon the Miseries of the Christians in *Asia*, and the Devastation of those holy Places in *Jerusalem*, and the Parts adjacent. He told the Assembly, " That these
 " Places (once the Joy and Delight of the Universe) were now be-
 " come the Grief and Affliction of the Faithful: That the Chap-
 " pel of Christ's Conception at *Nazareth*, his Birth at *Bethlehem*, his
 " Burial on Mount *Calvary*, and of his Ascension on Mount *Olivet*,
 " once the Fountains of Piety, were now become the Sinks of all
 " Prophaneness. That the Holy Land, the City of God, the Inhe-
 " ritage of Jesus Christ, the Center of the Earth, and the Heart
 " of Christendom, (so he thought fit to call it) was now possess'd
 " and sully'd by Infidels, *Saracens* and *Turks*, who may in some
 " Measure be said to have driven the Lord of the Universe from
 " his Capital, and to triumph over him that gave first Life, and
 " and then Salvation to Mankind. That the Cross of Christ, the
 " Ornament and Glory of Crown'd Heads, was trampled upon, by
 " the most vile and wicked of *Adam's* Race. That therefore 'twas
 " highly necessary for them to take Arms, and with all the united
 " Powers of Christendom, to do what one of the *European* Nations
 " could alone effect: But that since all were concern'd, 'twas but
 " just that all should share in the Glory and Merit of the Attempt.
 " And the better to whet their Courage, he promis'd to all those that
 " would join in the Service, a full and plenary Indulgence; that is,
 " a Remission of all Penances usually impos'd by Confessors, after
 " Confession of Sins, and Repentance, express'd by the Sinner; as
 " also, a Relaxation of, or Dispensation with all the most rigorous
 " Ordinances and Canons of the then Church. Nay, he assur'd them,
 " that, would they take up the Cross, that is, as I said before, *Join in*
 " *the Service*, they could not fail of immortal Glory, or by vanqui-
 " shing their Infidel Enemies, or by dying as Martyrs for the Cause
 " of Christ.

'Tis almost incredible with what a wonderful Cheerfulness this Motion, (meeting with an active, zealous, and credulous World) was generally entertain'd. The Pope had not ended his Discourse, when the Assembly, compos'd of an infinite Number of Persons all Melting in Tears, beating their Breasts, casting up their Eyes, and lifting their Arms to Heaven, unanimously with one Voice, as if they had done it of Concert, cry'd out aloud, *God will. b. it; God willeth it.* After this, the Houses of most Men, noble and ignoble, the publick Places, the High-ways and Streets, were fill'd with Persons that wore a Red-Cross upon the right Shoulder: This was the Badge of the Listed, which gave Rise to the Words, *Cross* and *Crusade*. And this Badge was assum'd with so much Ardour in all Parts of *Europe*, especially among the *French* (who, to say the Truth, contributed as much alone towards this War, as all the other Nations together) that no Consideration of Interest, Pleasure, Love, Relation or Friendship, could hinder vast Multitudes from break-

ing all these Bonds, in order to tie themselves anew by solemn Vows, to perform their Part towards the Project laid down. Friends exhorted one another to the Thing, and promis'd their mutual Assistance in it. Enemies reconcil'd, and the Foe forgave and embrac'd the Person he had hated before. Natural Affection kept back, nor Husbands, nor Wives, nor Fathers, nor Sons; even the Religious quitted their Cloysters; and Quality, Age and Sex, were no Impediment to any in that Way. 'Tis true, say Authors, That all made not God's Glory their End: For some went away, or to follow their Friends, or to adapt their Devotion to their Interest: Others, lest they should be lookt upon as Cowards, and not a few, that they might be exempt from the Payment of their Debts. However it was, Mr. *Chevreau* tells us, That *Italy, France, Germany, Scotland, England, Hungary, Denmark and Swedland*, were engag'd in that War: And that the Princes, Dukes, Earls, Marquesses, Barons, Lords and Gentlemen, sold or morgg'd their Estates, to raise a Supply for the glorious Expedition. That Author (a) reckons *Scotland* among these the most forward Nations: And *Pere Maimbourg* (b) tells us, that the Knights of *St. Lazare*, an Order of Men, dedicated to the holy War, were numerous every where in *Europe*, but chiefly in *France, Scotland, England, &c.* The many Lands they were possess'd of in *Scotland*, as appears by the Charters and Grants of Princes and great Men in their Favour, yet extant; nay, the distinctive Crosses they wore, that still remain undefac'd upon several of their Houses and Castles, do evince the same Thing, and are so many Proofs, that tho the *Scots* were no so numerous, (and that was not to be expected from the Extent of their narrower and less opulent Territories) yet they were as forward, gallant, and zealous in the Service, as any of their Neighbours. The famous *Godfrey of Boloign*, Duke of *Lorain*, (from whose illustrious Family, that *De la Tour d'Arvergn*, yet extant in *France*, is lineally descended) had undoubtedly a greater Share both of Labour and Glory in the first Expedition, than any of the Confederate Pilgrims. His Brothers, *Eustach* and *Baudouin* accompanied him: And next to these three, the most noted in Story, were *Hugh* call'd the *Great*, a Brother of *Philip I.* King of *France*, *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, the eldest Son of King *William* the Conqueror of *England*, *Robert* Earl of *Flanders*, *Stephen* Earl of *Champaign*, *Alan* Lord Great Steward of *Scotland*, &c. All Heroes, whose admir'd Achievements (greater by far than those of the *Grecian* Confederates of old, I mean the *Agamemnon's*, *Achilles*, &c. that ruin'd *Troy*) have not mis'd of another *Homer* (c) to eternize them.

Scotsmen very active in the Holy War.

The beginning of this War was nevertheless unfortunate: For of no less than eight Armies, form'd out of an infinite Number of Volunteers, four of them were defeated in their Passage through *Hungary, Bulgaria* and *Greece*. But this was no Matter of Wonder; they were

A. D. 1097.

(a) *Chevreau* Histor. of the World, in the Reign of *Henry IV.* (b) *Histoire des Croisades* livre III. (c) The *Tasse*.

were rather ſo many Rabbles than Armies: They obſerv'd no Diſcipline nor Order: Their Chiftains were Fools or Knaves, and themſelves, for the moſt part, mean, abject Villains; the Raſcality of *Germany*, *France* and *Lorrain*; who had taken the Croſs, but to affront it; and fought not to Conquer, but to Plunder and Deſtroy: Inſomuch, that the Inhabitants of thoſe Countries through which they paſs'd, unable to bear their Inſolence and Breach of Faith, did but ſerve them as they deſerv'd. And it ſeems 'twas neceſſary that the Chriſtian Army ſhould be thus purg'd, by the moſt violent Remedies, from the Dregs of the baſer and ruder Multitude. The Remainder arriv'd at *Conſtantinople*; whither they came, partly by Sea, and partly by Land, and even theſe were computed to the Number of 600000 Foot, and 100000 Horſe, all Reſolute and Brave, and by Conſequence capable to have ſubdu'd, not only the Holy Land, but all *Aſia* and *Africk*. The Emperor *Alexius* thought no leſs: He trembl'd at the mighty Shew, dreaded the Deſigns of the arm'd Pilgrims, and unluckily entail'd his groundleſs Jealouſies on the Minds of all his Succeſſors, who dreaming that thoſe Weſtern Chriſtians pretended the Conqueſt of *Jeruſalem*, but intended that of *Conſtantinople*, could never be heartily reconcil'd to this War. However, he found that his Gueſts were powerful enough to command their own Welcome, and therefore entertain'd them civilly, and granted them Paſſage through his Territories; with this Proviſo, That they ſhould hold of him whatever they ſhould recover of the Eaſtern Empire, *Jeruſalem* only excepted. They frankly agreed to the Overture, and he oblig'd himſelf, on his Part, to furniſh them with Shipping, Armour, and all other Neceſſaries, towards the carrying on of the noble Deſign; which nevertheleſs he treacherouſly retarded by all the finiſtrous Means he could deviſe.

'Tis not to be expected, that I ſhould enlarge upon the Particulars of this memorable Expedition, the moſt Difficult, and the moſt Glorious, that was ever attempted by Men. In 1097, *Godfrey*, who, ſome ſay, Commanded in Chief the whole Army, which was, if not as Numerous, undoubtedly as Gallant and Brave, as ever the Sun beheld, took the Cities of *Nice* and *Heraclea* in *Bythinia*, *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*; he croſs'd *Aſia Minor*, drove the *Turks* out of *Antioch*, and having worſted theſe and all the Confederate Powers of *Persia*, *Babylon* and *Egypt*, in ſeveral pitch'd Battles, got at laſt Poſſeſſion of *Jeruſalem* in 1099, tho' at the beginning of the Siege, as ſome Authors aſſure us, he had but 30000 fighting Men; ſo very much were their Numbers leſſen'd by Toil, Hardſhips, Sickneſs, Deſertion and Combats. The City was taken by Storm; and there was a horrid Maſſacre made of the *Saracens* within it: For of late that People had re-taken it from the *Turks*, but to their Coſt, ſince, beſides the incredible Loſſes they ſuſtain'd, during the Siege, there were kill'd of them to the Number of 70000 about the Temple.

Before the Reduction of *Jeruſalem* the Chriſtians had already erected two Principalities in thoſe Parts, that of *Antioch*, and that of

Godfrey of
Boloign con-
quers *Jeru-*
ſalem.
A. D. 1099.

Edessa: Boemond Duke of *Apulia* had possess'd himself of that, and *Baudwin*, the Brother of *Godfrey* of this. And now 'twas thought fit to proceed to the Election of a King of *Jerusalem*: *Raymond*, Earl of *Tholouse*, was the first Man propos'd in the Assembly of Princes: But he was old, and had the Wisdom to decline that Grandeur he was incapable to support. The same Honour was done to *Robert*, Duke of *Normandy*, who, on all Occasions, had express'd an undaunted Courage and most active Zeal: And he too refus'd the Offer; either because he had an Eye to the *English* Throne, then Vacant, as he thought, by the Death of his Brother *William Rufus*, or because he imagin'd, that the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, would, in all Probability, be incumber'd with a continual War. But, says Mr. *Milles*, he who would not accept of the Crown, with the Cross, was afterwards forc'd to take the Cross, without the Crown: For, from that Day forward, he never thriv'd in any thing he undertook. The last and fittest Person condescended upon, was the Immortal *Godfrey*, who accordingly was proclaim'd King: But he would not take that Title upon him: And in Mr. *Chevreau's* Opinion, the Historians who have made him King, did make him so, purely by their own Authority: For he was neither Anointed nor Crown'd; Nay, he constantly refus'd to be King, because, as he express'd himself, he could not, without impious Ambition, wear a Crown of Gold upon his Head, where his Lord and Saviour had worn a Crown of Thorns. This is prov'd by his Epitaph, Here lies the Illustrious *Godfrey* of *Bouloign*, who gain'd all this Land, that the Christians might have it for their Worship. The same thing appears by the Ordinances and Letters of his Brother *Baldwin*, who succeeded him. They begin thus, *Baldwin* by the Grace of God, of all the French and Latins the first King of *Jerusalem*, as *William* of *Tyre* informs us. The same Historian tells us elsewhere, that *Baldwin* of *Bourg* was the second French King of *Jerusalem*, and that *Foulk* was the third. However, if *Godfrey* did not take the Title, 'tis certain that he had the Power and Authority of King, and that he was the Man in the World that deserv'd it best. For, but a few Days after the Administration of Affairs had been put upon him, with but 5000 Horse, and 15000 Foot, he defeated the Sultan of *Babylon's* Army, which was seven times stronger than his own, and kill'd no less than 100000 upon the Spot. He afterwards took the City of *Ascalon*, and having, in less than four Years, reduc'd *Lycania*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Comagena*, he died of the Plague, and was succeeded by his Brother *Baldwin*, and he again by such other Princes of his own Blood Royal, as reign'd with Glory, and baff'd all the Efforts of the still contending Infidels, till the Year 1143; when *Edessa*, one of the three Principalities possess'd by the Europeans in the East, (for to the two formerly mention'd, they had added that of *Tripoli*) was, by the Effeminate and Cowardly *Josselin* its Prince, unfortunately lost, and by *Sanguin*, Sultan of *Aleppo* and *Nive*, the most Potent of the *Turkish* Princes, regain'd.

Establishes
the King-
dom of *Je-
rusalem*.

A. D. 1100.

The renown'd *Noradin* succeeded to *Sanguin* his Father, in the Sovereignty of *Aleppo*: And 'twas not long, ere this young Hero, who had nothing of the *Barbarian* or *Turk*, but the Name, made himself Terrible to all his Neighbours, especially to the Christians: And 'twas with much difficulty, that the united Powers of *Germany* and *France*, under the Command of their respective Sovereigns, *Conrade III.* and *Lewis VII.* kept him within Bounds. He was succeeded by *Saladin* a *Turk*, yet more Potent, as Brave, and no less Ambitious than himself.

This *Saladin*, the Nephew of one *Syracon*, who, by the Orders of *Noradin*, had seisd on *Egypt*, which he Govern'd nevertheless with a seeming Dependency on its Calif or Sovereign, was one of the greatest Conquerors, and bravest Captains of his Age. Upon the Death of his Uncle, he murth'rd the *Egyptian* Calif, and made himself absolute Monarch of that opulent and fertile Country; which yet was not sufficient to satisfy his unbounded Desires of Conquest and Glory. He aspir'd at no less than the Empire of the East, and provided he could Conquer, he had little or no Regard, whether Christians or Infidels, *Turks* or *Saracens*. He found means to gain the Heart, and to enter the Bed of the Widow of his Master *Noradin*, whose Son he ungratefully disposseisd of *Mesopotamia*, Part of *Syria*, and all the Territories, his Father had acquir'd on both sides of the *Euphrates*. Thus strengthn'd by innumerable Acquisitions, and elated with amazing Success, he attack'd the Christians in their Turn. King *Baudwin IV.* tho in his Nonage frequently worsted, yet, when come to be Major, made a vigorous Opposition against the growing Torrent. But this *Baudwin*, being of a weak and sickly Constitution, was forc'd to trust the Management of Affairs to another; and he had the Misfortune to make a very unfit Choise. He pitch'd upon *Guy of Lusignan*, a young *Frenchman* of no great Reputation, either for Courage or Conduct, to whom he gave his Sister *Sybilla*, formerly the Wife of *William*, Marquess of *Montferrat* in Marriage. This was hugely dissatisfying to all the Grandees of the Kingdom, particularly to *Raymond* Earl of *Tripoli*, an Ambitious, Irreligious and resenting Prince, who could never forget the Injury he conceiv'd done to himself by the Preferment of a Person he so much undervalu'd. The Dissatisfaction of the Malecontents was heightn'd upon the Death of the valetudinary *Baudwin*, and yet more upon that of the Infant King, his Nephew, who surviv'd him but six Months, and then died, as was thought by Poison; whether given him by Earl *Raymond*, then his Tutor, or by *Sybilla* his own Mother, is still a Doubt: But this is certain, *Sybilla*, in her own Right, and *Guy de Lusignan*, because her then Husband, found Means to ascend the Throne. Earl *Raymond* was the Heir Male, and, as such, he had both Pretensions and Friends: But these last were unable or unwilling to set him up. *Guy* had been fairly own'd King of *Jerusalem* in Right of his Wife: And to commence a civil War, as Matters then stood, was to give up

The Sultan
Saladin.

Great Divisions in the Kingdom of *Jerusalem* bring on its Ruin.

both King and Kingdom to Foreign Infidels, ready to catch at all Opportunities of subduing the Christian States. But *Raymond* had another View of the Matter, he would needs Reign, if not by the Assistance of his Christian Friends, at least by that of his Infidel Enemies. To bring about this, the worst of Designs, he treated with *Saladin*, and promis'd, what was yet worse, to deliver up the Kingdom into his Hands, and to turn *Mahumetan*, provided he was made Master of it: Nay, he kept his Word, for he first betray'd the Christian Army into an Ambuscade, laid by the *Turks* near *Tiberias*; then throwing off the Mask, he retir'd to his Principality of *Tripoli*, and confirm'd the Opinion every Body had of his Treason, by Apostatizing from his Religion, and owning himself, what he really was, a Renegado. So frail is the the Nature of Man when overpower'd by Passion, and destitute of Grace: This is never wanting to those that seek it: But Passions of all sorts, Ambition especially, obstruct its Passage into the Soul. And in all Ages and Nations we find, that great Numbers, to purchase Diadems, have, as *Raymond*, despis'd Religion; and, like the unnatural *Tullia*, trode upon Parentage: Whereas but few, not one perhaps in a Century, have either resign'd their Crowns in Favour of more righteous Owners, or abdicated precisely from a Principle of Conscience.

Saladin in the mean time pursu'd his Victory; and a very great one it was, since both the true Cross of our Saviour, at least that which every Body believ'd to be so, and King *Guy* were taken. In one Months time he conquer'd *Berytus*, *Biblis*, *Ptolemais*, and all the Sea-Port Towns but *Ayre*, from *Sidon* to *Ascalon*. He summon'd that Place also: But finding the Governour, Garrison and Inhabitants resolv'd to defend it to the last, he laid aside that Enterprize, and undertook another he thought more easy, more Honourable, and no less Advantageous, the Siege of *Jerusalem* it self. Accordingly he sat down before that Capital; and to be short (for I do not incline to enlarge upon a Subject so Melancholy) made himself Master of the Holy City, on the Fourteenth Day of the Siege. Those of the *Greek Church* he permitted to stay and live in it as before, but commanded all the *Latines* to depart. Never was any thing more moving, or more lamentable, than to behold such Swarms of People of all Ranks and Ages thus unluckily constrain'd to abandon those Sacred Places, their Fathers had Purchas'd at the Expence of so much Treasure and Blood, Places they never lov'd so passionately, as now they must leave them. The preceeding Night before their Departure, nothing was to be heard or seen among them, but Sighs and Tears, and doleful Lamentations of Women, Children and Men, both Young and Old. They could not think of withdrawing, especially from the Sepulchre of their Lord: But they crowded about it, washing it with their Tears, and lying prostrate on the Ground kiss'd it for the last time. Mothers held their Infants, as yet unable to walk, in their Arms; Husbands help'd with one Hand their Wives thus laden with the be-

lov'd

Saladin conquers almost all the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*.

lov'd Burdens to advance, and with the other led, or rather drew after them such of their Children as could step. The strongest Youth truss'd up their aged Fathers and Mothers on their Backs; and all were employ'd in bringing of something more Dear and Precious to them, than their Money or Moveables. The Queen and Patriarch were Banish'd as the rest, and the Groans of the desolate Nation could not but be carried to, and heard over all the Provinces and States of Christendom. All *Europe* Eccho'd back their condoling Affliction to *Syria*, and some hasten'd to afford the remaining Christians in those Parts what Comfort they could. The Pope, *Urban III.* died for Grief the very Moment he was told of the grating News: And the Court of *Rome* Reform'd it self so zealously, that besides other voluntary Penances, even the Cardinals unanimously resolv'd to lay aside their rich Furniture, Retinues and Equipage, and to Walk or Travel never otherwise, but on Foot, while the Feet of *Mahumetans* should tread on the Holy Land. This Resolve it seems their Suceffors have not thought binding upon them; otherwise, or *Jerusalem* had been regain'd ere this time, or Cardinals had still been; what all, especially Church-men, should be, Mortified and Humble. However, their Example, and the powerful Exhortations of the succeeding Popes, *Gregory VIII.* and *Clement III.* had their wonted Influences upon the *European* Princes.

The Emperor, *Frederick* of *Suabia*, the first of that Name, and, by Reason of the Colour of his Hair or Beard, Sirnam'd *Barbe-Rouffe*, was the first that took effectual Measures towards retrieving the Losses sustain'd by the Eastern Christians: Old as he was, he set himself upon the Head of an Army of 50000 Volunteers (more he would not have) but all chosen Men, the best and bravest *Germany* could raise. Upon the Head of these he did Wonders, and probably would have effected all he intended, had not unsearchable Providence thought fit to over-rule his Designs. For, as this brave Emperor beheld the Chrystal and slow moving Waters of *Cydus*, a River made famous by the Danger, *Alexander* the Great escap'd narrowly, after having Bath'd in it, he would needs do as *Alexander* had done, that is, he would refresh his Body by washing it in the River. The Season of the Year was excessively Hot, and the Pores of the Body by Consequence open: Through these the cold Water got a quick and easy Admittance into the circulating Blood, which being thereby retarded in its Motion; and not long after entirely obstructed, the ag'd Emperor fell in a Swoon, sunk to the Bottom, and, tho' quickly rescu'd from the Waters, yet could not, as *Alexander*, be preserv'd from Death. His Son *Frederick*, Duke of *Suabia*, succeeded him in the Command of the Army, and the Officers and Souldiers renew'd their Oaths to him, with as much Joy, as so general a Consternation could bear. This young Prince shew'd himself worthy of the Preferment he obtain'd: He pass'd over the Belly of all Opposers; and a great many he met with every where on his March. But the Plague that rag'd at *Antioch* was not to

Frederick Barbe-Rouffe endeavours to recover *Jerusalem*, but unsuccessfully.

be conquer'd as the *Turks* : It swept off by far more of his Men than had been lost in all the Combats they had fought ; insomuch that he had not above 7000 Foot, and 5 or 600 Horse, when he join'd the Christian Army, that for two Years bypast, had unsuccessfully lyen before the City of *Ptolemais* : Upon what Account I am now to relate ; and the rather, because, as Mr. *Milles* tells us, the Christian Army that besieg'd that Place, was, as it were, the Abridgment of the Christian World, there being scarce a petty State, or popular City in *Europe*, that had not some Representatives there.

The Christians having lost *Jerusalem*, (which, by the By, *Saladin* would not part with, as he had promis'd, in Favour of the infamous Count of *Tripoli*, who, seeing himself thus deluded, and by his own Subjects despis'd, was so struck with Confusion and Rage, that he first became Mad, and then Died, as most Traytors, impenitent for ought we know, and unregretted :) The Christians, I say, after this great Loss, remain'd in Possession of but few or no fortified Places in those Parts, besides *Antioch*, *Tripoli*, *Ascalon*, and *Tyre*. *Tripoli*, after the Death of *Raymond*, gave it self to the Prince of *Antioch*, and the Queen *Sybilla* deliver'd *Ascalon* into the hands of *Saladin*, in Exchange for the Person of her Husband, King *Guy* : So that this unfortunate Prince, now deliver'd from Captivity, had nothing left him of the whole Kingdom, but the City of *Tyre* ; nor could he get Possession even of that, the only Town he had any manner of Right to. *Saladin* had laid Siege to it, in Pursuance of the Design he had to reduce all the Christian Territories : And he had undoubtedly carried it, but for the incomparable Valour and good Fortune of one Man, *Conrade*, the fourth Son of *William* Marquis of *Montferrat*. This *Conrade*, after having done most eminent Services to the Pope in *Italy*, and to the *Grecian* Emperor *Isaaccius* at *Constantinople*, arriv'd at *Tyre*, together with a brave, tho' small Retinue of Volunteers, just as that City, reduc'd to the last Extremities, was about to surrender. He offer'd his Assistance to the Inhabitants, but with this Proviso, That they should acknowledge him as their lawful and righteous Sovereign, in Case he had the good Luck to effect their Delivery. They agreed to the Overture, and had Reason to do so, since now the Kingdom was lost, and their imprison'd King could reap no Advantage from their otherwise inevitable Ruin. He sav'd them, contrary to all humane Expectation, from the threaten'd Danger, and henceforth would needs continue, what he thought himself in Justice to be, Sovereign of *Tyre*. King *Guy* thought otherwise, and having no other Place to retire to, after his Redemption, desir'd to be admitted into that City, in the Quality of King of *Jerusalem*. *Conrade* refus'd the Access desir'd, and upon this commenc'd an Enmity between those two Princes, as fatal to the common Cause, as it was sinful in them. *Guy* undertook to dispossess his Rival by Force of Arms, but being dissuaded by the wiser Counsels of those about him, from the vain and dangerous Attempt, he took his further Measures from the Anger and De-

Despair that possess'd him, and all on a sudden turning about to the Left, he march'd his little Army straight to *Ptolemais*. He hop'd to have surpris'd that strong, pleasant, and well Peopl'd maritime City; but he was mistaken: The numerous Garrison despis'd the Handful of Troops he had with him (for he had not above 10000 Men, Horse and Foot) and were not so much as at the Trouble to shut their Gates. This Presumption was like to have cost them dear: And 'tis believ'd, that the Christians had enter'd and carried the Place at their first Arrival, had not their Ardour been cool'd by a false Report of *Saladin's* being at Hand, and ready to fall on their Rear.

A. D. 1190.
Ptolemais
besieg'd by
the Christi-
ans.

King *Guy*, by no Body accounted Brave, dreaded even the Shadow of *Saladin*: He retreated to *Turon*, a little Hill, at no great distance from the Town, and there entrench'd and fortified himself, with a Resolution to wait the Arrival of such European Pilgrims, as their more forward Zeal, than that of the then Kings of *France* and *England*, (I mean *Philip Augustus*, and *Henry II.* who by no Reasons could be prevail'd with to lay aside their particular Quarrels) brought every Day over to the Holy Land. They came in such Numbers, that in a short time they were able to defend themselves, against an Army of 100000 Men, who having attack'd them in vain, environ'd and block'd them up in their very Camp; insomuch that the Besiegers were themselves besieg'd, and had all perish'd for want of the Necessaries of Life, had not two Christian Fleets come in view, and cast Anchor at the same time in the Road of *Ptolemais*. The one was Man'd with a select Number of *Danes*, *Frisons* and *English*, and had been join'd at Sea by some *French*, as impatient of Delay as themselves; t'other with *Germans*. By these, even the discontented, but brave *Conrade* Prince of *Tyre*, was prevail'd upon to assist in the common Cause, and they made all together an Army of no less than 4000 Horse, and 100000 Foot. *Saladin's* Army was yet more Numerous, being made up of 100000 Horse, and of Foot in Proportion. In a word, both Parties, thus strengthn'd by Numbers, and by their mutual Animosities enrag'd, came quickly to an Engagement in the open Fields. The braver Christians soon routed and dispers'd the *Turks*: But instead of pursuing the Chase, as they ought to have done, run tumultuously to the Enemy's Camp, and hearkning to no Orders, but those their Avarice suggested, set themselves to Plunder the immense Riches, and costly Pavilions of the magnificent *Saladin*. That Barbarian Hero perceiv'd their Disorder, and in an Instant rallying his scatter'd Forces, (for those Nations, like the ancient *Parthians* their Predecessors, were as soon rally'd, as they had been easily dispers'd) return'd to the Charge. But he was stopt in his Carrear, by the Grand-Master of the *Templars*, whose Knights and inferior Souldiers, had alone, of all the Christian Army, kept their Order and Ranks. These brave Men, who were a Medley of all Nations in *Europe*, especially *Italians*, *French*, *Scots* and *English*, did Wonders: They

They fought almost to the last Man; and by dying in the Bed of Honour, preserv'd the Lives of thousands of others: For the rest of the Army was again brought into some Order, and had, for the second time, secur'd the Victory, but for another Mistake. They imagin'd that the Enemy within the City had sally'd out, and fallen in their Turn upon the Christian Camp: Thither they would needs run, in order to save it, and *Saladin* fail'd not to pursue them in the Rear: But he was repuls'd by a fresh Body of Christians, who having been appointed to Guard the Camp, had not yet been in Action. Thus ended that famous Battle, all the Nations of *Europe* and *Asia* had so much Concern about. Both Sides were Victors, and both were Vanquish'd, but the loss of Men was incomparably greatest on that of *Saladin*: He could best spare them, and 'twas not long ere he was reinforc'd by Numbers equal to those he had lost; in somuch that the Christians, now resolv'd to have the Town at any Rate, were oblig'd to cast up Lines of Circumvallation against the Army of *Saladin*, and of Countervallation in Opposition to the Rampiers of the City.

'Tis not my Province to enter into the Detail of all the Heroick Actions atchiev'd at this double Siege: It had lasted two Years when *Frederick* Duke of *Suabia*, and *Leopold* Duke of *Austria* arriv'd in the Christian Camp, with the Remains of that victorious Army, *Frederick Barbe-Roufs* had brought from *Germany*: But this Reinforcement was not sufficient, no more than the others sent daily from *Sicily*, *Venice*, *Genoa*, &c, nor to conquer the Town, nor to beat *Saladin* from the Neighbourhood. This was a Task not to be perform'd, but by the personal Bravery and united Power of the two greatest Monarchs of that Age, *Philip* firnam'd *Augustus*, King of *France*, and *Richard*, deservedly call'd *Cœur de Lion*, King of *England*. How soon this last came to the Throne, he resolv'd upon the glorious Attempt, and left nothing undone, that could contribute to make it Succesful. *William* King of *Scotland* assisted him with Men and Money, for the Reasons I mention'd above: And 'tis probable, that since he was as Martial, and more Religious than himself, he would have also inclin'd to have been an Actor on this great Theatre of Vertue and Honour: But to say the Truth, *Scotland* had never Wealth enough to afford the Charges of so great and so remote an Expedition, and 'twas beneath the Majesty of *Scots* Kings to appear in Person, where they could not make a Figure, equal to their Equals in Dignity. They therefore thought fit to keep at Home; but never fail'd to send Men to the Meritorious Service (as was then thought) for the most part in Conjunction with the *French*, but with the *English* on this Occasion. *Earl David*, King *William's* Brother was the Greatest and Noblest in King *Richard's* Army, and the *Scotsmen* under his Command, being in Number 5000, as I have already related, had no doubt their Share in the Misheurs and Succes of that equally glorious and unfortunate Expedition. For this Reason 'tis (besides I incline to Illustrate the Worth

Philip Augustus King of *France*, and *Richard Cœur de Lion* King of *England* assisted by *William* King of *Scotland* in their Expedition against *Saladin*.

Earl David the Brother of King *William* goes to the Holy Land.

of that *English* Heroe) that I presume, I may be allow'd to follow the Royal Pair, I mean King *Richard* and Earl *David*, to and from the End of their Pilgrimage.

King *Richard*, (a) having settl'd the Affairs of his Kingdom, and contracted a most intimate and necessary Friendship with *William*, King of *Scotland*, who, (says Mr. *Echard* ingenuously and truly) religiously kept the Alliance concluded in the greatest troubles of King *Richard*, to his and his Nation's Honour, cross'd the Seas to meet King *Philip* in *France* according to Appointment, that from thence, with Minds and Forces united, they might set forward under the Banner of the Cross. They met at *Nonancour*; and after having renew'd the Treaty, before agreed to, and given to one another repeated Assurances of eternal Friendship and mutual Confidence, they commene'd their Journey together, from *Vezelay* to *Lyons*, where, for Conveniency of Travelling they were oblig'd to part Company. *Philip* pass'd over the *Alps* into *Italy*, and *Richard* went to *Marseilles*, there to meet with his Royal Navy, which he nevertheless did not find. He waited eight Days in hopes of its Arrival, and then being naturally forward, and impatient of Delays, he embark'd with the Attendance of but twenty hir'd Galleys and ten great Bushes, and set Sail for *Messina* in *Sicily*, the Rendezvous of both the Kings and their Armies. The grand Fleet, which had been accidentally detain'd for some time on the Coasts of *Portugal*, by reason of an Irruption made into that Kingdom by the *Saracens*, whom the Christian Pilgrims repuls'd, came up and join'd him at *Salerna*, thence he sail'd to *Messina*, where King *Philip* tarried for him, with a great deal of Anxiety and Impatience.

Their meeting was equally acceptable to themselves and their Followers: And here again the two Monarchs gave one another such Testimonies of Friendship, as every Body thought sincerely Cordial. But this good Correspondence lasted not long; nor could it, considering their different Characters, and the unavoidable Ennulation they lodg'd in their Breasts, and could never lay aside, till they ceas'd to be.

The *French* have made *Philip* a Heroe: And undoubtedly *Richard* was one. They were both great Men, but had both their Failings; *Richard* the greater, but *Philip* the less generous: For even the Vices of the King of *England* had something in them that was Splendid, and in some Sense commendable: He was often offensive and injurious to others, but he was above board so; and where he was an Enemy, he own'd himself such. Whereas, the King of *France* was more seemingly Moderate, less apt to offend, and tho' accus'd of being naturally Passionate, and given to Anger, unless provok'd not at all Quarrellsome: But then he was extremly Resenting, when he thought himself injur'd, could dissemble his Wrath, and in Spite of Honour and Conscience, catch at Opportunities of being reveng'd.

B b b b

reveng'd.

(a) Histoire des Croisades par P. Maimburg. livre VI. Mill's History of the Holy War chap. 19. Echard, Tyrrel, Brady, &c. in the Reign of King Richard. Pere D'Orleans Histoire des Revolut. d'Anglet. livre 11.

The Quarrels of Philip and Richard make their Expedition unsuccessful.

reveng'd. King *Richard* had the Misfortune to have to do with more than one of this Temper: And it must be own'd, that his many great Qualifications were allay'd with such Vices, I mean an unquiet, and sometimes turbulent Disposition of the Mind: A presuming Forwardness, an over-daring Valour, and such as led him to commit a great many Acts of Imprudence; and those again fail'd not to beget Enemies, by far greater, than the suppos'd Injuries he had done them. The first Occasion of Offence, given by King *Richard*, to the King of *France*, was this: *Richard* quarrell'd with *Tancred*, King, or, rather Usurper of *Sicily*, who, indeed, was in the wrong to him, but was soon brought to atone for his design'd Injustice: For the *English* seiz'd upon a Fortrefs in the Island, of a People call'd *Griffons*: And after that, by means of an extraordinary Tumult, on the City of *Messina* it self; nay, their King, thus flush'd with Victory, caus'd display his Banners, even in those Parts of the Town that had been appointed for King *Philip's* Quarters: Who, besides, that he did not approve of these violent Measures, could by no means suffer the Affront put upon himself. He resent'd it extreamly: And in the first Heat of his Anger, commanded the *English* Banners to be taken down, and the *French* to be set up in their Place. Upon this, a warm Contest arose between both Nations, which at length, by the Mediation of wise Men, on both Sides, was adjust'd thus: The *English* Ensigns were taken down, and the *French* were not set up. But King *Philip* had been irritated; and he afterwards took it ill, that the King of *England* should have first taken up a Quarrel at a brave *French* Officer, precisely because the Officer had not had the Complaisance to suffer himself to be worsted and dishon'd by him in a mock Combat, and then declin'd to re-admit the Gentleman into Favour, notwithstanding the King of *France* beg'd Pardon for him. Neither did the same Monarch like to see King *Richard* enter into separate Measures with King *Tancred*, whose partial Friendship, he had forc'd by his Arms, and afterwards improved by Treaties, he thought prejudicial to the Interest of *France*.

This *Tancred* was all over an *Italian*: He had been born a Bastard, yet found Means to usurp the Throne, and to be acknowledg'd King of *Sicily*: He lik'd neither of the Kings, his Guests, and therefore made it his Business to heighten their reciprocal Jealousies. With this View, he brought a supposititious Letter (say the *French*, and the *English* do not positively assert that it was a real one) to King *Richard*: This Letter, he said, had been sent to himself, from the King of *France*, who in it warn'd him of King *Richard's* being a Traitor; and exhorted him to join with the *French*, and assault that Prince in the Night. A most improbable Calumny, and such, say *French* Authors, as King *Richard* did not at all believe, but made this Answer, *I'm no Traitor, and as it never enter'd into my Mind to betray any one, so I cannot believe, that the King my Lord, has any Thoughts of betraying me: He is not capable of so mean an Action, and this Letter must be none of his.* Yet upon second Thoughts he resolv'd

to improve the pretended Discovery to his Advantage, and affecting Resentment, Commission'd the Earl of *Flanders* to let the King of *France* know, that he had been warn'd in time, and was upon his Guard. *Philip* was astonish'd at the calumnious Story, and scorning to take notice of the perfidious *Tancred*, who, he thought, had of Concert with King *Richard*, contriv'd the Plot, and forg'd the Letter, he made Answer to the Earl, *That this Invention of King Richard was too coarse, and but a weak Pretence for a premeditated Quarrel. 'Tis easy, added he, to penetrate the Mystery: The King of England has no mind to Marry my Sister; and he wants but a Pretence to palliate the Breach of his Faith; if so, he may depend upon it, I and mine shall be his Enemies for ever.*

Philip was not mistaken, with Reference to the Marriage: 'Tis true that King *Richard* had sworn to compleat it with *Alice*, the Sister of King *Philip*: But *Alice*, as I have elsewhere related, was suspected to have had a Criminal Correspondence with his Father *Henry II.* Nay, he had been told of late, that she had a Child to him; and at length he let the King of *France* know so much. Upon this ungrateful Discovery, and upon certain new Conditions agreed to by the two Kings, who, for the Advancement of the grand Design in hand, were once more prevail'd with to lay aside their Animosities, *Philip* left the other at Liberty to take to Wife, the Person he lik'd best, *Berengaria* Daughter to the King of *Navarra*, and seem'd to be reconcil'd to him, tho, says Mr. *Echard*, *Tancred's* late Information (true or false, Mr. *Tyrrel* believes it to have been false) rais'd such a Distrust and Jealousy between them, that from thence forward they were never true Friends.

Not long after, they both parted for the intended Holy Expedition: *Philip* was the first that set Sail, and after a prosperous Navigation of but twenty two Days, he arriv'd at *Ptolemais*, otherwise call'd *Acon* or *Acre*. The Siege of that important City continu'd still, and this was the third Year of it. *Philip*, if we may believe the *French* Historians, could have taken it as soon as he arriv'd: For his battering Engines, say they, made instantly such a Breach in the Walls, and his Men shew'd so much Ardour to enter it, that 'twas generally expected they should have Storm'd the Town that very Day. But *Philip*, unwisely Generous, and over faithful to his Rival in Glory, the King of *England*, would needs have this last to partake in the Honour and Merit of so noble a Conquest: And therefore, checking the Forwardness of his Souldiers, declin'd giving an Assault, and contented himself to make good the advanc'd Posts he had gain'd, till King *Richard* should come up. This, in my Opinion, is not probable in it self, nor honourable to the King of *France*: However, if it is true that he waited for King *Richard*, he must needs have had a great deal of Patience, for he waited very long. And the Reason was this,

The same Day that *Philip* and the *French* Forces set Sail from *Messina*, *Eleanor* King *Richard's* Mother arriv'd with *Berengaria*, his

new intended Spouse: This occasion'd some Delay. But what follow'd? Much more. His Royal Navy, consisting of 150 large Ships, and 53 Gaileys, besides 13 Bushes and many Tenders, after having put to Sea, was, luckily for the Interest and Glory of this brave Prince, dispers'd by a terrible Storm: For two of the Vessels being cast away upon the Coasts of *Cyprus*, and the Ship, that carried the Princesses, in great Danger. *Isaac* the King, (or, as he call'd himself, the Emperor of that Island, which he had usurp'd from the Emperor of *Greece*) barbarously rifl'd and imprison'd such as had escap'd and got to the Shore; and the Ladies, tho in the greatest Distress imaginable, he would not suffer to Land. King *Richard* got quick intelligence of this uncommon Inhumanity, and resolv'd upon present Revenge: He instantly commanded a competent Number of his Souldiers to Land: They obey'd, in Spite of Opposition, and *Isaac* was soon driven from the Coasts with great Dishonour and Slaughter, and afterwards beaten out of his Camp, and taken Prisoner. He made his Escape, after having agreed to Terms of Accomodation, he was unwilling to make good. But being hotly pursu'd by the *English*, and for his former Tyranny and Usurpation hated by the *Cyprians*, he despair'd of being conceal'd, and therefore came of his own Accord, and was ingloriously, but deservedly, fetter'd with Chains of Silver. Upon this the whole Island, with all its People, Strength and Riches, became Subject to the King of *England*, and both *Isaac* and his Daughter were led into Captivity. In this Island, King *Richard* was honour'd by the Attendance of *Guy* or *Guido*, King of *Jerusalem*, *Jeoffry* his Brother, *Raymond*, Prince of *Antioch*, *Boemund* his Son, and many other Princes, who leaving the Siege of *Ptolemais*, came to anticipate his Favour, and to Conduct him thither.

Thus, laden with Riches and Glory, he put again to Sea, and by the Way, had the good Fortune to meet with, and sink a large and well man'd Ship, that belong'd to *Saladin*; and then arriv'd in Triumph at the Christian Camp. Yet the Siege went on but slowly, by Reason of the Misunderstanding and Jealousy of the two Kings of *England* and *France*. Each had his Faction apart, that of *Philip* was compos'd of the *Genoese*, Knights, *Templars*, Duke of *Burgundy*, and *Conrade* of *Montferrat*, who, besides the Principality of *Tyre* he was possess'd of, had, since the Death of *Sybilla*, King *Guy's* Wife, Married her younger Sister *Isabella*, and in her Right, (for *Sybilla* had no Children) pretended to the Kingdom of *Jerusalem* it-self. *Guy* had no Title to it, but by his Wife, and who, tho she was now Dead, yet having been once a King, he thought he had Right to be one while he liv'd. For this End, he courted the Protection of King *Richard*, and together with the *Pisans*, Knights of the Hospital, the *Fleemings* and *Henry* Earl of *Champaign*, made up that Faction, of which the King of *England* was Chief.

These Unchristian Divisions, equally occasion'd by King *Philip's* Jealousy, who found himself Eclips'd by the more splendid Successes

King Richard
and conquers
the Island of
Cyprus.

Joins the
Christian
Army before
Ptole-
mais.

cesses of King *Richard*, and by King *Richard's* haughty and presuming Temper, who seem'd to insult the Majesty of King *Philip*, very much retarded the Reduction of the Town: Yet it was taken at length, and, if we may believe *Boethius*, (a) more by the Conduct of Earl *David*, the King of *Scotland's* Brother, than by the united Efforts of the emulous Monarchs. He tells the Story after this manner,

Ptolemais
is taken by
the good
Conduct of
Earl *David*.
A.D. 1192.

One *Oliver*, a *Scotsman*, had been guilty of Theft or Robbery, and, to avoid Punishment, gone over to the *Turks*: This Renegado, in his Judgment still a Christian, was posted on some of the Out-works of the Town, at no great Distance from another Place, where Earl *David's* Souldiers were upon Duty: Among these, he chanc'd to espy an old Acquaintance of his own, by Name *John Durward*, he saluted him in the *Scots* Language, and express'd an Inclination to atone for his Apostacy by serving the Christians. *Durward* told so much to the Earl, and he to the other Commanders, who all encourag'd the Design, and left the Management of it to himself. To be short, the Earl promis'd mighty Rewards to *Oliver*; and *Oliver* found means to advise him from Time to Time of the Condition of the Besieg'd; And at length, to introduce him and his Men into a Port of the City. This may be true, tho I read it no where but in *Boethius*, and in such others as have copy'd from him: But 'tis certain, (b) that the Christian Princes had a Christian Intelligencer within the Town, but could not find him out, when Masters of it. This they very much regrated, but more, that the true Cross of our Saviour, either carelessly lost, or enviously conceal'd by the *Turks*, did no where appear.

After the Surrender of *Ptolemais*, the two Kings divided the Spoils and Prisoners equally between their Men and Friends, and all were pleas'd with their respective Shares; only *Leopold*, Duke of *Austria*, receiv'd an Affront from King *Richard*, which he then wisely put up, but afterwards inhumanely resentted. His Banners had been planted on the Walls, and King *Richard*, who lov'd him not (say the *French* Historians) by reason of his Attachment to King *Philip*, commanded the *Austrian* Ensign to be taken down, torn to pieces, and thrown into one of the Sinks of the City: Not long after this he did another Action, no less blameable: For upon *Saladin's* refusing to ratify the Capitulation agreed to by the Besieg'd, he commanded, in the Heat of his Passion, seven thousand *Turkish* Prisoners to be put to the Sword, and by this rash and cruel Act oblig'd *Saladin* to cut off, by way of Reprisal, an equal Number of Christians. King *Philip* was more Wise and Moderate: He spar'd the Prisoners that fell to his Share, and would by no means give Occasion to the Infidels, neither to give, nor to ask Quarters.

Thus the Conduct of these Monarchs was ever opposite: And 'twas plain, that they could no longer Act in Conjunction with one another. Wherefore the King of *France* seeing so little Probabi-

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lity

(a) In vit. Guilielmi. (b) Maimbourg Histoire des Croisades, liv. vi.

King Philip
returns to
France.

lity of Honour or Advantage, resolv'd to return home to his own Dominions; and the rather, because by the Death of the Earl of *Flanders*, he had an Opportunity of enlarging them, and of annexing that County to the Crown of *France*. Perhaps he design'd likewise to take Advantage of King *Richard's* Absence, who, fearing to let an offended *Lyon* go loose, would not grant his Consent (without which *Philip* was by Treaty bound not to leave the Expedition unfinish'd) till this last had taken a solemn Oath, that he would protect the Dominions and People of the former, and would do no Dammage to them, nor suffer any to be done by others. How well he observ'd this Obligation, we shall afterwards see: However, home he went, and after his Example a great many more; the Duke of *Austria* among the rest. But the Duke of *Burgundy* stay'd and commanded the remaining *French*. With him King *Richard* could as little agree as with King *Philip*, yet (notwithstanding their continual Heart-burnings, and never relenting Animosities, which came to such a Height, that they made Ballads, or defaming Songs upon one another) King *Richard* perform'd so numerous, and so signal Atchievements, that his immortal Name will ever be ranked among the formost in the Records of Fame.

He defeated the *Turks* wherever he found them, gain'd two great Battels, reliev'd *Joppa*, seiz'd upon a Rich Caravan, that was guarded by 10000 Men, and had undoubtedly reconquer'd *Jerusalem*, had he not feard' to have lost *England*. He came in View of the Holy City once and again, and no Body doubted but he should soon be Master of it; when, contrary to the Expectation of all concern'd, he call'd a Council of War, and put the Question to a select Number of Officers, Whether they thought it proper to begin the Siege at that time, or to defer it to another: They determin'd in his Favour, that is, they advis'd to delay. This Bizzarre, and, in Appearance, unaccountable Conduct, surpris'd the whole Army: They knew not the secret Motives, by which King *Richard* was acted; and therefore unjustly concluded, that this Prince was Brib'd by *Saladin*, and that he meant not to resettle Christianity in those Parts, but to make a Parade, and to fill his Coffers. These Aspersions, so inconsistent with the Honour and Reputation of so Great and Generous a Monarch, forc'd him to make publick what 'twas absolutely necessary to conceal: He let the Army to know that *England* was all in a Flame, by reason of the unnatural Designs of his Brother, Earl *John*, and that his Territories in *France* were threatn'd by the Infidelity of King *Philip*. *Saladin* being soon inform'd of the Necessity under which King *Richard* lay, retur'd in haste, and tho' every where worsted by his superior Arms, yet he dictated the Terms of an Accomodation: For, by the three Years Truce agreed to, the Christians lost all the Conquests they had made since the Reduction of *Ptolemais*, and the *Turks* continu'd in Possession of *Palestine*. Thus, this great *Crusade* ended, as ingloriously, as it had been zealously begun, and gallantly carried on, and
King

King *Richard* departed with the Displeasure of having on one side concluded a dishonourable Truce, and on the other, with the Satisfaction of having bestow'd two Kingdoms at his Departure; that of *Jerusalem*, which *Guy* was now willing to yield, upon the Earl of *Champaign*; and that of *Cyprus*, which himself had conquer'd, upon *Guy*. *Conrade* of *Montferrat* had been Assassinated some time before, and the Earl of *Champaign*, having married his Widow, had by her the best Title to *Jerusalem*: *Guy* had none at all, save that he had been the Husband of that Princess's Sister; yet, as an Equivalent for his Pretensions, King *Richard* gave him *Cyprus*, and that Island continu'd in his House, during the space of 280 Years.

Thus *Richard*, having settl'd the Affairs of the East, and sent away his Queen, and Sister, on Board the grand Fleet, he follow'd in a large Bush; which, because it sail'd not so quick as he wish'd, he left at *Corfu*, and embark'd in a light Galley; but to his Cost: For the Galley, unable to resist the Shock of a Storm that arose, was driven upon the Coast that lies between *Venice* and *Aquileia*. From thence the King, desirous to avoid *France*, took his Journey through *Germany*. He thought to have pass'd through that Country *incognito*; but he was disappointed: He was unluckily discover'd in *Austria*, and brought to Duke *Leopold*, the very same he so signally affronted in *Palestine*. The Duke gave him up to the Emperor, *Henry V.* who, having a just Claim to the Kingdom of *Sicily*, extremely resented King *Richard*'s Alliance and Friendship with *Tancred*. Both these Princes, naturally Revengeful, and shamefully Covetous, jointly concurr'd in Captivating a King, whose Person they Hated, and from whose large and rich Territories they expected, and indeed got, a Ransom incredibly great.

The Emperor gave private Accounts of the Adventure to King *Philip*, and *Philip*, who, notwithstanding his Oath to the contrary, had already under Pretence of the Non-performance of a former Treaty, made some Attempts upon *Normandy*, thought that now he had a yet better Opportunity of Retaliating the Injury receiv'd from his Rival Subject: He therefore not only invaded *Normandy* for a second time, but also encourag'd a Rebellion in *England*. With this View, he wrote to Earl *John*, and offer'd all the Assistance *France* could give towards setting him upon the Throne of his Brother; who, added King *Philip*, is more likely to die in Chains, than to be set Free, in order to Reign. The turbulent, inconsiderate and perfidious Earl, who, tho King *Richard* had been dead, had himself no Right to the Crown, since by his Nephew, *Arthur*, Duke of *Britany*, in Justice precluded, gave Ear to the flattering Overture, and instantly resolv'd to usurp. He had entertain'd the same Thoughts before, and had perhaps succeeded, but for the Generosity and Justice of *William* King of *Scotland*. That Prince could not stand by, and see his intimate Friend undermin'd in his Absence. He therefore (a) oppos'd all the sinistrous Attempts that

A. D. 1192.

King *Richard* returns to *Europe*.Is made Prisoner in *Germany*.*John*, the Brother of King *Richard*, designs to usurp the Kingdom in his Absence.Is oppos'd by *William* King of *Scotland*.

C c c c 2

were

(a) Pere D' Orleans Histoire des Revol. d' Angl. liv. 11. ad Ann. 1193.

were made against him : And in case of his Death, enter'd upon Measures with the Chancellor of *England*, in order to the Exclusion of Earl *John*, and the Promotion of Duke *Arthur*, the lawful Heir, because Son of *Jeoffry*, Earl *John's* elder Brother. King *William* did yet more upon this second Occasion he had, to express his Gratitude and Friendship to his injur'd Ally : For (a) notwithstanding he was sollicit'd by another Ally, the King of *France*, to join with him, and no doubt by Earl *John* offer'd great Things, probably his *English* Territories, hitherto not altogether restor'd, he would never give Consent or Countenance to such dishonourable Practices : On the contrary, he sent Auxiliary Forces to the Loyal *English* (for the Nation in general behav'd admirably well) who took Arms in Defence of their captive Sovereign. These brave Men levied Forces, and, in the King's Name, reduc'd such Places as the Earl had seis'd : And we find among others, (b) Earl *David*, the King of *Scots's* Brother, was most active and forward.

Earl *David*
the Brother
of King *Wil-*
liam returns
from the
Holy Land.

As this Prince had shar'd with King *Richard* in the Glory of his Martial Atchievements ; so he was a Co-partner in his Malheurs : For, in his Return from the Holy Land, he had much the same Fate ; (c) his Ship was, as that of *Richard*, toss'd by Tempests, and driven upon foreign Shores, and himself was also made Captive, but by the *Egyptian Turks*, who to him prov'd less Barbarous, than the Christian *Germans* to *Richard*. He was Imprison'd and put in Chains at *Alexandria* ; but his Quality not being known, *Venetian* Merchants redeem'd him at an easy Rate. By them he was convoy'd, first to *Constantinople*, and from thence to *Venice* : And here again he was redeem'd by Merchants of the *English* Nation who knew him, repaid his Ransom, and supply'd him with Necessaries towards his Return. When almost in view of the *Scots* Coast, he was a second time overtaken by a violent Storm, but escap'd miraculously, and landed at *Dundee*, from thence call'd *Deidonum*, or *God's Gift*, says *Boethius* ; how true I cannot tell : But *Buchanan* thinks otherwise, and inclines rather to Name that *Taodunum*, from the adjacent Hill, and River of *Tay*. However, he no sooner arriv'd, but hearing of the Distress of his Friend and Sovereign King *Richard*, (for he was Earl of *Huntington* in *England*, as of *Garioch* in *Scotland*) he join'd, as I have said, the *English* Loyalists.

Arrives at
Dundee.

From them the King's Imprisonment had been industriously conceal'd ; yet hearing, by an uncertain Report, that he was somewhere in *Germany*, they did their Duty, that is, they sent in Search of him. Those employ'd on that Errand, were the Abbots of *Roxelai* and *Pont Robert* : They found him at *Boxeser* a Village in *Bavaria*, on his Road to *Haguenau*, whither the Guards appointed by the Emperor were conducting him, not as a King, but as a Criminal, to appear in Judgment before his Superiors. 'Tis not easy, nor is it my Province, to express how sensibly they must needs be affected

(a) Echard ad Ann. 1193. (b) Tyrrel ad Ann. 1194. (c) Boeth. Buchan. in vit. Gulielm.

fect at the moving Spectacle: But 'tis observ'd by Foreigners, (a) that one of the first Things King *Richard* ask'd of the Envoys, was concerning *The Health and Condition of his best Friend, the King of Scotland*. He had Reason: For he was most unworthily us'd by all his other Neighbours: And tho' the Pope threatn'd to thunder out his Anathema's against all that should offer to injure his Person or Subjects; nay, tho' he actually did Excommunicate the Emperor, and Duke of *Austria*, yet so great was the Avarice of the first, the Resentment of the latter, the Infidelity of the *French King*, and Unnaturalness of Earl *John*, that the bravest of *English* Monarchs could not get free from Captivity, but upon the following Conditions. I. That the King should pay 100000 Merks to the Emperor, and 50000 to the Duke of *Austria*. II. That the King should marry his Nephew, Duke *Arthur's* Sister, to the Duke of *Austria's* Son, and deliver up the Captive King of *Cyprus* and his Daughter. III. That the 100000 Merks should be brought into the Empire at the Peril of the King of *England*, and Hostages to be given for the rest. Nay; if we may believe *Hoveden*, (b) (and why we may not, since an *Englishman*, and no Enemy either to his King or Country, I do not see) King *Richard* was forc'd to give over, even his Kingdom of *England* to the Emperor, whom he Invested in it accordingly, by the Delivery of his Cap: But then, as had been previously agreed to by the great Men of *Germany* and *England*, the Emperor presently deliver'd it back to the King, with this Proviso, That he should not only hold it in Fee of himself (the Emperor) but also pay an Annual Tribute of 5000 *lib. sterl.* These Conditions the King promis'd to stand to, and so the Emperor re-invested him by a double Cross of Gold. Thus, 'tis plain, that King *William the Lyon*, of *Scotland*, was brought to no meaner Condescensions by his Imprisonment, than *Richard the Lyon's Heart*, of *England*, by his. I have already observ'd, and afterwards must of course; that his Brother Earl *John*, when afterwards King of *England*, did yet worie: And this to me seems Providential, that both the Sons of that ungrateful and encroaching Prince *Henry II.* should have been in their Turns abus'd no less, if not more, than the King of *Scots* had been by him: So true 'tis, that Providence watches over the sacred Rights of Kingdoms and Kings, and that whoever goes about to infringe them, is for the most Part, even in this World, overtaken by retaliating Justice. Neither did the crying Iniquity done to King *Richard*, by the Emperor and Duke of *Austria*, remain unrewarded: (c) The later was punish'd first, by many Plagues and Calamities, that fell out in his Country, and then by a Fall from his Horse, he broke his Leg, and of this Accident, which was succeeded by a severe Inflammation of the Part, he died; in some measure Penitent, since he commanded the *English* Hostages to be discharg'd, and the Remainder of the Money to be remitted. The former had much the same Fate, being pursu'd by

King *Richard* and freed from Captivity, on hard Conditions.

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(a) Pere D' Orleans ad Ann. 1193. (b) P. 724. Tyrrel and Brady, ad Ann. 1193. (c) Echard ad Ann. 1194. Pere D' Orleans ad Ann. 1195.

many Troubles, and by the Pope excommunicated upon *K. Richard's* Account: Under which Sentence, as *Mr. Echard* observes, he sickn'd, and died at *Messina*. Yet he too was sensible of his Crime, desir'd the King's Pardon, promis'd Restitution of what he had extorted for his Ransom; and (a) actually did acquit and discharge him and his Heirs, of the *Homage and Tribute*, so unjustly impos'd.

William, King of *Scotland*, was one of the first that congratulated *King Richard* upon the Recovery of his Liberty: And he no sooner heard of his Arrival in *England*, (b) but he paid him a friendly Visit, and having a compassionate Regard to the low State of his Affairs, and his exhausted Exchequer, complimented him (c) with the Sum of 2000 Merks Sterling. *David*, *King William's* Brother, had waited on him before, (d) and, as Earl of *Huntington*, was one of those Peers that sat in the great Council of the Kingdom, and disinherited Earl *John*, for his monstrous Ingratitude and Perfidy; not only of all the Lands he then held in *England*; but also of all Honours which he expected to enjoy after the King's Decease. 'Tis a Pity he was not condemn'd to die: He deserv'd no better Treatment: And the Sentence, if put in Execution, had prevented infinite Malheurs that afterwards fell out, to the debasing of the Royal Blood and Prerogative, and the letting out of Torrents of Blood: But he was afterwards pardon'd, and thereby reserv'd to undergo Hardships, as great, if not greater, than his Demerits. However,

After that and some other important Affairs had been transacted, (e) *King Richard* took Journey for *Chipston*, in order to meet *King William*. These two Monarchs, so very like to one another, with Reference both to their Misfortunes and Gallantry, express'd all the reciprocal Kindness and Gratitude imaginable. At length they began to talk of Business, and *King William* (in Right of his Ancestors, and in Pursuance of *King Richard's* own Charter of Renunciation, by which the last was oblig'd (f) to restore him to all the Priviledges and Dignities, the Kings of *Scotland* had formerly enjoy'd in *England*) demanded the Restitution of *Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland* and *Lancaster*. His Title to the County of *Lancaster*, I know not; but he had an unquestionable one, to the former three: And, as I have said, *King Richard* was bound to restore them, if found due by the Recognition of four *English*, and as many *Scots* Noblemen. The Decision of this Matter, had been put off, since the Grant of the Charter, by Reason of *King Richard's* Absence; and 'twas beneath the Grandeur of *King William's* Soul, to take Advantage, as the King of *France* had done, of his absent and distress'd Neighbour. And now the like Reason still hindred *King Richard* to perform, and *King William* to be pressing in his Demands. For the King of *England* labour'd still under Difficulties, almost unconquerable: His Subjects were ruin'd by reason of immense Sums they had advanc'd for his Ransom, and he had a never ending War to wage

Demands
the Restitu-
tion of the
Northern
Counties.

(a) Tyrrel, Brady, ubi supra. (b) Orleans, Echard, &c. ad Ann. 1194. (c) Buchan. in vit. Guilel. (d) Tyrrel ad Ann. 1194. (e) ibid. (f) The Charter it self is in the Appendix to Mr. Anderson's Historical Essay.

wage with *France*. He therefore made Answer, that if in these Circumstances, he should part with those Territories, he should thereby suffer in his Reputation, and the World would think that he had been more Timorous than Just, and done that out of Fear, which he design'd to do from a Principle of Affection and Justice. He afterwards added, that he stood in need of Money, and upon payment of 15000 Merks, offer'd to give up all *Northumberland*, but the fortified Castles. King *William* was content to give the Money, but would needs have both County and Castles. While these Matters were under Deliberation, a Quarrel fell out between some of the Retenue belonging to the King of *Scots*, and the Servants of the Bishop of *Durham*. It was occasion'd by the Bishop's having the Incivility to decline to give up his House to the *Scottish* King. King *William* resenting this extremely, and complain'd of it as an Affront done to his Dignity. The Bishop was sharply prov'd, and King *Richard*, probably to atone in some measure for the Bishop's Insolence, and his own Backwardness to put a quick End to other Differences, granted, or rather renew'd (for no doubt the *Scots* King had the like Priviledges before) a Charter to King *William* and his Heirs for ever, yet extant in the Archives of *Westminster*, (a) and of late publish'd by Mr. *Rymer* from the Original. It contains in Substance, That,

“ When the King of *Scotland* should, in order to meet with the
 “ King of *England*, enter the Limits of this last Kingdom, the
 “ Bishop of *Durham* and Sheriff of *Northumberland*, should receive
 “ him at the River *Tweed*, and wait on him to the *Tese*, and there
 “ the Arch-Bishop of *York*, and Sheriff of *Yorkshire*, should receive
 “ and conduct him to the Borders of that County; and so the
 “ Bishops of each Diocess, with their Sheriffs, should attend him
 “ from County to County, till he came to the *English* Court. That,
 “ from the time he enter'd *England*, he should receive every Day
 “ of Allowance from the King of *England* an hundred Shillings;
 “ (in those Days no small Sum) and when at Court thirty Shil-
 “ lings, Twelve of the King's fine Cakes, Twelve of his Biscuits
 “ or Simnel Loaves of fine Wheat twice bak'd, Four Gallons of his
 “ Wine, and Eight of ordinary Wine, two Pounds of Pepper, as
 “ much Cinnamon, two Cakes of Wax, weighing each eight or
 “ twelve Pounds, four Wax Candles, and forty great long Candles,
 “ of the King's Candles, and eighty ordinary Candles; And that
 “ when he return'd into his own Country, he should be conducted
 “ back again by the Bishops and Sheriffs, as before, and have the
 “ same Allowance in Money of an hundred Shillings a Day. This
 Charter was deliver'd to King *William*, at *Northampton*, 12 April 1194,
 and is remarkable upon several Accounts: For it shews in what
 consisted the Delicacy and Magnificence of Royal Entertainment in
 those Days, viz. In Biscuits double Baked, fine Wine, Spices,
 Wax Candles, &c. In the next place, how valuable Money then
 D d d d 2 was,

Charter
 obliging
 the King of
 England to
 bear the
 Charges of
 the King of
 Scotland,
 when in
 England.

(a) *Fœdera Angliz.* Tom. 1. p. 87.

was, since an hundred Shillings a Day suffic'd to the Entertainment of a King, and that three Pound ten Shillings *Sterling* (for so much less Allowance had the King of *Scots*, when furnish'd with Necessaries at Court, than when on the Road) was an Equivalent for the costly Biscuits, Wine, Spices, &c. In fine, it evinces that the King of *Scots*, when in *England*, was treated as a King, and, as the King of *England* himself, attended by the greatest of Subjects, both Ecclesiastick and Secular, and entertain'd with the same Magnificence in his Lodgings and Diet. But,

From whence all this? And was it not beneath the Majesty of a King, to live thus at the Charges of another? Not at all: For 'tis own'd, that the Kings of *Scotland* were, for the Lands they possess'd in *England*; Subjects and Vassals of that Crown, and therefore oblig'd as Peers of *England*, to appear upon Occasions at the *English* Court. The Kings of *England* were Peers of *France*, at the same time, and as such frequently attended the Court of *France*, as I have already shown, and afterwards shall. But the King of *Scots* deny'd that he ought to appear at that Court, which was held without the Limits of his Fee, consequently no where, but in such Counties of *England* as he was possess'd of. The King of *England* on the contrary insisted, that, since a Vassal, he ought to appear wherever the Superior held his Court. The Controversy (a) was, by the Feudal Law, decided thus, That the Vassal is not oblig'd to appear in the Court of his Lord, without the Bounds of his Fee, but at his Lord's Charge. Therefore, and because 'twas not reasonable that the King of *Scotland*, who, wherever he is, must live up to the Dignity of a King, should consume his own and his Subjects Revenues in Territories not his own, it was agreed, that as often as the King of *Scots* should be call'd to the King of *England*'s Court, it should be at the Charges of the King of *England*. I doubt not but the Kings of *England* had, or might have had the like Concessions from their Superiors, the Kings of *France*. 'Tis evident, at least, that this was no new Concession, granted by King *Richard* to King *William*; for by his former Charter of Retrocession, wherein he gives up all Pretensions to the Superiority of *Scotland*, he obliges himself, (b) *To perform to King William and his Successors, all those things the Kings of England, his own Predecessors were bound to perform to the deceas'd Malcolm and his Predecessors, Kings of Scotland, particularly with Reference to their coming to, staying at, and returning from the Court of England.* A plain Proof, as I have said, that this was no new Concession, and that our Ancestors in those Days, were as nobly Frugal, as their Descendants have since been prodigally Vain. The former were oblig'd to attend their Kings, when at *London* or elsewhere in *England*: They did it, and their Kings back'd by them made a Figure when there, not inferior to that of the Kings of *England*; but then they did it at the Charges of the *English*

(a) Craig concerning Homoge Ch. 24. p. 306. (b) The Charter it self *ubi supra*, and in the Appendix to Dr. Brady's Hist. of Eng. p. 82.

English, and the Wealth of *Scotland* was not impair'd. Whereas the later *Scots*, by their continual Resort to the same Court and City of *London*, where most of them have little or nothing to do, have neglected the Improvement of their private Fortunes, mispent their yearly Revenues, impoverish'd their Tenants, ruin'd their Families, dilapidated the Wealth of their Native Country, discourag'd its Manufactures, sunk its Trade, depopulated its Cities, made uselefs its Product, and enervated its Strength. If these Mischiefs, brought on by the Union of the two Crowns, shall come to be repair'd by the late Union of the Kingdoms, Time will shew, and Posterity rejoice that 'tis their Fate to succeed not to the Sober and Wise, but to the more effeminate and luxurious Ages. But to return to the Charter :

The Ingenious Mr. *Anderson* observes, that it has these Words, *Postquam Rex Scotie de mandato nostro transferit fines regni sui* : And lest any Body should conclude from thence, that the Kings of *Scotland* had been under the Command of the Kings of *England*, he takes notice, (a) that the Word *Mandatum* (a Mandate) does not refer to the King of *Scots*, but is a Law Term, and that it signifies nothing else in this Place, but a Writ directed to those who were to attend that Prince. Thus, when *William* met *Richard* at *Canterbury*, there was a Mandate directed to the Archbishop, and Sheriff of *Yorkshire*, by which they were commanded to Attend him : And of such Mandates, a great many are to be seen in Mr. *Rymer's* Collections of Treaties, &c. directed to the Officers of the Kings of *England*, bearing expressly the Title *Mandatum*, and appointing them to receive the Kings of *Scotland* upon the Frontiers of *England*, and to Conduct them with all imaginable Honour and Safety to the *English* Court. That Mr. *Anderson* is in the right, I am very apt to believe ; but should he be Mistaken, I mean, should it be true, that the Kings of *Scotland* were by Mandates from the Kings of *England* summon'd to appear in Courts, held by these last ; What then ? The Kings of *France* did in the like manner Summond and send Mandates to those of *England* ; nay, often in their Courts of Justice, adjudg'd the Provinces, the *English* enjoy'd beyond Seas, to the Crown of *France*. And this is no more than what the Feudal Law impowers Superiors to do, and obliges Inferiors to comply with. 'Tis true, that the Mandates of the *French* Kings were not always obey'd by the *English*, nor those of the *English* by the *Scots* ; but then a War was at hand, the Beneficiary Lands were retaken, or which is the same, declar'd Confiscated by the Superiors, consequently his Inferiors ceas'd to be such, and since Sovereigns and Kings of their respective Independent Kingdoms, they acted accordingly, and if the War was otherwise just, they acted conscientiously, and were not to be charg'd with the Crime of Rebellion. On the contrary, in times of Peace, they would, upon certain Occasions lay by their Quality of Kings, and behave as it became a Duke of *Norman-*

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(a) His Historic. Essay p. 181.

dy, or a Prince of Cumberland. Thus at the second Coronation of King Richard, (for upon his Return from the Holy Land, he would needs have that Ceremony renew'd,) King William, (a) as Earl of Huntington (for to him that County did properly belong, and Earl David was but his Sub-vassal) carried the first Sword of State before the English Monarch: The Earls of Warren and Chester walk'd on his Right and Left, and carried the other two. From thence, says Mr. Echard, arose a great Affection between the two Princes: And Buchanan tells us, that the Scots and English were never so affectionately united as at this time. It seems so, else King William, tho' not yet repossess'd, conform to Treaty, of Northumberland, Westmoreland, &c. had not stood by, an idle Spectator of the long lasting Wars that ensu'd between England and France. But he had the King of England's Promise, that how soon these Wars came to be terminated, Justice should be done, and he could trust to the Word of such a Prince as King Richard. But it fell out unluckily, that the Wars did not end, but with the Life of that Magnanimous and Invincible Heroe. He died of a Wound, he had receiv'd in the Shoulder, as he was taking a View of the Castle of Chaluz, defended by a few desperate Men, whose Death he had imprudently and injuriously sworn. He was succeeded by his Brother Earl John, a Prince as far below him, as he had been above the most part of his Cotemporaries, either in Honour, Equity, Courage or Conduct. 'Twas therefore no wonder that he deny'd that Justice, his Predecessor had promis'd.

Death of K.
Richard I.
of England.

A.D. 1199.
John made
King of
England.

He was guilty of a great many Sins of Commission; by far more hainous than this one of Omission: He had long since been in Arms against the King his Father, and had afterwards attempted no less than to Dethrone his Brother. And now they were both Dead, he found means to get himself first girt with the Sword of the Duchy of Normandy, and then to be crown'd King of England. But before the Solemnity of this Coronation was perform'd, Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, a subtile and designing Man (b) told him in a great Council, That by reason of his Prudence and Valour, They elected him King. An unwarrantable Expression, none but an Usurper would have allow'd of: For, that the Kingdom of England was not then understood to be Elective, is evident from this, That the Assembly acquiesc'd in what was said, because, They durst not Dispute with, or Contradict the Archbishop, knowing that he had not without good Cause thus determin'd the Matter. And that Prelate, being afterwards ask'd, why he had deliver'd himself in these unusual and illegal Terms, Answer'd, That he was fully assur'd, by certain remarkable Presages, of the Mischiefs, King John would bring upon the Kingdom and Crown, and that he therefore thought fit to let him know that he Reign'd by Election, and not by hereditary Succession. Had that unconscientious Prelate look'd back but to the Reign of King Stephen, another Usurper, and in the same manner, elected, he had acted

(a) Tyrrel ad Ann. 1194. p. 536. (b) Matth. Par. f. 197. N. 20. Echard, Tyrrel Brad. &c. ad Ann. 1199.

acted and reason'd more justly, and thought, as all wise Men must, that the best Means to avert publick Calamities from a Kingdom, is not to elect an Intruder, but to acknowledge the legal Heir. Those of *Anjou, Tourain* and *Main*, were of this Sentiment: They adher'd to *Arthur*, the Duke of *Britany*, as their sovereign Lord, and declar'd it to be the Custom of those Territories to prefer the elder Brother's Son before the younger Brother. *Philip*, King of *France*, the Superior of these Provinces approv'd (and how could he in Justice or in Policy do otherwise?) of their Resolutions. Nay, he took the Prince, as yet but thirteen Years of Age, into his Protection, Knighted him solemnly, receiv'd his Homage for *Britany, Normandy, Anjou, Poictou, Tourain* and *Main*, and faithfully promis'd to yield him all the Assistance and Support in his Power.

William, King of *Scotland*, thought himself unconcern'd with these Transactions: 'Twas not his Business to determine who had best Right to the Crown of *England*; yet he made no haste to Recognize King *John's* Title: And it seems he was by that Prince's Party consider'd as an Unfriend; for his Brother *Earl David* (*) was one of these suspected Peers they summon'd to Court, and by many fair Promises cajoll'd into a Submission. King *William* in the mean time sent Ambassadors, two Clergy-Men, and one *William Hay*, no doubt one of the even then illustrious Family of *Errol*, into *England*, with Orders to demand the Restitution of *Northumberland, Cumberland, &c.* King *John* was in *Normandy* at the time; and the Ambassadors resolving to go thither to wait upon him, were by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Earl Marshal of *England*, detain'd. These Politicians were afraid, lest that impolitick but haughty Prince, should inconsiderately refuse to grant their Demands: In which Case it was plain, that the *Scots* would join the King of *France* and Prince *Arthur*, and with all the Forces of his Kingdom, obstruct the Design in Hand; I mean, the intended Usurpation. They therefore gave fair Words, and intreated that the King of *Scots* would have but a little Patience, till King *John* should come over to *England*. With the same Breath they sent Messengers to *Normandy*, to acquaint him with the Matter, and he immediately dispatch'd his Son-in-Law *Eustace de Vesey* to *Scotland*, with his Compliments to King *William*, and Orders to assure him, that, upon his own Arrival in *England*, he would in all Things comply with his Desires. He arriv'd at length: And the *Scots* Ambassadors still insisting upon their Demands, he desir'd them to tell their Master, that he very much wanted to see his dear Cousin, the King of *Scots*; to whom, if he would meet him at *Nottingham*, he would do Justice, in that and every thing else. Two of the Ambassadors, *Roger*, Bishop of *St. Andrew's*, and *Hugh Melvill*, return'd with this soft Answer: And the Bishop of *Durham* was appointed to go to the Frontiers, in order to welcome and receive King *William*. Nay, King *John* was so forward to have that Affair amicably terminated,

King *William* demands the Restitution of the Northern Counties from King *John*.

(*) Tyrrel, Brady, &c. ubi sup.

that he follow'd soon after in Person, and stay'd some time at *Nottingham* in hopes of Success. But he was disappointed, King *William* would not stir from Home: He was willing, it seems, to be repossess'd of his own; but was resolv'd either not to acknowledge King *John* at all, or at least not till he should see the Event of the War, *England* was threatn'd with, upon the Account of Prince *Arthur*. Wherefore he sent back the Ambassadors, who renew'd their Demands, and told King *John*, That if he continu'd his Delays, their Master would endeavour to do Justice to himself by Force of Arms. Yet they agreed to a Truce for forty Days; and not long after, *Hoveden* (b) tells us, that *William*, King of *Scots*, in Pursuance of his Claim to the Counties of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, rais'd an Army with Intention to invade *England*; but, that coming to the Shrine of *St. Margaret*, his great Grandmother, at *Dumfermling*, he was admonish'd by a Revelation in his Sleep, that he should desist from the Enterprize; upon which he dismiss'd his Army. This Legend to me seems very improbable: For King *William* was no Visionaire, nor of Humour to be frighted by Dreams and Imaginations of the Night, out of a War both Just, and, as Matters stood, when the Army was rais'd, Reasonable. But the Army was dismiss'd, for ought I can find in History, either because the Season of the Year was too far advanc'd for Action; or the King, when at *Dumfermling*, may have got Advice from beyond Seas, of the Treachery of *William de Roch*, who, in the end of *October*, or beginning of *November* 1199, had brought Prince *Arthur* over to King *John*, and deliver'd up the City of *Mans*, of which he was Governor. How far *de Roch* had been provok'd by the *French* King (who, says Mr. *Echard*, and perhaps truly, made only a Mask of Duke *Arthur*, to conceal his own Ambition) to commit this Piece of Perfidy, I cannot tell: 'Tis certain, that had the Design succeeded, I mean, had King *John* and Duke *Arthur* been heartily reconcil'd, both the Kings of *Scotland* and *France*, had been put to it, and their Arms, however just in themselves, had been by far less plausible, if not countenanc'd by the Concurrence of Duke *Arthur*. But that Prince soon repented of the inconsiderate Step he had made: He was told, that his Uncle design'd to detain him a Prisoner, and being overcome with needless Terrors, says Mr. *Echard*, (I think, most reasonable Apprehensions,) he fled, together with his Mother, back to the King of *France*.

That Monarch receiv'd him anew, but coldly; and no wonder, the Unsteadiness of his own and Mother's Conduct, could not fail to lessen them both, in the Judgment of wise Men. This Excuse the *French* Historians give for the after Conduct of their Sovereign; who, now abandoning the Interests, and laying aside the Right of his Pupil, came to an Agreement with King *John*, but such as was equally Advantageous to the former, who got by it whatever he had a Mind to, and Disadvantageous to the latter, who, as is ordinary on the like

King *William* raises an Army against King *John*.

(a) Brady in the Reign of King *John*, p. 464.

like Occasions, besides humbling the Pretender, and getting himself acknowledg'd King, got nothing at all. This Treaty, tho in a manner concluded in *January*, was not perfected till about Mid-summer: And 'tis probable, the King of *Scots* was in hopes, that it would not take effect; for during that Interval of Time, when again solicited to come to *England*, he peremptorily refus'd, notwithstanding King *John* went as far as *York*, in order to meet him. But,

A. D. 1200.

Eight Days after Mid-summer, the Kings *Philip*, and *John*, had an Interview, and having put their finishing Hands to the Treaty, King *John* did Homage to King *Philip* for his *French* Territories, and Duke *Arthur*, by Consent of this last, to King *John*, for *Britany*. After this, 'twas not to be suppos'd, that the King of *Scots*, thus deserted by his Ally, should think of carrying on a successful War against so potent an Enemy: He therefore in his Turn gave Ear to Proposals of Peace, and condescended to meet the King of *England* at *Lincoln*. Thither he came, attended by a numerous and noble Train, both of *Scots* and *English*: And sometime after, (a) both Kings, with great Pomp and Magnificence ascending that steep Hill, on the North side of the City, since call'd *Borehill*, swore Amity and faithful Alliance, in the Presence of three Archbishops, thirteen Bishops, the King of *South-Wales*, with a multitude of *Scots*, *English*, *French* and *Irish* Nobility. At the same time, King *William* did Ho-

Makes
Peace.

mage to the King of *England*, but, as was ordinary, (b) with a *Salvo* of his own Right, that is, of his Kingdom of *Scotland*. This Mr. *Tyrrel* acknowledges; (c) but is of Opinion, that some Part, even of that Kingdom, then held of the Crown of *England*: For, says he, "King *William* had at the time no Part either of *Northumberland* or *Cumberland*: And as for the Earldom of *Huntington*, that King had long before bestow'd it upon his Brother *David*. So that nothing can be more evident, than that the Homage was not perform'd for any Territories the King of *Scots* then enjoy'd in *England*, as *Buchanan* vainly supposes, and consequently must have been for *Lothian*, and some Parts of *Scotland*." *Buchanan* had his own Faults; but was never thought so zealous an Assertor of the Rights of Kings, as to be charg'd with Vanity upon that Score. And Mr. *Tyrrel* has forgot in this Place, what he said but a little before, (d) viz. That at the second Coronation of *Richard I.* King *William* carried the first Sword, as Earl of *Huntington*; yet his Brother *David* was at that time Earl of *Huntington*, as much as ever; that is, he was in Possession of that County, but he held it as a Sub-vassal of his Brother the King of *Scotland*: For in those Days Sub-fews were usual, and in *Scotland* are still so. Hence 'tis, that whatever Trans-mission or Conveyance was made by King *William*, in Favour of his Brother Earl *David*, yet the Right of *Huntington* was properly vested in the Person of the former, who therefore did carry the Sword before King *Richard*; and, by a Parity of Reason, did afterwards

Pays Ho-
mage to
King *John*,
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(a) Echard, ubi sup. (b) Hoveden, p. 811. (c) Tyrrel ad Ann. 1200. p. 712. (d) ad Ann. 1194. p. 536.

Homage to King *John*. Nay, tho he was not yet repossess'd of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, yet 'tis probable he may also have done Homage, even for these Territories. The Reason is obvious: King *William* had declin'd again and again to meet with King *John*, till the Northern Counties should be restor'd to him; and now they do meet, who can doubt, but that some previous Concert, in Relation to them must have been agreed to, which, altho it was not such as gave immediate Possession to King *William*, yet might have been a sufficient Ground for his doing Homage? Thus we find, (a) that Duke *Arthur* did Homage to the King of *France*, for *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Poitou*, &c. which Countries he did not actually possess, but, because of his acknowleg'd Right to them, was accordingly to be put in Possession. Nay, it was so ordinary in those Days to do Homage for Lands, not yet possess'd by the Homager, that *Philip* the King of *France* made War upon the same King *John* of *England*, because the latter had possess'd himself of *Normandy*, without first asking Leave, or offering Homage to his sovereign Lord. I return to the Consequence drawn by Mr. *Tyrrel* from these Premises, I think, I have sufficiently confuted, viz. That the Homage must have been paid for *Lothian*, and some Parts of *Scotland*, and shall only observe, with Mr. *Anderfon*, that this is a Novelty, there being no former Instance of any such thing. Besides, I have already told, and afterwards may chance to repeat, what ancient Authors mean, when they insinuate, that Homage was due to the Crown of *England* for *Laudiana*, by Moderns, erroneously translated *Lothian*.

But, says Mr. *Tyrrel*, (b) *Buchanan*, and the rest of the *Scots* Historians, nay, *Polydore Vergil*, have fallen into another gross Mistake, in asserting that the two Kings parted in Discontent, because King *William* refus'd to assist King *John* in an Expedition against the King of *France*: For, adds he, there was then a Peace newly made between the Kings of *France* and *England*. 'Tis true, but it was a most shameful and disadvantageous one to King *John*: And 'tis not improbable, but that a Prince of his Character (how Faithless he was, all Historians relate:) may even then have had Thoughts of a Rupture; and, in order to a new War, sought both to strengthen himself with Alliances, and to detach his dangerous Neighbour the King of *Scots*, from the Interest of the King of *France* he was about to attack: But King *William* would not comply with the unreasonable Desire; and therefore I have reason to believe, that King *John*, notwithstanding the previous Concert agreed to, declin'd at that time to restore the Northern Counties; yet he did not think fit to give a flat and positive Denial, (c) but desir'd time to deliberate upon the Matter, till the ensuing *Whitsunday*: And so the King of *Scots* took his leave of the *English* Court, Royally Attended by *English* Peers, but not at all satisfied with the *English* King. However, as Matters then stood, he must have Patience; and indeed he stood in Need of a great deal: For *Whitsunday* being come, King *John* again delay'd returning

(a) Echard, Book II. p. 221. (b) Ad Ann. 1200. p. 712. (c) Hoveden. p. 797, 811.

ning the Answer he had promis'd to give concerning the Claim, (a) but sent a honourable Embassy (the principal Man employ'd in it, was *Jeoffry*, Bishop of *Chester*) to King *William*, with Orders to excuse his Breach of Promise, and to intreat a further Delay till *Michaelmass*; not that he was resolv'd to end Matters, even then, A. D. 1201 but an Insurrection of his Subjects in *Poitou* call'd him over to *France*, and he was afraid lest in his Absence, the King of *Scots* should endeavour to right himself.

He did no great Feats against the Rebels, but was very kindly entertain'd at the *French* Court by King *Philip*: But the feign'd A. D. 1202 Friendship of these two Princes could not last; they quarrell'd the very next Year. The true reason was, because King *Philip* was in this, of the Humour of King *John*; he wanted as much to dispossess him of his *French* Territories, as t'other was sedulous to keep the King of *Scots* from the Possession of his Lands in *England*: Therefore, as the King of *France* was still grasping at the Provinces, King *John* enjoy'd in his Kingdom; so he courted all Opportunities of compassing his Aim, and King *John* was so imprudent as to afford him severals. He had Divorc'd his first Wife, and Married another formerly promis'd to *Hugh*, Earl of *March*. This was an Injury, the Earl, equally inflam'd with Love and Revenge, could not brook: He rais'd Commotions in *Poitou*, and when about to be chastis'd by the superior Arms of his more happy Rival, complain'd to King *Philip* as the Sovereign or chief Lord of both. *Philip* summon'd King *John* to appear at *Paris*, and there to undergo the Judgment of his Court. *John* pleaded, that as Duke of *Normandy*, he was by ancient Treaties oblig'd to appear no where without the Bounds of his *Dutchy*, but was told by King *Philip*, that as Duke of *Aquitain* he was bound to appear any where, if summon'd by his Lord, and that 'twas not just that he (the King of *France*) should lose his Right as Supreme Lord of *Aquitain*, because his Vassal was also Duke of *Normandy*. To be short, King *John* made no Appearance, and was therefore adjudg'd by the Peers of *France*, to Forfeit all the Territories he possess'd in *France*. This severe Sentence was nevertheless so much the more plausible, because at the same time King *Philip* declar'd himself anew for the righteous Heir, Duke *Arthur*; whom again he set up, and promis'd to repossess, at least of his *Transmarine* or *French* Dominions. Upon this a War could not fail to ensue: And 'twas Duke *Arthur's* (a) hard Fate to be made a Prisoner, and brought to King *John*. This perfidious Prince us'd many kind Expressions to him, and promis'd him great Honours, if he would totally relinquish the King of *France*, and adhere to him, as his Lord and Uncle: But the young Heroe Answer'd, as became him, disdainfully, tho, as the Event shew'd, imprudently, and with plain Threats demanded the Kingdom of *England*, and all the Dominions enjoy'd by King *Richard*; adding by an Oath, That he should never enjoy Peace till he had restor'd them. King
Ffff 2 *John*

King *John* summon'd by the King of *France* to appear in his Court at *Paris*.

Is forfeited of his Lands in *France*.

(a) Tyrrrel &c. ad Ann. 1201. (b) Ad Ann. 1202.

John very well knew that it must needs be so; and therefore to remove Competition, he Murther'd his Nephew not long after with his own Hands, say all *French* Historians, and the *English* do not positively deny it. The Report of this inhumane Act, all Ages will ever detest, was soon spread through all Parts. The Estates of *Britanny* met upon it, and sent Deputies to the Court of *France* to accuse King *John*, and to sue for Justice. This was just what King *Philip* could have wish'd for: He call'd an Assembly of the Peers, and immediately summon'd King *John*, as Duke of *Normandy*, to appear before them. Upon this King *John* sent Ambassadors to let that King know, that, *He should obey the Summons, provided he might have safe Conduct for his going and returning. He may come in Peace,* Reply'd King *Philip*, with a stern Look. And when the Ambassadors, ask'd, *Whether he might also return so?* Yes, Answer'd he, *If the Sentence of his Peers permit him.* The Ambassadors urg'd, *That the Duke of Normandy could not attend his Court, at least without a safe Conduct, since the same Person was also King of England.* To which the King readily Reply'd, *Pray my Lord Bishop (the Chief of the Embassy was *Eustace* Bishop of *Ely*.) What is that to me? 'Tis well known that the Duke of Normandy is my Vassal, and if he would needs Conquer England, and so acquire a higher Title, must I his Sovereign Lord lose any thing by that?* He was so far in the Right: And the Ambassadors made no Reply. But, say the *English*, the Sentence he and his Nobles afterwards pass'd upon their King, was undue and partial.

It was to this effect, "That *John* Duke of *Normandy*, being unmindful of his Oath to King *Philip* his Lord, had Murther'd his eldest Brother's Son, a Homager to that Crown, and that within the Seigniority of *France*, whereupon he is judg'd a Traitor, and as an Enemy to the Crown of *France*, to Forfeit all his Dominions, which he held by Homage, and that Re Entry be made by Force of Arms. This Sentence was instantly put in Execution; and while the infatuated King *John*, regardless of every thing, but the belov'd *Isabella* his Queen, lay every Day till Noon in that Lady's Embraces, King *Philip* more nobly employ'd, commenc'd that fortunate Expedition, by which he acquir'd, together with the Surname of *Conqueror*, all *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Tourain*, *Main*, and the best part of *Poitou*. My Subject does not lead me to enter into the Detail of this War: The King of *Scots* was, it seems, so impolitick, or so Religious in the Observation of Treaties, as not to concern in it: Nor would I have dwelt so long upon the occasion of it, but to shew, that whatever Superiority the Kings of *England* have had over those of *Scotland*, as Princes of *Cumberland*, &c. has been, even by themselves, as Dukes of *Normandy*, yielded to the Kings of *France*. Nor did this lessen their Royal Dignity: And tho' the Duke of *Normandy* was impeach'd and arraign'd in *France*, the King of *England* might nevertheless have Reign'd; nay, and perhaps Triumph'd, even over his Superior, had his Head been fitted for a Crown. But had he been a lawful King, as he was not,

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(for *Eleanor*, the Sister of Duke *Arthur*, was still alive, tho she may be said to have been buried, because all her Life-time coop'd up in the Castle of *Bristol*) yet he did afterwards that, which made him no more so, I mean he Unking'd himself, and the Manner was thus:

One *Reginald*, a Monk of *Canterbury*, was elected Archbishop of that Metropolitan See, unduely, since by Night, and without the King's Consent. He quarrell'd the Thing; and the frighted Monks, to make amends for their Folly, committed a second; they proceeded to a new Election, without having in the first Place made void the former. The Controversy came to be debated before the then Pope *Innocent III.* a Prelate whose haughty, tenacious, stubborn, encroaching, and (*Matthew of Paris* says) avaticious Temper, no Man of Honour, Loyalty or Religion, will offer to Excuse; all, even those of the *Roman* Persuasion, must ever condemn and detest. He declar'd both the Elections Uncanonical, and by his Threats brought about a third, that was really more so than either. *Stephen Langton*, a Cardinal, was the Person he caus'd to be nominated; but the King would by no means receive him. He had reason, had he stop'd here: But inrag'd at so barefac'd an Incroachment upon his Prerogative, he appointed Officers to drive the Monks of *Canterbury* out of *England*, and male-treated the Bishops that were sent to intreat he would please to recall them. The Bishops, in Obedience to the Pope's Commands, solemnly Interdicted the whole Kingdom of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*: Upon which there was a Cessation of all divine Service, except Confession, Baptism of Infants, and the Administration of the Eucharist to dying Persons. But this violent Remedy had not the intended Effect. It was design'd to awe, but heightn'd the Wrath of the King: And he left nothing undone, that Revenge, Avarice or Cruelty could suggest. He commanded with dreadful Threats all Prelates and their inferior Clergy forthwith to depart the Kingdom, put all Bishopricks, Abbies and Priories, under the Custody of Laymen; Confiscated all the Church Rents, and caus'd the Monks and Men in Orders, while travelling upon the Road, to be thrown off their Horses, and rob'd and abus'd by his Souldiers. Only such as disobey'd the Bishops and Pope, he protect'd; and such as oblig'd the King the Pope suspended. But in those Days the Pope's Power was exorbitant, and he did openly and above board, what the Clergy of all Nations, when they think themselves injur'd, always endeavour, and sometimes bring about; that is, he first excommunicated, and then depos'd the King. Had the National Church and Free-holders of *England* pass'd such a Sentence; nay, and put it in Execution against him, they could have pleaded some Excuse, and had acted Consequentially: For since they had assum'd to themselves a Power to Elect, I do not see, why they might not also depose their King. But that the Bishop of *Rome*, altho in those Days acknowledg'd to be the Successor of *St. Peter*, and the Vicar of Christ upon Earth, should have presum'd to give or take away Kingdoms, as 'tis by Scripture,

Quarrels
with the
Pope.

(for the Kingdom of Christ is not of this World) and the Practice of the Primitive Christians, condemn'd; so it ever was unwarantable, but from unjustifiable Precedents, and abusive Concessions of Bigotted Sovereigns, who, by giving up their own Rights, could neither bind nor prejudge their Successors. But *Innocent III.* did more: He not only depos'd King *John*, and absolv'd all his Subjects from their Faith and Obedience to him, but by arming the *French King*, and by raising as many Enemies in Opposition to him, as Ambition or Bigotry could work upon, he struck him with Terror; and at length compell'd him to submit to the meanest Terms of Reconciliation that could be devis'd. He made him to understand, or (say those (a) that would fain lessen or palliate the Usurpation of the Pope) he himself thought, that his Crimes against God and the Church, were such as could not be expiated, without a Resignation of his Crown. Accordingly he took it off from his Head, and humbly surrendr'd it into the Pope's Hands by his Attorney *Pandolf*; at whose Feet he also laid his Scepter, Robe, Sword, Ring and all the Royal Ensigns: "Professing, that he did it neither out of Fear nor Constraint, but of his own free Will, and in the Common Council of his Barons: And that thence forward he would hold his Crown as a Feudatary of the Church of *Rome*, paying an Annual Pension of 1000 Merks for both the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, (By good Luck, he had no Pretensions to that of *Scotland*) and if he or any of his Successors denied Submission without Repentance, he should forfeit his Right to the Kingdom." One should have thought no Prince could have debas'd himself or his Subjects to a lower Degree; but what is it an Usurper will not do, to make good his ill gotten Title? King *John* did yet worse, if we may believe *Matthew Paris*, who liv'd and wrote his History, during the Reign of his Son. He soon repented (as indeed he had Reason) of the base Surrender he had made: And finding, that he throve no better (as he himself is said to have express'd his Sense of the Matter) by being at Peace with God and the Pope, he sent a secret Embassy to *Mahomet Enasar*, the *Moorish King* of *Spain* and *Morocco*, to intreat that Prince's Assistance; which if he obtain'd; he offer'd the same Subjection to him, he had already yielded to the Pope; as also to abandon the Christian, and embrace the *Mahometan* Religion: But the Black Monarch despis'd his Profers, and dismiss'd his Envoys with Contempt and Scorn.

While these Matters were in Agitation, one should have thought, that *William King* of *Scotland* had several Opportunities offer'd of regaining, by Treaty or Force, his lost Territories in *England*: But King *William* was by this time grown Old, and probably too conscientiously Scrupulous. He lay by an unconcern'd Spectator of all these great Events, nor had he stirr'd at all, but for an Encroachment made upon him by King *John*. That Prince wanted, it seems, to have a Quarrel, and sought to regain at Home, what he had so

inglo-

A. D. 1213.

To whom
he submits
his Crown
and King-
dom.

A. D. 1213.

Quarrels
with King
William.(a) *Pere D' Orleans ad Ann. 1213.*

ingloriously lost abroad. With this View he made some successful Expeditions, both upon the *Irish* and *Welsh*; and, says *Buchanan* (a) caus'd a Fortrefs to be built hard by the Town of *Berwick*, then in the Hands of the *Scots*. King *William* first complain'd of the Injury, then order'd the Fort to be demolish'd, and so both Nations began to arm. The *English* Historians (b) give another Reason of this War: They say, that King *John* quarrell'd with the King of *Scots*, because of his receiving some Outlaws out of *England*, and for marrying his Daughter to the Earl of *Boloign*, without Consent; as if for the County of *Huntington*, the only one Possession, then held by the *Scots* in *England*, King *William*, a free and independent Prince, had been oblig'd neither to marry his own Children, nor to give Sanctuary to *English* Refugees within his Kingdom. However, 'tis certain, that they did Quarrel, and both Princes set themselves upon the Head of their respective Armies; but neither, it seems, had a mind to Fight. They met, and by the Mediation of Friends to both, a Peace was concluded upon these following Terms. King *William's* two Daughters were promis'd in Marriage to King *John's* two Sons, and with them a considerable Sum of Money, for which King *William* gave Hostages to King *John*, who, on his Part consented to the demolishing of his Fortrefs near *Berwick*, and oblig'd himself to perform certain Stipulations agreed to. What these were, Historians do not relate; but that he did agree to Stipulations honourable and advantageous to *Scotland*, we certainly know from the Obligation granted to King *John*, by King *William* at *Northampton* in August 1209, (c) for the Sum of 15000 Merks payable at several Terms: And the Reason of this Grant is, because of the Stipulations or Contracts enter'd into, and confirm'd by the Charter of both the Kings. *John* was therefore bound by Charters to perform some Deeds in Favour of King *William*; but that he fail'd to make his Part good, I shall afterwards have Occasion to shew. In the mean time Peace was made, and the Money was afterwards paid by King *William*, and to shew, that he was very well pleas'd with that Transaction whatever it was, about two Years afterwards he sent his Son Prince *Alexander* to *London*, (d) to visit the King of *England*, notwithstanding this last lay then under the Sentence of Excommunication: And that all Persons were by the Pope enjoyn'd, under the same Pain, To avoid him in private and publick, at his Table, Council and common Conversation. This shews, that the then *Scots* did not think that the *Roman* Thunder could fall upon any but the Guilty, or that 'twas Criminal to disobey the most peremptory Commands of a furious Pontiff. *Alexander*, Prince of *Scotland*, by the Commands of his Father King *William*, a Prince so very Religious, that a credulous Author (e) has written, that he was Favour'd with the Gift of Miracles, not only Visited the excommunicated King, but Feasted with him, and was Knighted by him in a most solemn Manner at *Clarkenwell*.

Renews the Peace.

A. D. 1211

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And

(a) In vit. Gul. (b) Tyrrel, ad Ann. 1208. p. 739. Echard p. 249. (c) Foedera Angl. Tom. I. p. 155. (d) Tyrrel ad Ann. 1211. p. 748, 749. (e) Boeth. in vit. Guil.

And Authors say (a) that he return'd Home, laden with Honour and large Promises, and that he had the Applauses and Gratulations of both Kingdoms. Nor did the reciprocal Amity end here; for not long after, King *John* was advis'd by a Letter of the King of *Scotland* sent to him, of a Conspiracy form'd against his Person. He was going to Table, when the Letter was deliver'd to him, and he had not ended Dinner, when a secret Courier arriv'd from the Princess of *Wales*, his natural Daughter, and brought him another to the same Purpose. This was highly obliging in the King of *Scotland*; and yet at the very same time he receiv'd into his Kingdom, and gave Protection (b) to *Eustace de Vesey*, tho accus'd of Treason: So false 'tis, that King *John* pretended a Right to make War upon *William*, for receiving some Outlaws out of England.

A. D. 1214.

King *William's* Death and Character.

Matters stood thus between the two Nations, when King *William* died in the forty ninth Year of his Reign, and the seventy second of his Life, anno 1214. He was a Prince no doubt of great Bravery, since upon that Score he obtain'd the Surname of *Lion*. Yet he was guilty of a very mean Action, when through un-kingly Fear, he suffer'd the Sovereignty of *Scotland* to be extorted from him: And to me 'tis surprising, that all Authors dismiss him with so fair a Character as he is still possess'd of. 'Tis true, that the brave King *Richard* of *England* did as ill, and his Brother King *John* incomparably worse: Their Weakness may lessen, but never excuse his Fault: And he, whom God and Right have made a King, should never suffer himself to be unmade by the Injustice of Men. Sovereigns, as others, are liable to Misfortunes: They may be worsted in Battle, Exil'd, Captivated, put in Chains, nay persecuted to Death; but then 'tis still in their Power to die Sovereigns, that is, Martyrs, in Defence of the just Rights of their People and Posterity. As King *William* betray'd a great deal of Weakness, when a Prisoner; so afterwards, when restor'd to his Liberty, he shew'd himself too good, or too little a Politician: For, notwithstanding all the Opportunities offer'd in the Reigns both of King *Richard* and King *John*, of regaining by Force of Arms, the Northern Counties, his Grandfather, tho a Saint, had purchas'd, lawfully indeed, because he had a just Title to them, yet violently, because by Dint of Sword; he never fairly attempted their Recovery, but suffer'd himself to be delay'd and put off by the fair Promises of *Richard*, and in some measure deluded by the unfaithful Contracts he enter'd into with King *John*; insomuch that the Kings of *Scotland* his Successors, could never afterwards entirely recover those Provinces they had a better Right to, than most of the Kings of *England*, by whom they were detain'd, had either to them, or to the Crown they wore. So far I think King *William* is not to be vindicated: But then he had Qualifications that made amends for these Failures. He recover'd his lost Sovereignty, retriev'd the Liberties of his People, did impartial Justice to them, suppress'd Insurrections, tam'd the most Stubborn,

was

(a) Tyrrel ad Ann. 1211. p. 748, 749. (b) Tyrrel ibid.

was undoubtedly Valiant, yet a Lover of Peace, and so Religious, that Heaven favour'd him, some say, with extraordinary Blessings. He honour'd the Church, yet was no Slave to the Pope, he contributed towards the Holy War, but moderately, and in such a Manner, as did neither Impoverish nor Depopulate his own Kingdom. He was naturally Beneficent and Merciful, yet, upon certain Occasions, inexorably, but justly and wisely, Severe; Witness *Harold*, the Earl of *Orkney* and *Caithness*, who having impiously male-treated a Bishop, whom he depriv'd both of Speech and Sight, was himself by the King's Orders put to an ignominious Death, and his Posterity, that none might remain to inherit his incorrigible and inhumane Temper, emasculated. In fine, had not King *William* been the first Scots King that gave the *English* so much as a Pretence to Superiority over his Independent and Imperial Crown, he had deserv'd to be rank'd among the bravest, greatest and best of Kings.

He was succeeded by his Son *Alexander II.* a Youth of great Hopes, who being well inform'd of his true Interest, by the Experience of his Father, and not, as he, made Wary and over Cautious by his own, resolv'd to lose no Opportunities of regaining the Territories in Dispute. He had not been long upon the Throne, when what he could have wish'd for came naturally to his Hand. King *John* and his Barons fell out: These su'd for Protection and Assistance from *Alexander*; and, as it was undoubtedly Politick, so he thought it not unlawful to grant their Request. Upon this ensu'd a War both Domestick and Foreign, with reference to *England*. Its Rise, Progress and End, I shall relate in as few Words as I can.

Alexander II.
King of *Scotland*.

King *John*, by reason of his unnatural Rebellion against his Father and Brother, his Usurpation of a Throne not his own, the Murder committed upon his Nephew, to whom it belong'd; the shameful Loss of most Part of the *English* Territories in *France*, the more infamous Surrender of his Sovereignty to the Pope, and of a late dishonourable Truce he had made with the *French* King; was become equally despicable and odious to all or most of his Subjects: And tho some hated Princes have aw'd the *English* into Passive Obedience, I know none they ever despis'd, but whom they also thought proper to Resist. Never did any give them so numerous and so great Provocations as *John*: His Covetousness was insatiable, and the Money he exacted from his Subjects was ever mispent: *England* was Impoverish'd, yet no Victories were gain'd; and the Nation was very unwilling to part with their Wealth, to purchase nothing but Disgrace; or to lay out the Means of Subsistence, that is, to Fast, in order to defray the Charges of a War; and never to Feast upon the News of Battles gain'd, or Towns taken. The Taxes impos'd upon them, were all, or, for the most part, Arbitrary; and tho they must give, yet they had not the Pleasure to boast that they did so: For I do not find, whatever late Authors would insinuate to the contrary, that Parliaments had Power, much less that Subsidies were rais'd in those Days by the Authority of the

Occasion of
the Barons
Wars.

Commons. If such a Practice was ever in Use, 'twas in a great Measure diffus'd since the Conquest. 'Tis true, that even the Conqueror swore to Confirm the Laws of St. *Edward*, who, being himself a good King, granted such Priviledges to the Subjects, as he thought would guard them against the Violences of ill ones. But King *William* was no Slave to his Word, and I have already shew'd from *English* Vouchers, however inclinable to mince the Matter, that, as he liv'd and reign'd, so he died a Conqueror. His Example was follow'd by such of his Race, I mean *Henry I.* and *Stephen*, as, like him, had Pretenders, more legal than themselves, to contend with; that is, they reviv'd the old Laws, when in need of the People's Favour to effect their Designs: But how soon secur'd from the Danger of Pretenders, broke through those Bonds they never meant should tye them. The undoubted Heirs, *Henry II.* and his Son *Richard I.* stood upon their Prerogative; and Popular Laws, I mean those of St. *Edward*, were not, for ought I can see, so much as talkt of in their Days; and the Reason of all this is very plain: These Kings were for the most part Foreigners by Birth, consequently not so very tender of their *English* Subjects. They reign'd in the Right of a foreign Conqueror, and by the Means of a foreign Army, (I call so the *Normans* and *French*) on whom the *English* Lands were by the Conqueror bestow'd: Who, since they had no Title to them, but from him, must needs, for their own Sakes, support his and his Successor's Prerogative, how Extensive or Despotick it could be pretended. But now the very *French* were turn'd *English*; and length of Time had worn out the Pretensions of *Saxon* Competitors: Prescription had secur'd them in Law: *Edgar Ethe-ling* was long since dead, and his lawful Heirs, the Kings of *Scotland*, had laid down their Claim, so that henceforth a Restoration was no more to be dreaded: The Barons stood not in need of an absolute Sovereign. Besides, the Kings were, by their own Grants, in Favour of the Barons (at first their assur'd, but now imaginary Support) turn'd Poor, consequently Weak, and the Barons Rich, and by the like Consequence resolv'd to remain so. Possess'd of all the Land, they would needs, as is usual, rule over it; and the rather, because all Authors own, that the King's Tyranny was extremely provoking. Matters standing thus, only one thing could deterr conscientious Men (for I am willing to think some of them were such) from an open Revolt, their Oath of Allegiance: But that Impediment was soon remov'd.

As one Archbishop of *Canterbury* had declar'd that *John* was King by Election, so now another, the very same Cardinal *Langton*, who, by the Authority of the Pope, had been Elected at *Rome*, when he absolv'd the King, caus'd him to swear that he would abolish all unjust Laws, and establish such as were good: He added, (a) That he had found a Charter of King *Henry I.* by which, if they thought fit, they

A. D. 1214.

(a) Echard, Book II. p. 250.

they might assert their ancient Liberties so long lost. (a) By this means all Scruples were clear'd, the Barons met, enter'd into a Confederacy, and take a solemn Oath at the Altar, That if the King refus'd to grant them those Priviledges they resolv'd to demand, they would withdraw their Obedience, and make War upon him. Accordingly upon his Refusal, they defy'd him, renounc'd their Homage, rais'd an Army, and call'd it (in my humble Opinion) impiously, *The Army of God, and of the Holy Church*. The King, surpris'd by their sudden and unexpected Preparations, comply'd at length with their Desires, granted them two Charters; by which it may be said, that he un-king'd himself a second time: For by a Clause in one of them, twenty five Barons were appointed to see it well observ'd, and empower'd to compel, even the King himself, by Force of Arms, in case he refus'd to stand to his Grants. This was more than he thought himself oblig'd to perform, but he very Artfully dissembl'd his Resolutions, till he could disclose them with Safety.

He retir'd to the Isle of *Wight*, and from thence sent to the Pope, (whose proper Interest was now in a most peculiar Manner link'd to that of the King) to desire that he would by his Apostolick Authority make void what the Barons had done, and to the neighbouring Provinces, especially of *France*, to procure foreign Assistance against his Domestick Foes. He was succesful in both these Negotiations, the Pope very readily condemn'd the Charter of Liberties, as being extorted by Force: Nay, afterwards excommunicated all those that resisted the King, who was also join'd by such numerous Forces from beyond Seas, insomuch, that had not 40000 of them been drown'd by a sudden Tempest at their first setting forth from *Calais*, 'tis not doubted but he had made an universal Conquest of his own Kingdom, by far more miserable than that by the *Normans*. Nay, had not ill Conduct and other Obstacles interveen'd, he had effected his Designs, even with those Mercenaries he had; for their Numbers were still great, and he could not fail of being daily reinforc'd by new Adventurers, whose miserable Fortunes at Home, easily drew them to the Possession of large Estates they were promis'd in *England*. The Barons dreaded (and they had Reason) the temporal Weapons of the King thus powerfully Arm'd, more than the spiritual Sword of the Pope. They alledg'd, that his Censures were obtain'd by false Suggestions, and therefore not valid: And that since *St. Peter* only receiv'd an Ecclesiastick Power from our Saviour, it did not belong to the Pope, tho his Successor, to direct and govern in Lay Matters. They were certainly so far in the right: And if their Cause was otherwise just, they needed not to be alarm'd by the empty Sound of *Roman* Thunder. *Alexander*, King of *Scotland*, and *Lewis*, the eldest Son of *Philip*, King of *France*, thought so, as well as they.

H h h h. 2

The

(a) Echard, Tyrrel, Brady, &c. in this King's Life.

The Barons, in a short time, by the every where prevailing Arms of the King, now reduc'd to the last Extremity, apply'd to both these Princes. (a) To *Alexander* they promis'd the Restoration of his *English* Territories, and to *Lewis* they made an Offer of the Crown of *England* it self. The former's Title to the Northern Counties, the Reader cannot but know, the latter's to the *English* Crown, I am about to give an Account of, and I shall do it, as *English* Authors have done before me, from the Conference pass'd between the then Pope himself and the *French* Ambassadors, that were sent to allay his Wrath. Thus the Merits of that Cause, the *Scots* so warmly and so powerfully supported, the Justice of the contending Parties, and the Sense of wise Men in those Days, concerning the Matter, will be the better understood.

Courcueil, the Chief of the Embassy, (b) after having in a few Words narrated the inhumane Murder committed by King *John* upon the Person of his own Nephew the Duke of *Britanny*, the Justice that Province so pressingly begg'd from their common Sovereign the King of *France*, and the Sentence of Forfeiture and Death pronounc'd by the Court against the Murtherer, concluded, *That since King John was to be reputed Dead in Law, he could not be considered as a King at all.* The Pope interrupted him, and said, "That 'twas Matter of Wonder, that the Peers of *France* had presum'd to impeach or arraign a King of *England*. That he was lawfully such, since own'd and submitted to by Duke *Arthur*. That that Prince did Homage, and swore Allegiance to him; and since therefore his Subject, and afterwards apprehended in open Rebellion, he might in justice be put to Death, even without Judgment. That after all 'twas not certain that the King had kill'd him, that the Fact was never made out; and that granting it to be true, that the King was guilty of Murder, or that, as a Homager of *France*, he could be Sentenc'd in a *French* Judicatory, yet not to Death, since he did not appear in Judgment. That this was but Contumacy at most, and therefore not to be reputed a mortal Crime. That King *John* had Children, and that these were guiltless. That even upon the Supposition that the King had been legally Condemn'd to Die, and his Issue barr'd from the Succession (which could only be for the Territories he held in *France*) yet did it not follow, that *Lewis* in Right of his Wife *Blanche*, ought to succeed to the Crown of *England*. That she was not the legal Heir, and that either the Sister of Duke *Arthur*, still alive, or *Otto* Son of *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*, by King *John*'s eldest Sister, was preferable to her or him, because nearest in Blood. Nay, that *Blanche*'s own Brother the King of *Castile*, or her eldest Sister the Queen of *Leon*, had the better Title, and by Consequence, that *Lewis* and his Wife the Princess *Blanche* had none at all, or but a very remote one. The Pope urg'd further, "That

(a) Append. to Anderson's *Histor. Essay*. (b) *Tyrrel* ad Ann. 1216. p. 798. *Brady* p. 511. *Pere D'Orléans* ad Ann. 1216.

“ That the Kingdom of *England* was his own Property, that King
 “ *John* held of the Apostolick See, and that to make War upon the
 “ Vassal, was to attack the Sovereign. That the *English* Barons,
 “ together with all their Adherents, were already Excommunicated,
 “ and that he saw not how Prince *Lewis* (and consequently King
 “ *Alexander*) could avoid being also Excommunicated. And that
 “ in fine, as Duke *Arthur* before, so since the pretended Murther,
 “ and Sentence that follow'd upon it, the King and Kingdom of
 “ *France* had acknowledg'd King *John* to be King of *England*, and
 “ had treated with him accordingly.

Courcueil had prepar'd all his Answers before Hand; and he fail'd
 not to give such Colours to his Master's Cause, as were fittest to make
 it plausible: He reply'd, “ That if King *John* was King of *England*,
 “ he was also Duke of *Normandy*, and a Vassal of *France*; therefore
 “ liable to the *French* Law; and the rather because the Crime was
 “ committed in that Kingdom, where the King had Power, and
 “ ought to punish all Transgressors, tho they were not, as King
 “ *John*, his own Subjects, else any Foreigner as such, whether a
 “ King or private Man residing in *France*, might destroy or murder
 “ *Frenchmen* at his Pleasure. That Contumacy, as other great
 “ Crimes, was by the *French* Law punish'd with Death and For-
 “ feiture; and that such Sentences reach'd even to the Children
 “ of the Persons condemn'd. That since therefore it follow'd, that
 “ King *John* was dead by the Law, and consequently no King, *Lewis*,
 “ tho not the very nearest in Blood, had in Right of his Wife
 “ *Blanche*, a just Title to the Crown of *England*, and that this Ti-
 “ tle must needs be good, till some other more Rightful should
 “ plainly appear: And since as yet none of those above-mention'd
 “ had put in their Claims, his Master had reason to seize that
 “ Crown, no Body at the time pretended a Right to, but King
 “ *John*, who had none, and himself who had one that was visible,
 “ that if afterwards any nearer to it should appear, he was bound
 “ in Duty to do Justice. That he had another Title besides his
 “ Wife's Proximity of Blood; that King *John* had made an unjust
 “ War upon *France*, and that the King of *France* could in justice,
 “ not only make War upon King *John*, but subdue and dethrone
 “ him, if in his Power. That this War not yet ended, was com-
 “ menc'd long before King *John* resign'd his Crown in Favour of the
 “ Holy See; and that therefore *France* could not be thereby pre-
 “ judg'd. That King *John* was from the beginning an Usurper,
 “ and that, if Duke *Arthur*, the lawful Heir did Homage to him, he
 “ did it by Compulsion, and was not oblig'd to stand to a Deed,
 “ that had been to his great Prejudice extorted from him. And
 “ that in fine, if since the Sentence of the Peers of *France*, King
 “ *Philip* had given the Title of King to, or seemingly acknowledg'd
 “ King *John* as such, he had only done it, to prevent greater In-
 “ conveniencies, and to forward useful Treaties, that otherwise
 “ might have been obstructed: And this was but a Compliment at

Lewis of
France his
 Claim to
 the Crown
 of *England*.

“ best, and could have no Consequence prejudicial to his Son’s
 “ Claim. *He added,* That as for the *English* Barons, who stood Ex-
 “ communicated for their Rebellion, his Master did not espouse
 “ their Quarrel, but only prosecuted his own Right: And that
 “ he was very confident, the Pope had not hitherto meant to in-
 “ volve him in the Sentence of Excommunication already pronoun-
 “ ced, since at that time unacquainted with the Justice of his Pur-
 “ suit; and he afterwards would not, since now he knew it.

If these Arguments did not convince the Judgment, at least they mollified the Wrath of the Pontiff; and if they had any Force, with reference to Prince *Lewis*, sure they had no less with regard to King *Alexander*. This last, as a Subject of *England*, had as much Reason to take Arms against King *John*, as his fellow Peers, and Barons of that Kingdom. As King of *Scotland*, he was oblig’d to assist, if requir’d, by virtue of the ancient League, in all Wars carried on by *France*: And, as Son and Heir to his Father, could not choose on such an Occasion, but to prosecute his Right to the Northern Counties. He did it accordingly, yet unsuccessfully, for Reasons I shall enlarge upon in his Life. In the mean time, it suffices to tell, that Prince *Lewis* came to *London* upon the Head of a great Army, that he was by the Barons receiv’d and Crown’d King: That King *Alexander* join’d him, and that their united Forces carried all before them for a long time; and in all probability would have effected a total Revolution, had not King *John*, by a hasty Death, deliver’d *England*, both of himself and them. For,

A. D. 1216.

No sooner had that, in a great measure, deservedly unfortunate Monarch expir’d, but the *English* (and who could blame them, nay, who will not rather commend them?) began to reflect, that he had left Children behind him: That these were *Englishmen* born, and, if not through the Nation’s own fault, to be bred so too: That, whatever might have been objected against their Father’s Title, nothing could in reason be alledg’d against theirs. That, since Duke *Arthur’s* Sister, tho still alive, had never pretended, or had long since laid by her Pretensions to the Crown, the young *Henry*, King *John’s* eldest Son, had a Title to it that was unquestionable. And in fine, that this Prince, not as yet ten Years old, was perfectly innocent, harmless, and free from all the Occasions of Discontent his Father had given. These indeed were very moving Considerations: And they prevail’d so far upon the Minds of the Wiser and better Part of the Nation, that they instantly declar’d for their righteous and natural Sovereign, and Crown’d him King, under the Name of *Henry III*.

King Henry
III. King of
England.

Henceforth Prince *Lewis’s* Affairs declin’d daily: Pope *Honorius*, who had succeeded in the See of *Rome* to the deceas’d *Innocent*, follow’d his Predecessor’s Footsteps: Nay, he was warmer in the present Cause, than his Predecessor had been; for he Excommunicated both King *Alexander* and Prince *Lewis*: And these, abandon’d by almost all the *English* that had formerly call’d them in, and at the
 same

same time vigorously attack'd by the young King's Forces, who now exerted their utmost Valour and sincere unfeign'd Loyalty, were constrain'd, the latter to capitulate and lay down the Crown & all his Pretences to it, and the former (I mean King *Alexander*) to make the best of his Way to *Scotland*. Not long after, he came to a Treaty with King *Henry*, married his Sister, got an Equivalent for his Claim to the *Northern Counties* and other Matters, freed both Church and State from the least Shadow of Foreign Pretensions, reign'd gloriously, and for the most part peaceably till the Year 1249 when he died, and left his Son *Alexander III.* but a Boy, not yet full eight Years old, to succeed him in the Throne. His Reign was, like that of his Father, happy, yet not free from some intestine Broils, and a dangerous War brought from beyond Seas. Besides, the King concern'd himself and his Subjects into two other Wars, the one was wag'd in *England*, t'other in *Egypt* and *Africk*. I shall give a short Account of them all.

The intestine Broils that disturb'd the Kingdom, during the Minority of the King, proceeded chiefly (a) from the exorbitant Power, and great Numbers of the Ancient and Illustrious Family of the *Cumins*: For, besides the Earls of the Name, there were thirty two Knights, all Men of considerable Estates, and who, as those of the same Quality in those Days, never stir'd abroad without an Attendance of at least twelve Horse, and those well mounted, and therefore ready for any Attempt or Expedition whatever. This Clan so great by its native Strength, was much more so by its Alliances, and the Interest it must needs have in all Parts of the Kingdom. And we find (b) that *John Strabogie*, Earl of *Athole*, and *William Mar*, Earl of *Mar*, were inseparably attach'd to the two leading Men of the Name, *Walter* Earl of *Monteith*, and *Alexander* Earl of *Buchan*. As for Dukes, Marquesses and Viscounts, we had none in *Scotland* at that time, nay, nor Lord Barons, properly so call'd, till long after. The Earls and Knights were the only dignifi'd Persons (I except the Officers of State) we had in *Scotland*: And as the *Cumins* were the most potent among them, so they were, as is ordinary in the like Cases, the most Insolent and Factious. They scorn'd to be subject to Laws, but would needs give them to all others, even to the King himself, who being but a Child, tho' a very sprightly and hopeful one, was easily over-rul'd. This the neglected Nobility and Gentry could not bear: A Convention of the Barons was call'd, after the usual manner, and there 'twas resolv'd to hasten the Marriage formerly agreed on (in the Year 1242) (c) between the King and Princess *Margaret*, the eldest Daughter of King *Henry III.* of *England*. This Match 'twas thought, by interesting the *English* Monarch in the Affairs of *Scotland*, would effectually depress the domineering Faction. In Pursuance of this Resolution, the King with a Royal Retinue took Journey for *York*, where he was met (d) by the King and Queen of *England*, on
I i i i 2
Christmas.

(a) Boet. Joan. Major. Buchan. &c. ad vit. Reg. (b) Crawford in his Notes upon Buchanan. (c) Tyrrell, Brady ad Ann. 1242. (d) Tyrrell Book 8, p. 955.

Christmas Day, Knighted by King *Henry*, and then solemnly married to the Princess above mentioned, in Presence of a very great Confluence of the Clergy and Nobility, not only *Scots* and *English*, but of severals from *France*. At the same time, King *Alexander* did Homage to his Father in Law for the Lands he held in *England*; particularly *Laudianum*, says *Matthew Paris*. (a) A convincing Proof, I take it, that at that Time the King of *Scotland* was possess'd of *English* Lands, by *English* Authors Latiniz'd *Laudianum*: And what these Lands were, we are inform'd by *Matthew Paris*, (b) *Rolf de Diceto*, (c) The *Annals of Weverly*, (d) and *Matthew of Westminster*; (e) who, when they give us an Account of *Henry II.*'s taking the Northern Counties of *England* (by Modern Authors translated *Northumberland, Cumberland, & Westmorland*) from the King of *Scotland*, expresses them by the Words, *Comitatus Laudonensis, or Lodonensis, & Laudianum*. So that *Laudianum* must needs have been some Place in these Counties, as I have elsewhere evinc'd, or the Name generally given to such Lands as were in the Hands of the Kings of *Scotland*. By what Means *Alexander II.* the Father of this King *Alexander III.* came to be re-possess'd of these Territories, I shall relate, when I come to write his Life: But that *Lothian* in *Scotland*, was then no part of the *Comitatus Laudonensis*, is evident; for it was not claim'd as such by *Henry II.* who seiz'd upon the *English* *Laudianum*, and would upon the *Scottish*, had it ever been reckon'd a Part of *England*. Besides, *English* Authors Latinize it otherwise: *Matthew Paris* (f) calls the *Scottish* *Lothian, Laudonesium*; and *Simeon of Durham*, (g) *Lodoneium*. Mr. *Anderson* (h) has evinc'd the same Thing from a great many more Authors of the *English* Nation: And he makes it plain from *William Newbrigs* (i) and others, that long before this Time, *Tweed* was reckon'd the Boundary of the two Kingdoms, and that when the *English* pass'd the River, they were said to have enter'd *Scotland*. So that to say as Mr. *Tyrrel* and others do, That King *Alexander* did Homage to the King of *England* for *Lothian* and the other Lands he held of him, is to speak equivocally, and without Warrant from their Author *Matthew Paris*, (k) whose very Words import that the *Laudianum*, for which Homage was paid, was a part of the Kingdom of *England*.

'Tis very true, that King *Henry*, who, it seems, had ever a mind to re-usurp that extorted Superiority over *Scotland*, his brave Uncle, King *Richard*, had so generously given up, did (l) move, that his Son in Law should do Homage, as his Predecessors had formerly done, (said he with a great deal of Injustice) for the Kingdom of *Scotland*. He designed no doubt to take Advantage of the Youth of the enamour'd Bridegroom, who, he believed, would in the Heat of his Love and Passion for the Beautiful Lady he had given him, refuse nothing to the Giver. But he was mistaken: *Alexander*, tho not as yet twelve Years old, made him an Answer pithy and modest, and in

(a) Ad Ann. 1252. (b) ad Ann. 1157. (c) Scriptor. XV. p. 531. (d) Hist. Angl. Script. vol. 2. p. 159. (e) ad Ann. 1157. (f) ad Ann. 1173. (g) Scriptor. XV. p. 205. (h) p. 219, 220. &c. (i) lib. 2. c. 30. (k) ad Ann. 1252. (l) Tyrrell loc. cit.

in every Respect suitable to the present Circumstances. He told him, "That he had come thither at the King's Invitation, and with a View of being more closely united to him, by the Marriage of his Daughter; but was not prepar'd to give an Answer to such Questions".

Some time before this, the same King *Henry*, notwithstanding he had been in a League of Friendship with King *Alexander II.* who had so often render'd abortive all his incroaching Designs; and tho' by an Article of that League, his own Daughter was contracted with this Young Prince, yet was so ungenerous as to supplicate the Pope, To prohibit the Anointing and Crowning him King of Scotland, without Consent granted by himself, his Supreme Lord. But this unjustifiable Demand (a) the Pope peremptorly refus'd to comply with, as being a Thing derogatory to Royal Dignity. He also refus'd his Petition concerning the Tenth of the Church Revenues in Scotland, as being a Singularity, to grant that to any King, in the Kingdom of another. A Demonstration, that, in the Judgment of the Court of Rome, the Kingdom of Scotland was Sovereign and Independent: And, considering this incroaching Humour of King *Henry*, but so lately and so plainly express'd, 'tis Matter of Wonder, that the Scots Nobility should have been so fond of the English Match: But they had a mind to depress the Cumins at any Rate: And it seems, that after the Marriage King *Henry* did effectually remove their Jealousies, by giving them all imaginable Assurances, that henceforth he should never attempt any Thing, to the Detriment of their King and Kingdom. Upon this, their Confidence in him grew so very great, that they were willing (b) he should act as a Curator, during the Minority of his Son in Law, and that the Scottish Council should be regulated by his Advice. Accordingly some of the Council were by his Advice remov'd, and others plac'd in their Room. These last, upon their Return to Scotland, fail'd not to make loud Complaints, and spread abroad, that, now the King of England had got in his Hand, he would overturn all at his Pleasure; and what should become of the Liberties and Independency of Scotland? They were in the wrong: For King *Henry* oblig'd himself by his Charter and Seal, (c) (and he kept his Promise) not only not to incroach upon; but on the contrary, with all his Power to maintain inviolable the Honour of the King, and the Liberties of the Kingdom of Scotland. He further declared, "That, as what had been done by his Advice at York, was meant for the Interest and Advantage of both; so it should never be a Precedent prejudicial to either. He added, That mov'd by his Paternal Affection, and the most earnest Desire of his Heart, to see the King and his Daughter the Queen of Scotland, he was about to come to the Borders to pay them a Visit; but that he assur'd the World, that he would not himself, nor would he suffer any other to do ought that might tend to the Prejudice of King or People; but that towards preserving their Rights and Liberties, he would, if necessary, contribute his utmost Endeavours." The Occasion of his coming to the

The Crown of Scotland independent in the Reign of K. Alexander III.

K k k k

Borders

(a) Foeder. Angl. p. 403. (b) Buchan, ad vit. Reg. (c) Foeder. Angl. p. 561. 562.

Borders, (Mr. Tyrrell (a) says to *Edinburgh*; tho others write that he came no further than the Castle of *Werk*) was this.

Some of King *Alexander's* Ministers continu'd uneasy to him and to his Queen: (b) She complain'd to her Father of the hard Usage she met with; and he was made to believe, that his Daughter was kept like a Prisoner, and that the young King, her Husband was not permitted to enjoy her Embraces. Wherefore, as soon as he came, together with the Queen his own Wife, to the Borders, he sent *Richard Earl of Gloucester*, and *John Mansel* his Clerk, with Orders to enquire into the State of Affairs. And Mr. Tyrrell tells us, that upon their Arrival, *Sir Robert de Ross*, and *Sir John Baliol*, who, with some others, had been appointed Governors of the King, Queen, and Kingdom, withdrew from Court, but afterwards appear'd and submitted to a Fine for their Miscarriages. But, if we credit *Buchanan*, Differences were not so easily compos'd. For *Walter Cumis*, Earl of *Menteith*, was Governor of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, at the time, and he resolv'd to hold it out, in Defiance, as he said, of *English* Influence or Arms. But in vain: *Patrick Dunbar* Earl of *March*, back'd with some Auxiliaries from *England*, forc'd him to surrender. Yet this Action of Vigour had not the intended Effect; it rather heightn'd than allay'd the Heat and Ferment of the Nation. But the Court resolv'd to go on in the same Measures; and with this View, issued out Proclamations commanding the Earls of *Menteith*, *Buchan*, *Athole*, *Mar*, the Lord of *Strabogie*, *Hugh Abernethy*, and a great many more, to appear in Judgment, and to stand their Tryal. They refus'd to obey; and being for that Reason denounc'd Rebels, they resolv'd to be so in earnest: For they ventur'd upon an Action, so daring and insolent, that the like had not been heard of in *Scotland* since the Days of Usurpation, that is, not for the Space of near 200 Years. They gather'd together with great Privacy, and upon the Head of a choice Company of their resolute Followers, under the Shade and Silence of Night attack'd the Court, which was then at *Kinross*, seiz'd upon the King's Person, & disrespectfully carried him to *Stirling*. This done, they again took the Management of Affairs into their own Hands, turn'd the late Ministry out of Place, and borrowing the King's Name to palliate their own Villanies, govern'd, like all Rebels, when Successful, Despotically. But their Tyranny did not last long: *Walter*, the Earl of *Menteith* chanc'd to die very soon after; and 'twas generally talk'd, that his own Lady, an *English* Woman, had poison'd him. What begot Credit to the Report was this: A great many of the Young Nobility, pleas'd with her Beauty, & willing to share in her great Fortune, made love to her, in decent and honourable Terms; but she rejected their Suits, and on a sudden, own'd her self the Wife of one *Russel* her Country-man, a young and brisk, but, otherwise, mean Fellow, none but a Coquette of her Quality had preferr'd to her Bed. Her other Lovers thought themselves affronted by the unequal Choice she had made, as if Fancy could be fix'd by Rules, or Desire determined by Birth, Riches

A. D. 1255

The Minority of King Alexander III disturb'd by intestine Broils.

or Merit. However, her Passion cost her Dear : She was shut up in Prison, and accus'd of having murth'rd her Husband; but, says *Buchanan*, purchas'd her Freedom with Money. Upon this, both she and her Husband Appeal'd to the Pope's Legate for Damages, and Reparation of the Injury sustain'd : But the Pope had no Legate in *Scotland* at the time, and by former Concordats, *Scotsmen* were not bound to answer to a foreign Judicatory. Wherefore that Affair had no further Consequences : But the King was by this Means freed from the usurp'd Power of an insolent Ministry, whom nevertheless, as if the Death of one had expiated the Crime of the Remainder, he had the Goodness to Pardon; and the rather, because 'twas not easy to punish so topping a Party as they had made in the Nation, nor was it safe as Matters stood. For,

A Cloud was gathering on the Northern Continent, and *Scotland* was once more threatn'd by a Storm from *Norway* and *Denmark*. The Usurper *Donald Bane* had villainously given up the Islands of *Orkney*, and those call'd *Æbuda*, to the Assessor of his unjust Title, the King of *Norway*, whose Successors had enjoy'd them these 167 Years bypast. Whence it came, that that brave Race of Princes, who reign'd in *Scotland*, in this Period of Time, did not reclaim them, I cannot tell : Perhaps they durst not Quarrel with the *Norwegians*, about a few, and these not very plentiful Islands, lest the incroaching *English* should have laid hold on the Opportunity of making good their Pretensions to the Continent. Nay, 'tis probable, that the Kings of *England* did contribute to maintain the Northern Usurpers in their Possessions : For, we find in those Days, there were petty Princes, who stil'd themselves Kings of *Man* and the *Isles* ; whether originally *Norwegians* or *Islanders*, I know not : But, tho the Kings of *Norway* call'd them their Feudatories, yet from Mr. *Rymer's* Collections and other Authors we learn, that they kept a close Correspondence with, and often resorted to the Court of *England* ; nay, in Imitation of the late King of *England*, made themselves Vassals and Tributaries to the See of *Rome*. Now whether *Haco*, King of *Norway*, had a Mind to dispossess his Contemporary, the King of *Man*, or if, as the *Norwegians* write, he and his Father had been first attack'd by the Kings of *Scotland*, or if, as *Scots* Authors say, he himself was actually possess'd of the *Æbuda* or *Out-Isles*, as they were call'd, and meant also to make himself Master of those call'd *Bute*, *Arran*, and the two *Cumbras*, seems to me uncertain. These last, (a) by reason of their Situation (for they ly in the Mouth of *Clyde*, and the Land of *Kintyre* is interjected betwixt them and the *Out-Isles*) had never been reckon'd among the *Æbuda*. Yet, says *Buchanan*, *Haco* laid Claim to them, because *Scottish* Islands, and all such he pretended a Right to, by the Grant of *Donald Bane*. In Pursuance of this, or some such Claim, he fitted out a Fleet of 160 Ships, embark'd upon the Head of a Land

The *Norwegians* invade *Scotland*.

K k k k 2

Army

(a) Tho. Crawford's Notes upon *Buchanan*, edit. Edin. 1708. p. 40.

King *Haco* Army of 20000 Men, and having, without Opposition, subdu'd the lands at *Air*. Islands in Debate, he landed at *Air* on the third Day of *August*, and A. D. 1263. instantly laid Siege to, and took the Castle of that Town.

Battle of
Largis.

While King *Alexander* was preparing to repell the injurious Invasion, he is said, in order to gain Time for that Purpose, to have sent Ambassadors to the King of *Norway*, to enquire the Cause of his Hostilities, and desire he would Retreat, while he could do it with Safety. But *Haco* had been hitherto Successful: He had been at great Charges in reclaiming what he call'd his own, and would needs have the *Scots* to defray them, else he threatn'd Devastation and Ruin to the whole Country. But the *Scots* had never been in use to purchase Peace with Money, nor to bribe an invading Enemy into a Retreat: They very well knew, and *England* had often experienc'd it, that this was likelier to invite them to return, than to oblige them to go off. The King therefore march'd upon the Head of a more numerous, tho not so experienc'd Army, to the West, and met the Enemy at *Largis* in *Cuningham*. Nor was it long before they came to an Engagement. *Alexander*, Lord High Steward of *Scotland*, the great Grandfather of *Robert II.*, who was the first of the *Stewarts*, that sway'd the Scepter, commanded the right Wing, where were plac'd those of *Argyle*, *Athole*, *Lennox* and *Galloway*. *Patrick Dunbar*, Earl of *March*, the Son of another great Captain of the same Name and Title, took Post on the Left; and under him such as had been rais'd in the Shires of *Lothian*, *Berwick*, *Stirling* and *Fife*. The King himself stood in the Center, and was guarded by the Youth of *Perthshire*, *Angus*, *Merns*, *Mar*, *Murray*, *Ross*, *Caithness*, &c. On the other Side, the King of *Norway* drew up his Men with a great deal of Skill, and, as King *Alexander*, plac'd himself in the Center, upon the Head of the bravest and strongest of his Army. He hop'd thereby to encounter with the King of *Scotland*, whom if he could foil, he doubted not but he should easily relieve and reinforce the Wings of his own Army, altho worsted.

Alexander,
Lord High
Steward, his
Bravery and
Conduct.

This was no ill Contrivance, and might have been Successful, but for the judicious Conduct and great Bravery of *Alexander Stewart*. He made a Movement, as if he meant to Flank those that stood in Opposition to him, and at the same time Charg'd their Front with great Briskness. This terrified their fewer Numbers, and a great Man among the *Norwegians*, whose Name History does not mention, chancing to fall, their left Wing began to give Ground. *Alexander* improv'd his Advantage, infomuch that he put them to the Rout: Yet did not long pursue the Chace; but wheeling about return'd in good Order, and fell upon the Rear of the main Body of the Enemy, where the two Kings were hard at Heroick Labours. *Haco* had hitherto done all that could be expected from a great King and an able Commander; but his Measures were broken by the sudden Defeat of his right Wing, and the unexpected Onset of the great *Stewart*. He was now almost envelop'd, and 'twas high time to retreat: He did it accordingly, and those on the Left of his

his Army, who made a very stout and long Resistance in Opposition to the Earl of *March*, finding themselves on all Sides expos'd, follow'd the Example of their King, but were all eagerly pursu'd till Night, and the whole Country between *Largis* and *Air*, was strew'd with their slaughter'd Carcases. Their loss was computed to 16000, *Boethius* says 24000, and that of the *Scots* to 5000 Men.

Among the many *Scots* that Signaliz'd themselves on this glorious Occasion, there was one Foreigner singularly remarkable, I mean, *Colin Fitz-Gerald*, Son to the first Earl of *Desmond* in *Ireland*: Upon this gallant Gentleman, the grateful King *Alexander* was afterwards pleas'd to bestow'd the Lands of *Kintail*, (a) and from his Son and Heir *Kenneth*, does the noble Family of *Seaforth*, and the Numerous, Brave, and for the most part Loyal Clan of the *Mackenneths* or *Mackenzies* descend.

Mackenzies,
the Origine
of that
Name.

King *Haco*, with much difficulty, got back to *Air*, but there had the cutting Mortification, to find his whole Fleet shatter'd and dispers'd by a violent Storm, that broke out the Night which succeeded the Battle. Nevertheless, by means of some few Ships, the Storm had not destroy'd, he made a Shift to get likewise to *Orkney*.

This Account of that War and memorable Transaction, we have from all *Scots* Authors; and Authentick Records, afterwards cited, prove that it is true upon the Main. But because the *Danish* and *Norwegian* Historians contradict the *Scots* in some things very remarkable, and not so universally known, I hope I shall oblige the more curious and inquisitive Reader, by acquainting him with what they have related. If we may believe them: (b)

The Islands of *Orkney* were probably inhabited by the *Saxons*, or some others of *Gothick* Origine, in the Days of *Theodosius* and *Stilicho*; but till those of *Harold*, Sirnam'd the *Fair-hair'd* King of *Norway*, who was Cotemporary with *Kenneth II.* King of *Scotland*, about the Year 846, serv'd only for Retreats and Receptacles to various Pirates that infested the Seas. But *Harold*, after having reduc'd the whole Kingdom of *Norway* to his Obedience, carried his victorious Arms over the Seas, and subdu'd not only the Islands of *Orkney* and *Shetland*, but also the *Æbuda* and *Man*: Nay, he over-run *Scotland*, Witness the Rymes of *Hornklofius*: And *Aimoni*, an uncertain Author, tells us, that *Kenneth II.* (the same who conquer'd the *Picts*, and, say *Scots* Authors, extended the *Scottish* Dominion from the *Orkneys* to *Adrian's Wall*) was but a Vassal to the *Norwegians*. One *Sigurd* was by King *Harold* made Earl of *Orkney*; and he (for in those Days the *Scots* were, if groundless Fictions deserve to be credited, as soon vanquish'd as attack'd) added to his Government of *Orkney*, *Caithnes*, *Sutherland*, *Ross*, *Murray*; in a word, more than the half of *Scotland*. His Successors, Earls of *Orkney*, did often the same thing, particularly *Liol* and *Sigurd the Fat*: This made the *Æbuda* Tributary to the *Norwegian* Scepter, and that conquer'd *Caithnes*.

Account of
the Con-
quests made
upon *Scot-*
land by the
Norwegians,
according
to the Wri-
ters of that
Country.

(a) Chart. penes Comitum de Seaforth (b) Thormod. Torfæi Hist. rerum Orcadenf. edit. Anno 1697. p. 9, 10, 11, &c.

And *Thorfinn* the youngest Son of *Sigurd*, was created Earl of *Sutherland* and *Caitbnes*, by his Grandfather, on the Mother's side, *Melhoff* or *Malcolm* II. King of *Scotland*: But the Successor of *Malcolm*, one *Karl* (a King of *Scotland*, hitherto unknown to *Scotsmen*) prov'd injurious to *Thorfinn*, and paid dear for it. *Thorfinn* defeated him and all his Forces, more than once, by Sea and by Land, made himself Master of all the Islands, and conquer'd *Scotland*, as far as the Province of *Fife*. And least any Body should distrust this Truth, we have (a) for it, the undoubted Authority of *Jarlaskald*, who was the Earl's Favourite, and Poet Laureat. This same *Thorfinn* must have been a terrible Man; for, having drawn a great Army together, from *Caitbnes*, *Ireland*, the *Æbuda* (b) *Orkney*, and several Provinces of *Scotland*, he would needs one Summer invade *England*, notwithstanding the *Danish Hardecanut* reign'd in it at the time: And he did it with that Success, that after having gain'd two Battles, and enrich'd himself with the Spoils of those Places, he over-ran and laid waste; he return'd and Winter'd at Home. One *Haco*, the Grandchild of *Thorfinn* discorded about the Succession with his Relations: And to interests their common Sovereign the King of *Norway* in his Quarrel, he went over to that Country, and by his Persuasions prevail'd upon the ambitious Spirit of *Magnus*, firnam'd *Bare-foot*, to attempt the Recovery of all the Conquests, his Predecessor, *Harold* the *Fair-hair'd* had made in and about the Island of *Britain*. That Prince was easily perswaded; he brought a great Army from *Norway* to *Orkney*; from thence sail'd to the *Æbuda*, (where one *Gordredus* reign'd at the time, with the Title of King of the *Isles*: But by what Right, the Poet *Kalius*, from whose Rymes we have this Story, does not tell) and reduc'd them to his Obedience. This done, he made a Descent in *Kintyre*; and from thence, by Detachments from his Army, ravag'd all the neighbouring Coasts of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, took in the Islands of *Man* and *Anglesey*, and had subdu'd almost all *Ireland*, when by the Treachery of the Natives he was kill'd.

That King *Magnus* did make himself Master of the Island of *Man*, and of the *Æbuda*, (perhaps *Shetland* and *Orkney*, because so very obnoxious to Northern Rovers, may have been possess'd by some of his Predecessors) no Author denies; but when he did it, is the Question. *Simeon Dunelm.* (c) the Chronicle of *Man*, (d) and *Ordericus Vitalis* (e) say, that he conquer'd the Islands of *Orkney*, *Man*, &c. in the Year 1098. But 'tis certain, that *Malcolm Canmore*, King of *Scotland*, died four or five Years before, in 1093. And this Calculation agrees exactly with what all *Scots* Authors have asserted, viz. that upon the death of King *Malcolm*, his Brother *Donald Bane*, assisted by the Forces of *Magnus*, to whom, as a Recompence, he promis'd to yield the Islands belonging to *Scotland*, usurp'd the Throne: And that these Islands were accordingly invaded by *Magnus*, and, to the great Dissatisfaction of the *Scots*, not defended by *Donald*.

Never-

When *Magnus* King of *Norway* subdu'd the Islands belonging to *Scotland*.

(a) Ibid. p. 54, 58. (b) Ibid. p. 7, 72, &c. (c) Ibid. p. 72. (d) Ibid. p. 75. (e) Ibid. p. 76.

Nevertheless, the *Norwegians*, contrary to the above Calculation, and the unanimous Consent of *Scots* Authors, say, that they were conquer'd by their King *Magnus* from *Gordredus* King of the *Isles*, and afterwards yielded to him, not by *Donald Bane*, but by *Malcolm Canmore* himself. To prove this, they alledge, that about 151 Years afterwards, when *Alexander II.* of *Scotland* sent to *Haco*, King of *Norway*, to demand the Restitution of these Islands, as having been unjustly extorted by King *Magnus* from King *Malcolm*; Answer was made, That *Malcolm* had no Right to them, but that *Magnus*, after having vanquish'd *Gordredus*, their King, had, in Right of his Predecessors, Kings of *Norway*, re-possess'd himself of them. They add, that according to *Ordericus Vitalis*, King *Magnus* made several Expeditions against the *British* States; and one of them in 1092, when *Malcolm Canmore* was yet alive, and engag'd in a War with *William Rufus* King of *England*. So that 'tis probable he gave way to the *Norwegian* Invasion, that he might not at once have to do with two Enemies, so powerful, as *William* and *Magnus*. This I am so much the more apt to believe, because I do not see, by what means the King of *Norway* could have been able to have advanc'd *Donald Bane* so quickly and so easily to the Throne, if he had not, at the very Nick of King *Malcolm's* Death, been at hand, and ready with his Army in the *Isles*, to invade the Continent. And thus the differing Accounts of the *Scots* and *Norwegians* may be reconcil'd; nay, that Part of the *Scots* History, illustrated by the *Norwegian*.

Henceforth the Islands of *Orkney* and *Shetland* continu'd in the Possession of the *Norwegians*, and were govern'd by Earls Commission'd by the King of *Norway*, till the Reign of King *James III.* of *Scotland*. The *Æbuda* and *Man* had Kings of their own, but, say the *Norwegians*, subject and fiduciary to these of *Norway*. Tho' 'tis certain, as I said before, that some of them disown'd any such Vassallage; and, in Imitation of the Kings, *John* and *Henry III.* of *England*, held their Dominions of the See of *Rome*. Nor do I find, that any of the Kings of *Scotland*, from *Malcolm Canmore* down to *Alexander II.* had Wars with, or did so much as reclaim the Obedience of those People, tho, as is evident from their Language, Manners, and old Monuments, particularly the Monastery of *Icolmkill*, unquestionably *Scots*. Only we're told (and this shews that they had still an Eye that way, and wanted but an Opportunity of asserting their Right) that about the Year 1229, *Alan* Lord of *Galloway*, and Constable of *Scotland*, (a) a bold Man, and perfectly well skill'd in the Art of Navigation, after having made, no doubt, by Warrant from the King of *Scotland*, several Descents upon the *Æbuda* and *Ireland*, attack'd the Isle of *Man* with a numerous Army and great Fleet. *Olave* its King, who was admirably well affected and loyal to *Haco* King of *Norway*, defended himself stoutly for a long time; but his Brother King *Reignald* being kill'd in the Cause, he himself was necessitated to leave his Country, and ask Succours from the King of *Norway*, to

Alan Lord
of *Galloway*
makes War
upon the
Kings of
Man and the
Isles.

(a) *ibid.* 161.

whom he gave an Account, That *Alan* threatn'd to invade *Norway* it self, and boasted that the Seas were as open to the *Scots* as *Norwegians*. *Haco* entertain'd him kindly, and gave him and one *Uspack*, whom he had lately made King of the *Isles* in the Room of *Sumerled's* two Sons, *Skrog* and *Dungad*, who had been unfaithful to him, a Fleet and Army to recover their Territories. They set sail, first for *Orkney*, and from thence to *Ilarsund*, where they seiz'd upon the Person of King *Dungad*, and kill'd his Kins-man *Sumerled*. From thence, with a Fleet of eighty Ships, they sail'd to *Kintyre* or *Bute*, and there besieg'd a Castle that belong'd to the Lord High Steward of *Scotland*; and at length (notwithstanding, it was bravely defended, and a great many kill'd by the melted Lead and Pitch the Besieg'd threw down upon them) took it by Sapping, and in it a rich Booty. One *Scots* Earl was kill'd by an Arrow, as he stood on the Wall; and a Knight being made Prisoner, pay'd 300 Merks of Gold for his Ransom. The *Norwegians* and *Islanders* lost 300 Men on this Occasion, and among these, one *Suein*, a Man of Note; and to their greater Grief, four of their Ships, with all the Men on Board of them, were cast away by a sudden Storm. They had Intelligence at the same time, that the Lord *Alan*, with a Fleet of 150 Sail, lay on the South side of *Kintyre*, with a Design to intercept them: For which Reason they sail'd to the North, and from thence to *Man*, where King *Olave* was again received with the Acclamations of all his Subjects. From this time, till the Year 1244, nothing of Moment was done, with Reference to the *Scots* Pretensions to those Islands; but then King *Alexander II.* did redeem them from *Haco*, the Son of another of the same Name, King of *Norway*: And having received the Answer I mentioned above, resolv'd to retake them by Force, but died in *Carnyre*, just as he was entering upon the design'd Expedition.

His Son, *Alexander III.* how soon he got free from these Intestine Broils that disturb'd his Minority (and by his Marriage with a Daughter of *England*, found himself secure on that side) determin'd himself (a) to prosecute what his Father had begun: For (say the *Norwegians*) in the Year 1263, the Kings of the *Isles* wrote to their King *Haco*, that *Kiarnach* Earl of *Ross*, had, with a mighty Fleet, attack'd and laid waste their Territories, without Regard to Churches or Monasteries, Children or Women; and that the King of *Scots* declar'd, that he would never desist, till he had made himself Master of them all. Alarm'd with this News, *Haco* caus'd a Royal Navy to be fitted out; and on the eleventh of *July* set sail for *Shetland*, where he arrived on the thirteenth, then came over to the *Orkneys*, and encamped near *Kirkwall*, where the Army celebrated the Feast of *St. Olave*, King of *Norway*, and the Principal Officers were magnificently Regal'd on Board the King's own Ship. While he stay'd here, he sent Messengers to *Caithness*, to threaten Destruction to the Country, and raise Contributions, and others to the Kings of the *Isles* and *Man*, to acquaint them with his Arrival, and to command them

Alexander III makes War upon the *Norwegians*, for what Cause. A. D. 1263.

K. Haco's Progress through the Western *Isles*.

them to have their Forces in a Readiness to joyn him. Those of *Caithness* pay'd what Contributions were desir'd ; but Word was brought from the *Isles*, that *Ion*, one of their Kings, had revolted to the King of *Scots*. But, not long after, *Magnus*, King of *Man*, and *Dugal*, one of the Kings of the *Isles*, came and waited upon him, in his Progress through a great many Islands, whose Names (being quite different in the Journal left us of this Expedition, from those we give them) I cannot express. At length, even King *Ion* came to him, and begg'd he would excuse him, if he had made his Submission to, and Peace with the King of *Scotland*, in Regard that he held more of that Prince, than of the Crown of *Norway* ; and he was willing King *Haco* should dispose of his Lands in the *Isles*, in Favour of any Body he pleas'd. But *Haco* thought fit to detain him for some time by himself, in hopes to regain him to his Service ; and in the mean time, had Advice sent him from King *Dugal*, who, together with the King of *Man*, had been detach'd with 50 Sail to scour the Seas, and take in some of the *Isles*, that *Margad* and *Engus*, two Governors for the King of *Scotland*, of I know not what Islands, would surrender them, and bring in a 1000 Oxen for the Use of the Army, upon Condition, that when a Peace should be concluded, the King of *Norway* would take Care, that they might be comprehended in it, and restor'd to the Favour of their own Sovereign ; which accordingly was agreed to. By this Means, both the *Cumbra's*, I believe, submitted to the Invaders, and *Bute* was also subdu'd by the Treachery of one *Rudrius*, who pretended to a Hereditary Right to that Island, and had been formerly Forefeited and Out-law'd by the King of *Scotland*, to whose Territories and Subjects he did, on this Occasion, a great deal of Mischiefe.

While *Haco* was thus busily employ'd in reducing the *Æbuda*, Messengers came to him from *Ireland*, inviting him over to that Country, upon certain Conditions : Concerning which, he sent one *Sigurd*, an Islander, to treat with the Natives. At the same time, he dismiss'd King *Ion*, loaden with Presents and Caresses, who on his side promised to be Instrumental in bringing about a Peace with the King of *Scotland*. This last had frequently sent Messengers to *Haco*, sometimes *Dominicans*, sometimes *Minorites*, with Overtures tending to an Accommodation ; and he likewise had sent to the Court of *Scotland*, *Gilbert*, Bishop of *Hamar*, and *Henry*, Bishop of the *Orkneys*, with three more Persons of Quality for the same Purpose.

These Ambassadors reported, That the King of *Scotland* had receiv'd them kindly, and that he seem'd not averse from Reasonable Terms : The Terms were, that the Out-Isles should continue in the Hands of the *Norwegians*, but that *Arran*, *Bute*, and the *Cumbra's*, should be return'd to the Crown of *Scotland*. Upon this, a Truce was agreed to, and Plenipotentiaries nam'd on both sides, who met accordingly some where in *Scotland* ; but the Terms propos'd were still the same, and such as the *Norwegians* would not accept of : Besides, *Haco* was made to understand, that the *Scots* were

drawing together in great Numbers, and perswaded to send one *Kolbein*, a Knight, to the King of *Scotland*, with his Letters Patents concerning the Truce, and Orders to tell Him, that he might come himself with his whole Army; upon the head of which, Articles should be adjusted between them amicably, if possible; if not, with the Sword, and to the Advantage of whoever it should please God to favour with Victory. *Kolbein* reported, that the King of *Scotland* seem'd dispos'd to accept of the last Part of the Alternative, but that he had given him no positive Answer. Upon this, the *Norwegians* renew'd their Hostilities: The Kings, *Magnus* and *Dugal*, were again detach'd with 60 Ships, and a Numerous Land Army, who, while they laid waste all *Lorn* and *Lochaber*, *Alan*, the Brother of King *Dugal*, made a Descent in the low Lands, and ravag'd a large Tract of the Country, from the West to the East, but lost ten Ships, at a Place my Author calls *Skipastord*. Nor was the Grand Army more fortunate: A terrible Storm arose on the 30th of *September*: The whole Fleet was shatter'd, the King's own Ship driven from Anchor, and himself oblig'd, with great Hazard, to go in a Boat to a Neighbouring Island; one of the *Cumbras* (no doubt.) The *Scots* observing this, came in great Numbers to the Shore, plunder'd those Ships the Storm had forc'd upon it, and kill'd the Men they found on Board: But they defended themselves bravely; and to rescue them, the next Day King *Haco* landed, to be sure at, or near the *Largis*, and commanded *Augmund Krakidantz* to seize upon a rising Ground in the Neighbourhood; which that Officer had no sooner done, but he saw the whole *Scots* Army approaching with Diligence. It consisted of 500 Horse, admirably well Arm'd, and finely Cloath'd, and of an uncertain, but great Number of Foot, with Bows and Spears; and 'twas said, that the King himself was upon the Head of it. The Number of the *Norwegians* that were on the Land, did not amount to above 800 Men; and with these, King *Haco* would have stay'd, notwithstanding the mighty Power he had to encounter, had not the Great Men about him, more sollicitous for his Safety than their own, in a Manner compell'd him to return to the Fleet. But his Men could not so easily get off: They were instantly attack'd by the *Scots*, in Numbers, eight to one of the *Norwegians*, and no wonder, if they were for the most part cut to pieces: Tho, says my Author, while the Fight lasted, more of the Enemy were kill'd than of them; but how many, the *Norwegians* could not guess, by Reason that their Slain were instantly taken up by their Countrymen, and transported to an adjacent Wood.

The Battle of *Largis*, as related by the *Norwegians*.

The King of *Norway* was heartily grieved to see his Subjects thus miserably slaughter'd; and the rather, because 'twas not in his Power to send fresh Succours to the Land, to support them or bring them off. But the next Day, he sent those that took up their Dead Bodies, and brought them on Board the Fleet; particularly, those of *Haso de Stein*, and *Thorgils Gloppa*, two Captains of his Life-guard, and five more Persons of Quality, whose long *Teutonick* Names, as 'tis

not easy to pronounce, so 'tis needless to insert. This done, he thought fit to Tack about, and set Sail for the *Out-Isles*, in one of which he had the Pleasure to be again invited to *Ireland*; the Natives of that Country being willing to entertain him and his whole Army during the Winter, if he would but undertake to free them from the *English Yoke*. He had done it with all his Heart, but his Nobles were of a contrary Opinion, and the Winds were not favourable. He therefore appointed Governours over the Isles he had subdu'd, (and he had subdu'd all the Territories, formerly annex'd to the Crown of *Norway* by his Predecessor *Magnus Bare-foot*) insomuch that my Author is hugely dissatisfied, that *Buchanan*, and other *Scots* Historians, should say, that he did nothing considerable. Indeed I think he did not, else his Son and Successor, King *Magnus*, had not so easily parted, not only with his new Acquisitions, *Bute*, *Arran*, and the *Cumbræ's*, but also with *Man* and the *Æbude*.

King *Haco* got back to the *Orkneys*, with great Difficulty, and no small Loss of his Men and Shipping, even according to the Journal drawn up, probably by some about him. When at *Kirk-wall*, where he resolv'd to Winter in the Episcopal Palace, after having appointed Quarters for his Army, and convenient Harbours for his Ships, in different Islands, that own'd his Authority, he sickn'd, and being extreamly spent with Fatigue, and by cross Accidents perplex'd, kept his Bed three Weeks, then seem'd to Convalesce, walk'd through the Palace, went to the Chappel, and visited the Church and Shrine of *St. Magnus*; but the third Day grew worse, took his Bed again; and to recreate his Mind, caus'd his Chaplains read *Latin Books* to him, which not sufficiently comprehending, by reason of the Application they requir'd, and he was unable to give, he order'd the History of the Kings of *Norway* his Predecessors, done in the *Norwegian Tongue* by *Halfdane the Black*, to be brought and read to him. But still his Malady increas'd, and in a few Days after he had made his Will, given Legacies to all about him, and receiv'd Extream-Uncion and the other Sacraments of the then Church, he died the succeeding Day to the Feast of *St. Lucy the Virgin*, in Presence of three Bishops, one Abbot, several Churchmen, and a great many of the principal Officers of his Household and Army; who all regrated the Death of one of the bravest and best Sovereigns, *Norway* could boast of. And 'twas observ'd, that, on the same Day King *Haco* expir'd, a Son and Heir was born to King *Alexander*, as if Providence had design'd to gladden this last, by a double Blessing at once, the Death of an Enemy, and Birth of a Son.

King *Haco*
dies in *Ork-*
ney.

Great Rejoicings (a) were made all over *Scotland*, and as great A. D. 1264.
Preparations for Prosecuting the War: *Alexander*, the Lord High Steward, and *John Cumin*, were sent with a competent Force to reduce the Island of *Man*: Its petty King *Magnus* made a vigorous Resistance,

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but

(a) Boeth, Buchan. &c. in vit. Alex. III.

Alexander
III. by his
Lieutenants
subdues the
Kings of
Man and the
Isles.

but submitted at length, and oblig'd himself to furnish the King of Scots with thirteen long Boats, and 500 Men, as often as requir'd. The same Alexander Stewart, together with the Earls of Athole, March and Carrick, and the Thanes of Argyle and Lennox, had Orders to transport their respective Followers to the *Out-Isles*, all which they conquer'd, and re-annex'd to the Crown of Scotland, tho not without great Opposition made by the *Norwegian* Garrisons, and some of the Islanders, in their Interest. Most of these were put to the Sword, and the Majority of the Inhabitants, by this Means deliver'd from a foreign Yoke, willingly return'd to the Allegiance, their Ancestors had paid to the Kings of Scotland, their natural Sovereigns.

Magnus IV.
King of Nor-
way.

In the mean time King Magnus had succeeded in the *Norwegian* Throne, (a) who, how soon he had receiv'd and done the last Duty at *Bergen*, to the Corps of his Royal Father, by Advice of the Senate, sent Ambassadors to Scotland, to put an end to the Controversy, and unequal War, the Kings of Norway had to wage at such a Distance, with the then more Powerful, at least in Money, and no less Warlike Kings of Scotland. They offer'd what before had been sought of King Haco, to give up their Master's Claim to the Isles of *Arran*, *Bute*, &c. provided he might still enjoy the *Æbuda*. But now the Face of Affairs was alter'd, Haco was Dead, Magnus was at a Distance, the Scots had gain'd a Battle, and master'd the Territories pretended to. Besides, they were accustom'd to War, could draw a land Army in a few Weeks to the Fields, and had a Fleet ready to put to Sea, how soon necessary: Whereas, the *Norwegian* Army had been for the most Part cut off, and their Fleet, in a great Measure, destroy'd. Wherefore King Alexander would give Ear to no such Terms of Accomodation: He would needs have the *Norwegians* to give up their Pretensions to all the *Æbuda*, and probably had also demanded the Restitution of *Shetland* and the *Orkneys*, had not the Affairs of England been in Confusion, and his Assistance necessary to keep his Father-in-Law Henry III. upon his tottering Throne. This seems the more credible, because that Prince did all he could to mediate a Peace, which nevertheless was not concluded till two Years afterwards, viz. in anno 1266, when, on the Friday following the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, (b) 'twas agreed at *Perth* by King Alexander III. of Scotland, Personally present, together with his Clergy and Nobles on the one Side, and by *Askatin*, Chancellour of Norway, and *Andreas*, a Baron, in Name of Magnus IV. King of Norway on the other: That henceforth the Kings or Kingdom of Norway, should lay no Claim to the Islands call'd *Sodoreses* or *Æbuda*, nor to that of *Man*; but that they should for ever remain in the Possession of, and belong to the Kings of Scotland, with all their Services, Apurtenances, Rents, Rights, &c. That the Inhabitants thereof, should not be molested in their Rights

Makes
Peace with
Alexander
III. and on
what Terms.

(a) Torfæus p. 171. (b) See the Words of the Treaty, apud Torfæum p. 199. and the Contract of Marriage between Erick and Margaret, inter Foed. Angl. Tom. 2. p. 1079. Article 23.

Rights and Heritages, granted to them by the Kings of *Norway*, nor quarrell'd for any thing they had done in Favour of the said Kings; but be henceforth govern'd by the Laws of *Scotland*, as natural Subjects of the same, unless any of them should think fit to remove and reside elsewhere; in which Case they were not to be hinder'd. On the other Hand, as an Equivalent for this Renunciation, King *Alexander* oblig'd himself and his Successors, to pay 4000 Merks, at four different Terms, with a yearly Retribution or Pension of 100, to the Kings of *Norway*, and his Successors for ever. To make this Peace the more solid and lasting, the Lady *Margaret*, eldest Daughter of *Alexander*, tho as yet but one Year old, was promis'd in Marriage to *Erick*, or, as some *Scots* Authors call him, *Hanganan*, the Son and apperent Heir of *Magnus*, also an Infant at the time: And accordingly his Matrimonial Contract was afterwards ratified, and *Erick*, by his Proxy, married the Princess at *Roxburgh*, on the 25 of *July* 1281.

And now *Scotland*, freed from Intestine Broils, secur'd against Danger from abroad, and aggrandiz'd by the Re-union of the *Æbuda*, enjoy'd a profound Peace and Calm, under the wise and vigorous Administration of one of the best of her Kings. *England* was not so happy, and the Civil Wars, which broke out in that Kingdom, gave new Opportunities to the *Scots* of exerting their Valour. Their King, since his Marriage with the Daughter of King *Henry*, had liv'd in perfect Friendship with his Father-in-Law, and they had done all the reciprocal good Offices to one another, their respective Circumstances did permit or require. To instance in a few; *Henry*, did only assist King *Alexander* by his Advice and Forces, against those Ministers that disturb'd his Minority; but, (a) by his Mediation, very much contributed to the honourable and advantageous Peace, he made with the King of *Norway*. Before this time, in 1260, he had given the King and Queen of *Scotland*, a kind Invitation to the Court of *England*, order'd them (b) to be Royally attended on the Road, gave them the use of his own Houses, Forests and Warranries, and (c) by a publick Deed declar'd, *That they should not be desir'd to treat of any Scots Matters concerning themselves, their Kingdom, or Counsellors.* This was very pleasing to the Queen, who, no doubt, was infinitely desirous to see her Father, and consequently fond of the Journey. But it was not altogether satisfactory to the King and his Nobles: They apprehended the Queen to be with Child, and therefore (to obviate all Inconveniences that might fall out, in Case of her being brought to Bed in *England*) they prudently desir'd, and very readily obtain'd, an Authentick Deed, (d) by which the King of *England* oblig'd himself, and swore to the Obligation, that the King of *Scotland* should have full Liberty to carry back the Queen his Wife, how soon he should think fit: And that, in case she should chance to stay till her Delivery, he should dispose both of her and the Child at his Pleasure. And,

Great
Friendship
between *Alexander III.*
and *Henry III.*

N n n n

if in

(a) Anderson's *Histor. Essay*, p. 228. (b) *Fœder. Angl.* tom. I. p. 714. (c) *Ibid.* p. 712. (d) *Ibid.* p. 714.

if in the mean time he should chance to die, that, in that Case, the Child should be deliver'd to, and remain at the Disposal of the Nobles of *Scotland*. Upon these Assurances the King and Queen of *Scotland* took Journey (a) and were met by their Royal Parents at *Woodstock*. From thence they went to *London*, but took different Roads, by reason the Country was over-crowded with the vast Numbers of the Nobility and Gentry, that attended the two Courts. They arriv'd at the Capital on the 15th of *August*, and they were welcom'd in that City, as in *Westminster*, with all the Demonstrations of Respect, Affection and Duty, 'twas possible to exprest. The Queen of *Scotland* prov'd, as had been foreseen, to be with Child, and the King, Queen and Nobles, out of a tender Regard to her Health, intreated that she might be permitted to stay in *England*, till she should be brought to Bed. This could not in Reason be refus'd: But then (so cautious were the then *Scots*) a new Deed was granted at their Desire, more ample than the former, with this special Proviso, (b) *That if the King of Scots should chance to die, the Child should be deliver'd without any Dispute or Cavil, to certain Noblemen therein mention'd.* And for further Security, not only the King of *England*, but also his Brother, then King of *Almain*, with a great many more of the *English* Nobility, solemnly swore to the Performance of this Deed; nay, the King engag'd himself to cause his eldest Son Prince *Edward*, the two Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, &c. to do the like.

Occasion of
the Civil
Wars in
England, du-
ring the
Reign of
Henry III.

After so many Testimonies of unfeign'd Affection, exprest by the King of *England*, 'twas but just that his Son-in-Law (who had no Reason to think, that after this any of the *English* Monarchs would ever again offer to incroach upon the so often acknowledg'd Independency of *Scotland*) should in his Turn court Opportunities of shewing his Gratitude. He found but too many: For *Henry* was at the Bottom but a weak Prince, and such an one can scarcely expect to live happy in *England*. The Minority of other Kings is ordinarily the most troublesome Part of their Reigns, his was the most flourishing. When young, he suffer'd himself to be govern'd by such Regulations as had been extorted from his Father, and he willingly acquiesc'd in; and therefore was agreeable to the prevailing Part of the Nation, never, or seldom pleas'd, but when their Sovereigns are precariously such, and choose rather to obey, or at most be the meer Executors of their Pleasures, than to command. By these Means, some Princes of very ordinary Capacities, have been reputed Great and Good, and who would do otherwise, must fall, if he is not a *William* the Conqueror, or a *Henry VIII.*

This *Henry III.* had neither the Courage nor Genius of these, and yet he would needs be (what all his Ancestors, but his Father, are by impartial Authors own'd to have been, notwithstanding the Concessions of some of them) an absolute Monarch. He testified no less, how soon he came to the Years of a Man: For in a Council, held

(a) Tyriel, lib. 8. p. 979. (b) Foeder. Angl. p. 715.

held at *Oxford* in 1227, he (a) not only cancell'd and made void, all the Charters of *Liberties and Forrests*; as having been by Force of Arms extorted from his Father, and by himself ratified only in his Minority, when he had no Power of his own Person or Seal; but also declar'd, that, now he was of full Age, he resolv'd to be Master of his own Actions, and stood no longer in Need of a Governor.

His Ancestors, *William* the Conqueror, and *Henry I.* who had granted or confirm'd the like Priviledges, had also cancell'd or brought them into Disuse, as well as he. But the Case was alter'd; they were Great Men, he was far from being so. Besides, the late Successes of the *English* Barons against King *John*, had taught them, that 'twas practicable to give Laws to their Masters; and they resolv'd not to part easily with those dear bought Priviledges, they so much valu'd. Henceforth the Reign of King *Henry* was but a continu'd Struggle between him and his Barons. These last (by Reason of the bad Counsels he followed, the wrong Methods he pursu'd, and the huge Sums of Money he fruitlessly expended) had, for the most part, the better of him. They maintain'd their Priviledges by Force, as they had acquir'd them; and by Means of both, got such an Ascendant over their ever indigent, because still prodigal Sovereign, that, to supply his craving Wants, he must needs have Recourse to the good Will and voluntary Grants of the Barons. For this Reason, he was often oblig'd to call them together, and to ask (with Submission to their Advices, concerning the Management of Affairs) those Subsidies, his Predecessors exacted for the most part at Pleasure: Nor did they part with their Money, till he had, by new Grants, or the Confirmation of former ones, parted at least with some Branch of what had been hitherto understood to be the Royal Prerogative. Hence 'tis, that most Authors, and with great Reason, attribute to him, the Institution of Parliaments, properly so call'd. The Word, which is altogether *French*, may have been in Use before, and appropriated to those Assemblies of Landed Men, or Grand Councils, all Kings must needs call from time to time; especially, when they stand in need of the universal Concurrence of the Nations they Govern; or, as *Henry I.* King *Stephen*, King *John*, &c. are possess'd of a question'd Title, and therefore want to make it good, if not by Law, at least by Numbers and Strength. However, those Assemblies, whether call'd Parliaments or no, had no regular Form, till the Reign of King *Henry*: But he, for the Reasons I have mention'd, was forc'd to allow of the Right they had purchas'd with so much Blood and Treasure, to give but just as much Money to the Sovereign, as they thought they could spare, or he stood in Need of; and by Consequence, to share in the Government and Direction of Affairs. I very well know what Mr. *Tyrrel*, Mr. *Petyt* and others have said, to prove the Power and Authority of Parliaments, that is, both of Lords and Commons, anterior to this time; nay, and to the Conquest it self: But after all, I am not yet, nor do I think any Impar-

(a) Tyrrel, Brady, &c. ad Ann. supra dict.

tial Man will be satisfied, that these last were in the least concern'd either in the making of Laws, or in the granting of Subsidies, till the Reign of this King. The Power, even of the Lords and Barons, was, in his Judgement, an Usurpation: But they stood their Ground: And *Alexander*, II. King of *Scotland*, after he had got Satisfaction, as to his own Demands, thought himself no more concern'd with their Quarrels. His Son, *Alexander* III. was of another Opinion: He could not but repay the good Offices of his Father-in-Law; and he did it at a time, when 'twas highly necessary.

Henry neither lov'd the *English*, nor was he lov'd by them: He put all his Confidence in Strangers, whom he prefer'd to the highest Posts; by whose Counsels he was rul'd, and who alone were enrich'd by his excessive Prodigalities. This was, no doubt, very grating to the Nation; and the rather, because no Promise, no Oath, no Length of time, could make him cordial, with Reference to the so much contended for Priviledges. Wherefore, as before, so in the Year 1258, the Barons (a) enter'd into a League, and laid down such Measures, as they thought would effectually redress their Grievances. They wanted but Heads to conduct them, and found two Men very fit for the Purpose, *Richard de Clare*, Earl of *Glocester*, and *Simon de Montfort*, Earl of *Leicester*; both by their Fortunes great Lords, and by their personal Qualifications, great Men. The last was a *Frenchman* born; but, in Right of his Mother, had succeeded to the Honours and Estate he enjoy'd in *England*, was thereby become an *Englishman*, and, as such, made his Court to the King, so succesfully, that he was consider'd as a Favourite. He afterwards found means, in Spite of all Opposition, to marry the Sister of his Master: But this Match, which an Intrigue of Love dishonourable to the Royal Blood had brought about, turn'd him for some time out of Favour, but at length his Merit prevail'd, he was made Governor of *Guienne*, and there had frequent Occasions to let *England* know, that the Nation had in his Person, one of the greatest Captains in the Age. But then he was the most Insolent and Haughty in the World: He dar'd to give the Lye to his Sovereign, who durst not resent the outrageous Affront. One of his Character could not fail of being agreeable to a Party of Men, tenaciously bent upon depressing the Majesty and Power of Kings: And he was so much the fitter to compass this End, because he rebell'd conscientiously, that is, he was a Hypocrite, and by the deluded Vulgar reputed a Saint. I should be thought to digress, if I should enter into the Detail of the various Transactions of these times. At length the War (often commenc'd, but never prosecuted to purpose) broke out with Violence in 1263, when, at the same time, *Alexander*, King of the *Scots*, was attack'd by the *Norwegians*, and by Consequence, could give no Supplies to his imprudent, but in the Opinion of all good Men (particularly of St. *Lewis* King of *France*) injur'd Ally and Father-in-Law. But by good luck, the *Norwegians* were defeated, and the very next Year 1264,

Alexander

A.D. 1254.

(a) Echard, Tyrrel, Brady, Baker, &c. in the Life of Hen. III.

Alexander found himself in a Condition to do something more, than repay the good Offices he had receiv'd from Henry. He sent (a) 5000 Men to his Assistance: And that Prince had the Pleasure to see himself upon the Head of an Army of such Officers and Souldiers, as had undoubtedly conquer'd, had they been conducted by a Chiftain, or abler, or happier. Besides, the King himself, and the brave Prince, Edward his Son, King Richard, and Henry his Son were present, together with John, others say; Alexander Cuming, John Baliol, and Robert Bruce; Names, says Pere D' Orleans, (b) so much celebrated in the History of Scotland, Roger de Clifford, Henry Percy, Roger Mortimer, a great Number of the first Quality of both Nations.

With these flourishing Troops, Henry was every where like to prevail: And it seems the Confederates dreaded no less; for the Earls of Leicester and Gloucester, in Name of the rest, wrote a respective Letter to him, professing still to observe their Oaths and the Fidelity they ow'd him, and to aim at nothing but the Reformation of the State, and the Removal of his own, as well as their Enemies from about his Person. Nay, in Consideration of the Damages done by them through the Kingdom, they offer'd no less than 30000 Pounds, yet still insisted, that the new Statutes of Oxford might remain in full Force. And this was just what the King would by no means grant: He was really Un-king'd by them; they had been extorted from him against his Will. The eminently just and good St. Lewis, King of France (whom even the Confederates had made Umpire and Arbitrator between them and their King) had decided in his Favour; and the Pope had absolv'd and declar'd him free from those Oaths, so unfairly impos'd upon him: And, now he was upon the Head of a numerous and gallant Army, He resolv'd to re-gain the Right of Monarchy, and therefore defied the incroaching Rebels; who, on their side renounc'd the Fealty they ow'd him. Upon which, ensued the Famous Battle of Lewis; to which the Confederates, particularly their Leader, the Earl of Leicester, prepar'd, with all the outward Demonstrations of Piety imaginable: So true 'tis, that under the Sun there's nothing new, and the *Macchiavelian* Maxim did ever hold, *Si vis fallere plebem, finge Deum.* A.D. 1264

Both Armies engag'd with a great deal of Bravery; but those Prince Edward had to do with, being for the most part Citizens of London, and consequently unfit to stand the Shock or of a Martial Gentry, or of a regular and disciplin'd Force, he soon put them to the Rout. But he was as yet in the Heat of his Youth, and unexperienc'd; besides, he hated the *Londoners* heartily, and wanted to be reveng'd upon them, for a late Outrage they had done to the Queen, his Mother. Thus master'd by Passion, he was abandon'd by Reason, and pursu'd his Victory so far, that he lost it; for before he could get back to the Rescue of the two Kings his Father and Uncle, they had been overpower'd by Numbers, and were actually in the Hands

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of

(a) Boeth. Buchan. in vis. Alexand. III. (b) Histoire des Revolutions d'Angl. Liv. 3. p. 432.

of their Enemy; King *Henry*, after a long and brave Resistance, having surrender'd himself to *Leicester*, and *Richard* to *Glocester*. Prince *Edward* did all he could to atone for the Fault he had committed; but 'twas too late, and he was forc'd to submit to such unequal Terms of Accommodation, as the Victors pleas'd to impose. These Terms, as Disadvantageous as they were to the Royalists, the Confederates nevertheless did not make good. Prince *Edward* himself was imprison'd; and with him all the Royal Family: *Richard*, King of the *Romans* was committed to the Tower of *London*, the two Young Princes to the Castle of *Dover*, and the Monarch himself carried through the whole Kingdom in Triumph: The Ambitious and Politick *Leicester*, only allowing him the Title, while himself usurp'd the Authority and Power of King: For henceforth, he made that Unfortunate Prince, who should have chosen to die, rather than give such servile Compliance, Speak, Write, and Act, what he pleas'd: And his Pleasure was to undo all the Loyal Subjects of the Nation; to persecute, to Death and Destruction, whoever had not been of the League; to trample upon old Laws, particularly those very Liberties and Priviledges (for the obtaining and preserving of which he had taken Arms) to raise his own Creatures and Children upon the Ruine of all others; even those that had help'd him to conquer: And in a Word, to domineer and Reign as a Conqueror. All this he did, (and to say the Truth, but few Chiefs of prosperous Rebellions do less) but not without Opposition: The Pope order'd him and all his Accomplices to be Excommunicated; the Queen threatn'd a dreadful Invasion from beyond Seas, and the King of *Scotland* (a) by Means of his Lieutenant *John Baliol*, who (it seems, after the Battle of *Lewis*, had escaped with some of the *Scots* Auxiliaries) continu'd to keep the Northern Parts of *England* in a State of Independency. Every where else, the arrogant Earl Lorded it over all Ranks of People. But,

As Revolts and Usurpations, are undoubtedly great Crimes, so they seldom prove fortunate in the Event. No Usurper did ever yet, or ever will sit secure on his Throne: And for the most part, those People that do revolt from their lawful Sovereigns, soon find that they only exchange one Master for another; sometimes a good, sometimes a bad, but always a better one, than he that assumes his Place. The *English* experienc'd this Truth upon the present Occasion; and 'twas their good Luck, that they had a Young Hero, Prince *Edward*, tho at the time imprison'd, to help them to break their Chains. The Usurper of the Royal Authority, or his Children more Insolent than himself, fell out with *Gilbert*, the Young Earl of *Glocester*, who, to be reveng'd for the Injustices he pretended they did him, contriv'd the Means of Prince *Edward*'s Escape; and they two, supported by the vigorous Diversion made by the *Scots* in the North, and back'd by a numerous Party of Loyal *English*, that joyn'd them from all Parts of the Kingdom, atchiev'd a great many remarkable

Exploits

K. Henry III.
of England
imprison'd
by the Earl
of Leicester.

Supported
by the Scots

Exploits, and at length met with, and engag'd the Earl of *Leicester* at *Evesham*. That Earl, as he spy'd the Royalists, is said to have cry'd out, *By the Arm of St. James* (for such was his ordinary Oath) *these Men come up in good Order; they have learn'd this from me.* He added, as if he had given over all Hopes of the Victory, *Lord have Mercy upon our Souls, for our Bodies are theirs.* Nor was he mistaken, for his whole Army was routed, and himself, with two of his Sons, and a great many of the bravest Barons, were kill'd on the Spot. The King had been compell'd to be present at the Battle, in order to countenance, in that, as in every thing else, the Injustices done to himself: And he had been kill'd by the Loyalists, had he not, upon receiving a Wound in the Shoulder, cry'd out, *I am Henry of Winchester your King, kill me not.*

A. D. 1265.
Rescu'd at
the Battle of
Evesham.

The Victory being compleated, the King, who became to be again truly such, and the Prince his Son, march'd back to the Town of *Evesham*, and had the Generosity to appoint the Bodies of the *Montforts* to be buried by the Monks of the Place; but that of the Earl was first dismember'd, the Head, Arms, Legs, and Privy Parts being cut off. This was but a small Punishment for Offences of so high a Nature: And it seems, that the Heavens thought so; for it was observ'd of this towering Rebel, as of a great many more of the same Character, that he, and all his Family, perish'd and came to nought, and that in a very few Years.

What follow'd upon this Turn of Affairs, 'tis not my Business to relate: *Henry* humbl'd his Enemies, forfaited the rebellious Barons, depriv'd the obstinate City of *London* of its Charter and Privileges; and to be short, reign'd while he liv'd. And that he did so, I hope, it will be own'd (notwithstanding the lame Accounts we have from History, of all the *Scots* did in his Favour) that he and the Nation ow'd it, in a great Measure, to the Diversion they made in the North, and the Succours they sent to the South. This no Body could know better than Prince *Edward*: How he repaid those good Offices, that help'd at least, to make him one of the greatest Monarchs in the World, we shall afterwards see.

The *Scots* Valour was in this King's Reign, employ'd not only in *Scotland* and *England*, but also, as often before, in the remotest Parts then known to the Christian World. Since the glorious, but unfortunate Expedition of King *Richard I.* of *England*, and of Earl *David* the Brother of *William*, King of *Scotland*, in the Holy Land, several Attempts had been made towards its Recovery. The *Scots* were concern'd, if not in all, at least in those carried on by their Allies, the *French*; (a) particularly *St. Lewis*, for which Reason, I beg leave to go back to the Reign of *Alexander II.* towards the end of which *Lewis*, for his eminent (and by all Writers and Parties acknowledg'd) Piety, firnam'd the *Saint*, resolv'd upon a great and noble Effort, towards the Relief of his fellow Christians. By his Example, he animated vast Multitudes of his own Subjects to take

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upon

(a) L' Histoire des Croisades par Pere Maimbourg. The History of the Holy War by Tho. Mills, Gent.

St. Lewis,
King of
France affli-
cted by the
Scots in his
first Expedi-
tion against
the Infidels.

A. D. 1248.

Takes Da-
miata.

A. D. 1249.

upon them the Cross: And by his Ambassadors, he sollicitated Foreigners to the same Purpose. Those he sent to *Scotland*, obtain'd what they desir'd: For King *Alexander II.* made no Difficulty to give all the Assistance in his Power; and a very fair Train of brave Men listed themselves in the Service, under the Command of *Patrick Dunbar* Earl of *March*, *Walter Stewart*, Lord of *Dundonald*, and *David Lindsay* of *Glenesk*. These were all the foreign Auxiliaries *Lewis* could make: For the King of *England* would not permit the Bishop of *Berytus*, the Pope's Legate, to publish this Crusade in his Dominions; and the rest of *Europe* was rent between the Imperial and Papal Factions. So that the whole Army (which consisted of about 40000 Men) was *French*, excepting the *Scots* Auxiliaries, and therefore entirely at the King's Disposal, and by Consequence the more likely to Prosper. They took Shipping at different Ports in *France*, and arriv'd at the Isle of *Cyprus* in *September 1248*. They stay'd there all Winter, and thereby gave the Infidels Time to prepare for their Defence. This was a great Oversight: But that gallant Army, now reinforc'd by 200 *English* Volunteers, under the Conduct of *William Long-sword* Earl of *Salisbury*, did all they could to retrieve it. They set Sail for *Egypt*, in Pursuance of the Project formerly laid down by *John de Brienne*, King of *Jerusalem*: And the first Object that appear'd before their Eyes, as they came in view of *Damiata*, was a huge Fleet by Sea, ready to oppose their Entry into the *Nile*, and an innumerable Army on the Shore to hinder their Landing. Nevertheless they did land, and one of the first Barks that touch'd the Ground, was that which carried King *Lewis*, who fearlessly jump'd out of it, and threw himself into the Sea up to the Shoulders, having his Shield hanging about his Neck, his Helmet on his Head, and his Sword in his Hand. All about him did the like: And this Prodigy of Valour did so far intimidate the *Siracens*, that they not only betook themselves to Flight, but what was more amazing, quitted the strong City of *Damiata*, and left it a Prey to the invading Enemy. This look'd something like a Miracle; and 'twas believ'd that the Lord of Hosts had possess'd the Hearts of these Infidels, with that sort of Pannick Fear, that sometimes dispirits the best of Men. But the true Reason of the (at first view) unaccountable Accident, was this: The Sultan *Melech-Salah*, had been long Sick; and a false Rumour being spread of his Death, the principal Officers, both of his Fleet and Army, went to *Grand-Cairo*, to take care of their particular Interests at Court. Had the Christians pursu'd their Advantage, and march'd straight to that Capital, as they might have done, before the *Nile* began to swell, they had put a glorious End to the War, that very Campaign: But they idl'd away their Time, in and about *Damiata*, till the Month of *November*, when they took the Fields, to the Number of 60000 good Men, whereof there were 20000 on Horse-back: An Army sufficient, had their Conduct been equal to their Valour, to have conquer'd all Opposition. The foremost of them pass'd the

Nile,

Nile, in the view of 300 of the Enemy's Horse, but madly pursu'd, till they were succour'd by Multitudes of *Saracens*, who cut them to Pieces. Another Body of the Christians, among whom it seems were some Scots (for the History mentions one *Hugh* of *Scotland*, as one of their principal Officers) was like to have had the same Fate: But, after they had lost a great many Men, and been all wounded, were at last rescu'd by King *Lewis* himself, who by this time had also got over the River; and with him almost all his Army. Upon this ensu'd an universal Engagement, wherein King *Lewis* evinc'd, that a good Conscience rather gives than takes away Courage; and that Heroick Valour is not incompatible with eminent Sanctity. He expos'd himself to the greatest Dangers, reliev'd one of his Brothers, when in the Hands of the Enemy, by his single Endeavours; and to be short, gain'd the Victory; but not such a compleat one, as could enable him to continue his March to *Grand-Cairo*. He had done well, if, contented with the Glory, already gain'd, he had just then return'd to *Damiata*: But he was unluckily periwaded, (by what Reasons I know not) to tarry near the Field of Battle, till his Army was weakn'd by Diseases and Famine; and on all sides environ'd by prodigious Multitudes of *Saracens*, the new Sultan *Almoadan Cajutadin* (for the old was now dead) brought against him from the East. At length, he attempted to Retreat, but in vain: All his Army was cut off, or made Prisoners; and such of these last, as could not Purchase their Lives with Money, nor would, by renouncing their God, were barbarously put to the Sword. As for the King, who bore his Misfortune with that Christian Magnanimity, and Grandeur of Spirit, which made him appear greater in Chains, than when on his Throne, tho' threatn'd with the Bernacles, a most cruel Torture, yet constantly refus'd to Surrender any of the Places himself had not conquer'd. *Damiata* he was willing to part with, and it was accordingly put in the Hands of the *Mamalukes*, that is, the Guard of the Sultan, who having Murther'd their Master, almost in sight of *St. Lewis*, now govern'd all at their Pleasure. Besides, he paid a great Sum of Money, for the Ransom of the remaining Prisoners, and so retir'd to *Ptolemais*, where he and his Retinue were receiv'd with as much Joy for their Deliverance, as there had been Sorrow for their Defeat and Captivity.

After this, he stay'd about four Years longer in *Palestine*, with a Design to secure what the Christians still possess'd: And accordingly, after repelling both the *Mamalukes*, who perfidiously broke the Truce he had made with them, and fighting with Advantage against the Sultan of *Damascus*, he fortified the Maritime Places; and leaving the Pope's Legate with Men and Money to defend them, he return'd to *France*, heartily griev'd that he had not been able to relieve *Jerusalem*, which, by the Extirpation of the *Corasmins*, was again fallen into the Hands of the *Saracens*.

Gains a Batt.
tlic.Is defeated
and made a
Prisoner.

Is reliev'd

Returns
Home.

A. D. 1254.

Upon his Arrival at *Paris*, (a) the King of *Scots* sent Ambassadors to Congratulate his happy Return: And he express'd the singular Esteem he had of the *Scots* Valour and Fidelity, by which he own'd that his Life had been twice preserv'd; once in *France*, when the Countess *de la March* laid down Measures towards Assassinating him, and afterwards in *Egypt* or *Cyprus*, where his Death had been several times contriv'd by murdering *Saracens*. 'Tis probable, that those eminent Services were perform'd by that *Scots* Guard, compos'd of only twenty Men; which, if we may believe Bishop *Lestry*, (b) was first appointed by King *Gregory* the Great, of *Scotland*, to attend the Persons of the *French* Kings. This Guard had continued in *France*, and was, for ought I know, the only regular and standing Body of Men in it, since the Reigns of the but now mentioned *Gregory*, and *Charles* the *Gross*, King of *France*. The Successors of this last, had, during a Tract of near 500 Years, sufficiently experienc'd the Usefulness of this petty *Cors*: And now the Kings, *Lewis* and *Alexander* II. agreed, that it should be augmented to the Number of 100. This Guard so much honour'd and trusted in *France*, and so deservedly esteem'd over all *Europe*, continu'd alone to attend the *French* Kings, Successors of *St. Lewis*, till the Reign of *Charles* VII. who join'd some *French* Companies with it in the honourable Employment; yet so, as to continue that Place and Precedency to the *Scots*, the *Garde Escossoise* still enjoys, preferable to all those that ever did, or do serve in *France*. For Example, the Captain of the *Scots* Guards, whoever he is at the time (and, till of late he was always a *Scotsman*) is, by way of Excellency, design'd the first Captain of his Majesty's Guards: He begins to attend on the first Day of the Year, and serves the first Quarter, as they express it: Nay, when others are upon Duty, he may, if he pleases, take the first Rank, and Officiate accordingly. When the King is Crown'd or Anointed, the Captain of the *Scots* Guards stands by him, and when the Ceremony is perform'd, he takes the Royal Robe as his Due. When the Keys of any Town or Fortrefs are deliver'd up, or presented to the King, he returns them that Minute, to the Captain of the *Scots* Guards. Twenty five of this Guard, wear always, in Testimony of their unspotted Fidelity, white Coats of a peculiar Fashion, over-laid with Silver Lace; and six of these, in their turns, stand next to the King's Person, at all Times and Seasons, whether the rest of the Company chance to be upon Duty or not, in the Palace, in the Church, in the Parliament, and Courts of Justice, at the Reception of foreign Ambassadors; and generally, on all publick and solemn Occasions whatever. 'Tis the Right of these twenty five Gentlemen, to carry the Corps of the deceas'd King, from the Capital of the Kingdom, to the Royal Sepulchre at *St. Dennis*. To be short, (for it were tedious to enumerate all their Priviledges) that Troop of Guards, has ever since the Days of *St. Lewis* been in Possession of all the Honour and Confidence

Scots Guards
when first
employ'd at
the Court of
France.

Its Confi-
tution and
Priviledges.

(a) L'Escoille Francoise. par M. Houlton. (b) In vit. Gregorii.

vidence the Kings of *France* can bestow upon their fastest Friends and most assur'd Trustees: And it would look very strange in that Country, says the Translator of *Monsieur Beaugue's* History of the Scots War or Campaigns 1548 and 1549, if they should see the *Braves and fiers Escossois* (so do they generally Characterize the Nation) sit down at, and be contented with the *sinistre*. The same Author takes Notice of the mighty Advantage, as well as Honour, that, before the Union of the *British* Crowns, accru'd to the whole Kingdom of *Scotland* from this *Cors*: For, says he, "By this Means, our Gen-
 " try were taught at once the Rules of Civility, and Art of War;
 " and we were possess'd of an inexhaustible Stock of brave Officers,
 " fit to Discipline, and to command our Armies at Home, and sure,
 " to keep up that Respect, which was deservedly paid to the *Scots*
 " Name and Nation abroad. Nor could younger Brothers repine
 " at the Laws partial in Favour of the First-born, when they had an
 " open Door to Preferments, great as their Wishes; and they might
 " abandon with Joy the Rural Mannors of their Fathers, when
 " they were to be educated at the most splendid Court in Christen-
 " dom."

I have in this Place, thought fit to give this cursory Account of our *Scots* Guards and their Institution in *France*; the rather, because, since they were instituted or new model'd at this time, 'tis evident from thence, that the *Scots*, tho, by the Negligence of their own Historians, not often mention'd by others; must nevertheless have made no mean Figure among the rest of those Daring and Zealous Adventurers, that so often attempted the Relief of the *Holy Land*; at least, *St. Lewis* must be own'd to have thought so. That pious Prince was not to be dejected by cross Accidents: He made a second Attempt to the same Purpose, in the Year 1270, and was again assisted by Auxiliaries from *Scotland*. *Alexander III.* prov'd, on this Occasion, no less forward to support what was then consider'd the Cause of *Jesus Christ*, than his Father had formerly been. He sent 1000 Merks to the Pope, towards the Charges of the War, and as many Men to *St. Lewis*. Their Chief Commanders were the Earls of *Carrick* and *Athole*, *John Stewart*, *Alexander Cuming*, *Robert Keith*, *William Gordon*, *George Durward*, and *John Quincy*: But this Expedition prov'd yet more unfortunate than the preceeding. King *Lewis* was led upon wrong Measures, by the Interested Policy of his Brother, the King of *Sicily*; for in stead of striking at the Root, or draining the Source of Opposition, he aim'd but at the Branches and Streams: I mean, he set sail for *Africk* in Lieu of *Palestine*, and sat down before *Tunis*, because in Confederacy with the *Sultans*, either of *Egypt* or *Damascus*. He had nevertheless in all Probability made himself Master of that City and Kingdom, and thereby purchas'd an easy Inlet to further Success, had the King of *Sicily* come up, as he had promis'd, in time. But it seems that Providence had decreed it otherwise: The Heat of the Weather was excessive, and the Season of the Year, it being high Summer, absolutely unfit for War in A-

A. D. 1270
 St. Lewis as-
 sist d a se-
 cond time by
 the Scots in
 the Holy
 Wars.

dies of the
plague be-
fore Tunis.

frick, where all Refreshments, particularly Water, were wanting. Hence Diseases, especially the Flux and Fevers rag'd in the Camp, and cut of the bravest and best of the Christian Army: Among the rest, the King himself; a King who was at the same time the honestest Man, the bravest Souldier, the most conscientious Judge, and the devoutest Christian in his Kingdom. The Earl of *Carriſt*, (a) and with him most of the *Scots* Officers and Souldiers had the same Fate.

Notwithstanding this irretrievable Misfortune, the King of *Sicily* found Means to make a Peace, not at all disadvantageous to himself, with the King of *Tunis*: After which, the Army disbanded, and all the General Officers return'd to their respective Countries; only Prince *Edward* of *England*; who, with his Fleet arriv'd before *Tunis* at the same time that this Treaty was concluded, resolv'd to continue his Voyage to the *Holy Land*, and did it accordingly. He found the Sultan *Bendocdar*, who had already taken diverse Castles about *Ptolemais*, just ready to Besiege that Place likewise, the strongest and richest the Eastern Christians as yet possess'd: He hinder'd that Design, but being unable to do more, made a Truce with the prevailing Enemy, and so return'd with a great deal of Honour, to receive the Crown his Father *Henry III.* who died in *November* 1272, had left him.

After this, several Popes made great Efforts to perswade the Princes in Communion with the See of *Rome*, to unite for the Relief or Recovery of their Conquests in the East; but in vain, *Crusades* became unfashionable, they had no more the Grace of Novelty, and the private Interests of Neighbouring Potentates and States prevail'd over the universal Advantage and Honour of Christendom; insomuch, that the Christians, in, and near *Palestine*, neglected by the *Europeans*, powerfully attack'd by the Infidels, divided among themselves, and, for their numerous Crimes, abandon'd by God, were in 1291 wholly subdu'd or chas'd from thence, 192 Years after *Godfrey* of *Bulloign*, and the other Heroes of the first *Crusade*, had founded the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*; a Kingdom all the Powers of the West and East so long contended for, and which lasted near 200 Years, under fifteen or sixteen Kings. But to return to the Affairs of *Scotland*, and to hasten the particular Lives of those *Scots* Worthies, that flourish'd and signaliz'd themselves by their Fortitude in this Period of time;

While Prince *Edward* of *England* was abroad in the *Holy Wars*, his Brother-in-Law, *Alexander* King of *Scotland* liv'd at home in Peace, only intent upon administering Justice to his People, and in framing Laws for their Welfare and Happiness. With *England* he continu'd to entertain an unfeign'd Amity; and sufficiently testified, that he meant it should be perpetual, when upon the Prince's Return, (b) he pay'd him a Visit; and together with *John*, Duke of *Brittany*, who, as himself, was at the time married with a Daughter of *England*, assisted at his Coronation. But lest this obliging Step should afterwards come to

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(a) Extract. de Chron. Scot. fol. 128. (b) Buchan. in vit. Alexand. III.

be misrepresented; and that no Advantage might be taken of his Civility, he took Care to have a Deed from King Edward I. (for henceforth that famous Monarch must be so call'd) declaring, (a) That his Presence at that Solemnity should be no ways prejudicial to him or his Kingdom. Whether he did Homage for his *English* Lands on the same Occasion or no, I cannot well tell: It would seem that that Ceremony was delay'd till four Years afterwards, when 'tis certain, that it was perform'd at *Westminster* (b): And the Manner thus. " I A.D. 1278.
 " become your Leige-man (said King Alexander to Edward) for Alexander
 " the Lands I hold of you in the Kingdom of *England*; and for III. of Scot-
 " these, I do Homage; my own Kingdom being always understood land does
 " to be free and independent: (So, I humbly conceive, these Words, sal- Homage to
 " vo Regno meo, must be translated) But said the Bishop of Norwich; Edward I. of
 " If the King of *England* has any Right to the Homage of *Scotland*, let England, and
 " it stand in its full Force. To which King Alexander reply'd: in what
 " None but God alone has Right to the Homage of my Kingdom Terms.
 " of *Scotland*; nor do I hold of any but of God. Then *Ro-*
 " bert de Bruce, Earl of *Carrick* swore Fealty in Name of
 " the King his Master, to the King of *England*: His Words
 " were these. My Sovereign Lord, the King of *Scotland*, who
 " is here present, shall be faithful to you, with his Life, bodi-
 " ly Members, and Earthly Honour, and he shall keep secret your
 " Counsels: So help me God and the Grace of Christ. In the Sense
 " already mention'd, added King *Alexander*; that is (continu'd he)
 " I do Homage for the Lands I hold of you in *England*, and for
 " these (my own Kingdom being still free) I will perform the due
 " and usual Services." This Account of the Form of Homage pay'd
 by King *Alexander*, to King *Edward* I. agrees perfectly with what we
 read concerning the same, in *Matthew* of *Westminster* (c) and (d) *Thomas*
Walsingham. And hence 'tis evident, that King *Alexander* III. did
 not pay Homage to King *Edward* for *Scotland*; yet this last after-
 wards, in his Letter to the Pope, asserted the contrary: A Proof, that
 Ambition and Honour are different Things, and that the greatest of
 Men, when acted by the first, are apt to forfeit the second. King
Alexander was, for the most part, very cautious and wary, with Re-
 ference to the Rights of his Crown; but it must be own'd, that about
 this time he was not enough so. The very Mention made, by the Bi-
 shop of *Norwich*, of a Pretension to the Homage of *Scotland*, was suffi-
 cient to let him know, that if any Opportunity was offer'd, King
Edward would not fail to lay hold on it, in order to make his Pre-
 tensions good. And he saw with what Cruelty (e) that Monarch had
 pursu'd the Princes of *Wales*, *Leolyn* and *David*; and that, because
 the one refus'd to do Homage for *Wales*, which, to say the Truth,
 none of his Predecessors had ever pay'd, but when compell'd by
 Force; and the other, for adhering to his Brother, and endeavouring
 to vindicate the Independency of his Country. Had King *Alexan-*
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(a) Append. to Mr. Anderson's Essay, N. 26. (b) Chartulary of Dumfermling in Biblioth. Jurisconsult. Edin.
 (c) Edit. Francfurt, p. 436. (d) Inter Scrip. Angl. Hib. Norm, p. 80. (e) Echard, Tyrrel, &c.

Assists him
against the
Welsh,

der understood the Politicks of this more provident Age, in which we live, he had asserted the Liberties of the old Britains, joyn'd his Arms with those of *Leolyn*, and ventur'd his own Crown, rather than have suffer'd the Principality of *Wales*, to be subjugated by, and annex'd to the Kingdom of *England*. But he was so far from taking these Measures, the World had reckon'd both wise and just, that on the contrary, he assisted his Brother-in-Law, against these Brave, but unfortunate Princes, and contributed to root the poor Remainder of the *British* Nation out of *Britain*; a Nation, by whom alone, the best Part of it at least, had been so long, and so happily possess'd, Nay, to whom that better Part, but for Prescription, did still belong. 'Tis true, that *Alexander*, as on all other Occasions, so in this last, took Care to obtain a Deed from King *Edward*, testifying, that the Assistance given by him in the *Welsh* War, was not by way of Duty or Service, (a) but as a special Favour. (b) So far he was in the Right; and indeed, this and the other Deeds he obtain'd, both from *Henry III.* and this King *Edward*, so plainly importing the Independency of *Scotland*, (were Justice and Right regarded by Men in Power) had been sufficient to have guarded his Successors from after Ineroachments: But of these Things afterwards.

The War against the *Welsh* was the last, *Scotsmen* were concern'd in, while King *Alexander* liv'd: But it was the Misfortune of his People, that he liv'd not long after this; and his own, that he died no sooner: For he had the cruel Displeasure, to see all the Children he had begotten, cut off, by the Hand of unsearchable Providence before himself. His Son Prince *David* was the first that submitted to Fate; Prince *Alexander*, who to secure the Royal Race, had been lately married with a Daughter of *Flanders*, soon followed and left no Issue. His Daughter, the Queen of *Norway* died likewise, and left but one Girl behind her of the Royal Stock. Their Mother *Margaret*, the Queen of *Scotland*, had gone off the Stage, not long after the last Visit she pay'd, together with her Husband, to her Brother King *Edward*; and the King, in hopes of retrieving these irreparable Losses, married a second time, and took to Wife a *French* Lady, a Daughter of the *Earl de Dreux*, but before she conceiv'd, he died at *Kinghorn* (as, the preceeding Day, had been obscurely predicted by the Famous *Thomas Learmont*, Nick-nam'd the *Rymer*) of a Fall from his Horse: A memorable Fall, which was like to draw after it, that of the Name and Nation of *Scotland*. This fatal Accident fell out on the 19th of *March*, the 45th Year of the King's Age, and the 37th of his Reign, being the Year of our Lord 1282. Since the Restoration of King *Malcolm Canmore* 225. Since the Expulsion of the *Picts* 447. Since the Re-establishment of the *Scots* Monarchy in *Britain* 864. and since its first Foundation 1616.

Dies.

(a) Walsingham p. 48. (b) Weltminst. p. 435.

The LIFE of
 Malcolm III. Sirmam'd
 CANMORE,

The Eighty Sixth King of *Scotland*.

THE Life of this King, one of the bravest and best in the World, was attended with such Variety of Events, and Revolutions so surprizing, that it must needs be equally Entertaining and Instructive to the Reader. Many things are observable in it; but nothing so much, as that unsearchable Providence that over-rules the Projects and Efforts of Men, gives Kingdoms, and takes them away, depresses and raises Families, distracts and re-settles Nations, and by Means, humane Wisdom can neither foresee nor defeat, brings about its own secret and adorable Ends.

King *Malcolm* III. was the Son of King *Duncan*, the Grandchild of *Malcolm* II. (a) He was born during the Reign of that glorious Monarch, his great Grandfather: His Mother was an *English* Lady, a Daughter of the famous and valiant *Syward*, Earl of *Northumberland*, and he himself was created Prince of *Cumberland*, as soon as his Father had ascended the Throne. The Reign of this last was short and calamitous; which as it could afford but small Satisfaction to the Youth of Prince *Malcolm*, so the untimely Death of that overbountiful Monarch his Father, plung'd him into the depth of Terror, Affliction and Want: For by these Means 'twas, that he was destin'd to Rise to that Pitch of Glory, he afterwards gain'd.

The easy Temper, and natural Debonairty of *Duncan*, render'd his Person contemptible, and the Government unsteady; insomuch that some of his more riotous and unciviliz'd Subjects of *Galloway* and *Lochaber*, had the Insolence, first to male-treat and insult his Officers of State, and then to rise in Arms against himself. But the Rebels were soon routed, and their Leaders brought to the Justice they underwent, by the Conduct and Bravery of two great Men,

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(a) Ford, apud Script. XV. p. 687.

Men, *Macbeth* and *Bancho*; this a remoter, but the first a very near Kinsman of the King's. These two had also the Honour of being the chief Instruments in delivering their Country, from the Ruin it was threatn'd with from beyond Seas.

Sueno King, of Norway invades Scotland.

Sueno, King of *Norway*, the Brother of the celebrated Conqueror of *England*, *Canute*, desirous to emulate the Glory that Monarch had acquir'd, thought it high Time to bestir himself, and by Conquering the Northern Part of the Island, to join his Dominions to those of his Brother. With this View he set out a mighty Fleet, and landed in *Fife*, giving out, that he came to revenge the Slaughter of his Countrymen, in the Battles of *Barry*, *Croudane* and *Gemmerry*. He advanc'd as far as *Culross*, killing and destroying all before him. Here King *Duncan* met and engag'd him, but being worsted, retir'd, with the Remains of his Army, to *Perth*. From thence *Macbeth* was sent to the neighbouring Countries to levy fresh Men, while the King himself, attended by *Bancho*, Thane of *Lochaber*, resolv'd to stay in, and defend the Town. *Sueno* flush'd with Victory, and swell'd with Hopes of a compleat Conquest of the whole Kingdom, made haste to besiege the King: And whilst he march'd by Land to assault the Place, he appointed his Fleet to come thither also, by tacking about and sailing up the River. He had the good luck that his Orders were punctually obey'd, else he had infallibly perish'd. How soon he came in view of the Town, Word was brought to King *Duncan*, that *Macbeth* was also at Hand with the Forces he had got together. This very much allay'd his Fears: But the prudent *Bancho* was of Opinion, that, notwithstanding he had Reason to rely on the Justice of his Cause, and the Courage of his Men, it might not be amiss to try what could be done by Means of a Stratagem he had devis'd. *Duncan* was pleas'd with the Overture, and immediately dispatch'd a Messenger to *Macbeth*, with Orders to cause him Halt on the Way; and Commissioners to *Sueno*, with Orders to Surrender upon Terms. But he would hearken to none, unless the King and Kingdom were deliver'd up to his Discretion. This was by no Means to be comply'd with: However, Commissioners were sent back a second time; and, with these, Refreshments, such as the Country could afford, and the *Norwegian* Army very much wanted, and therefore greedily accepted; not doubting, but now the *Scots* were ready to submit to the Yoke, when they thus courted their victorious Enemy. But, *latet anguis in herba*; and the *Norwegians* should have dreaded the *Scots* at any time, but much more, when offering Presents: For the Bread, Wine and Ale, which they brought to the Camp in great Plenty, were tinctur'd with the Juice of deadly Nightshade, an Herb, every where to be found in *Scotland*, whose Vertue is, like that of Opium, Narcotick, and will, if taken in too liberally, procure such Sleep, as fiercest Medicines can scarcely take off. This the hungry *Norwegians* were not aware of: They ate and drank heartily, as all the Northern Nations are wont to do, when Opportunites are offer'd: Full Bumpers

pers went round, and by tossing Healths, they gave Wings to Death. King *Sueno* indulg'd his Appetite, and suffer'd himself to be Inebriated with his Men. The whole Army lay fast asleep, over-power'd with the double Poison, Wine and Nightshade, when *Bancho*, being by this time join'd by the Forces, *Macbeth* had, with great Privacy brought to the Town, sally'd out upon the Head of a numerous Party, and broke in upon the neglected Camp. He found none in it, in any Condition to oppose the Assailants: The most Part were kill'd in their Tents; others, awaken'd by the Clashing of Arms, the Groans of their expiring Comrads, and the thundering Clamours the *Scots* rais'd, design'dly to heighten Terror, got to their Feet, and ran like mad Men, they knew not whither: Nor had they Leisure to think, before they fell upon the Swords of they knew not who. Only some few, who, by Chance, or the Distrust they had, of a giving Foe, or by Command of their superior Officers, had not Drunk, or Drank but little, made haste to rescue their King. They found him in so profound a Sleep, that all their Efforts could not awaken him: They therefore took him up in their Arms, and carried him to the adjacent Shore, where, by Means of a long Boat, they got him safely convoy'd into one of his Ships. But the Fleet was in no better Condition than the land Army: Most of the Sea-men had come the Day before to the Camp, where, thinking to share with their Countrymen in the Pleasures of Feasting, they were caught in the same Snare: So that there were no more Men found on Board the whole Fleet, but precisely so many as were sufficient to Man the King's Ship, which alone got back to *Norway*: All the rest were left empty, and a Tempest arising not long after, they were toss'd to and fro, and split upon one another. The Wreck of these Ships, together with such other promiscuous Trash, as the River carries down with it self, is said to have given the first Beginning to those dangerous Sands in the Mouth of *Tay*, the Country People have call'd *Drumlaw*. This Overthrow, the greatest these Northern Invaders ever receiv'd in this Island, was so much the more agreeable to the *Scots*, that it cost them not so much as one Drop of their Blood, while they had the melancholy, yet flattering Pleasure, to wade through a Deluge of that of their Enemies: And the *Norwegians* were so extreamly concern'd at their inexpressible Loss, and the signal Affront put upon them, that henceforth their Knights, when created such, were oblig'd to take an Oath, that they should, so far as in them lay, endeavour to be reveng'd on the *Scots* Nation.

Is defeated
by a Stratagem.

Whilst the disconsolate King *Sueno* was making the best of his Way homeward; and the Victorious *Scots* rejoicing, and giving solemn Thanks to God for the amazing Deliverance, News was brought to Court, that another Fleet of *Danes* had come up to *Kinghorn*, where they had landed; and that they had already laid waste a great Part of the Country of *Fife*. This Fleet *Canute* had sent from *England* to reinforce his Brother's Army; but by good

The *Danes*
invade *Scotland*, but are
defeated.

Luck, the *Danish* Supplies came too late: *Macbeth* and *Bancho* were sent against them; and, being animated by their late Success, cut off the foremost without great Difficulty, and beat the Remainder back to their Ships. These last having a due Regard for the Memory of their Nobles and Officers, who had fallen in Battle, sent to *Macbeth* or *Bancho*, or both; and upon paying a considerable Sum of Money, obtain'd that the Bodies of their Slain should be decently Buried in the Island of *Inchcolm*, where Vestiges of their Tombs are still observable. The *Danes* did something more: They took an Oath quite contrary to that of the *Norwegian* Knights; that is, they swore, That they should never more attempt to invade *Scotland*, a Country, so invincibly Fatal to their Ancestors and themselves. Whether this obligatory Resolution, or that of the *Norwegians*, reflects most Honour upon the Valour of *Scotsmen*, I leave to the Reader to judge.

And now *Scotland*, free from so dangerous Enemies, enjoy'd a profound Peace; but unluckily *Macbeth* and *Bancho* had the Honour of having procur'd it. They were intimate Friends, and could disclose the most inward Recesses of their Hearts to one another: Both were Royally descended, and were yet greater by their Merits and Successes, than by their Birth. But as *Macbeth* was the most Ambitious, so he was nearest in Blood to the Crown: Besides, he was of Kin (a) to the late Usurpers, *Constantine* and *Grim*, and industriously kept up the Spirit of that dissenting Faction, by whose Villany the great Kings, *Kenneth II.* and *Malcolm II.* also had been cut off. The Law concerning the Succession, the first had made, and the last ratified, was inconsistent with the aspiring Thoughts of *Macbeth*: And notwithstanding the loud Huzza's of the People that ador'd him, and the respectful Attendance of the great Ones, that made their Court to him, he could not be easy, while, besides the King, there was another yet more reverenc'd than himself. This was the young *Malcolm*, Prince of *Cumberland*, and by Consequence the Heir of that Crown, *Macbeth* might have pretended to, but for the odious Law that ascertain'd it to the King's Children, whether of Age to govern by themselves or no. He had not Interest enough, as powerful as he was, to get the Law recall'd, by Persuasion or Argument: But recent Examples had taught him, that 'twas practicable to make away with the Law-Giver, and then to set up in his Stead. This his Wife, a Woman yet more Wicked than himself, (And what is it a wicked Woman will not attempt?) never ceas'd to incite him to: And the Incitements of a belov'd Wife or Mistress, we all know, are, even over the greatest of Men, but too often prevalent. Another thing, and a very strange thing it was, contributed very much to Spur on the Ambition of the one and the other. *Macbeth* (b) and *Bancho* were on their Road to *Forreth*, where the Court was at the Time; and while, for their Diversion, they wander'd through the Fields and Woods that lay in their Way, they were

(a) Ford. apud Scriptor. XV. p. 687. Joan. Major. lib. 3. cap. 4. (b) Boeth. ad vit. Regis Duncan. lib. 12.

were all on a sudden surpris'd with the Appearance of three Women, Tall and Beautiful, beyond what could be expected from common Humanity. All three made up to *Macbeth*, and saluted him respectfully; the first, by the Appellation of Thane of *Angus*, (that Title and Office he was possess'd of at the time;) the second, by that of Thane of *Murray*; and the third, in fine, pronounc'd him King. *Macbeth* made no Return to the amazing Compliments; but *Bancho* quarrell'd their Disregard of him, who, while they heap'd such Flatteries on his Friend, prognosticated nothing in Behalf of himself. Nay, reply'd the one, to you the Fates are yet more propitious, *Macbeth* shall reign, but his Posterity shall not; from *Bancho* shall descend a Race of Kings: And with these Words, they all evanish'd.

I do not relate this Story, as a Truth not to be controverted; I know not what the Devil may do, if God permits; and how far God Almighty may providentially allow that accursed Spirit to juggle with humane Senses, I shall not enquire. Whether this was a Dream, as *Buchanan*, to render the Thing more credible affirms, or a real Vision, as *Boethius* would have us to believe, or a fabulous Prediction, not invented, till verified by the Event, I am as little able to determine: This, I dare say, the whole Story is just as probable, (and indeed no more) as what Authors have written of the Dreams of *Philip of Macedon* and his Wife *Olympias*, concerning the future Greatness of their Son *Alexander*; or of the God, that in the Shape of a Dragon caress'd the Bride, disgusted *Philip*, made *Juno* jealous, and begot the Conqueror I have mention'd: Or of the Spectre, that by jumping into the *Rubicon*, determin'd the wavering Thoughts of the daring *Cesar*, encourag'd him to follow whither Destiny call'd him; and, to use his own Words, to cry, *facta est alea*: Or of the Spirit that appear'd to the Nurse of *Cicero*, and foretold the Child she then suckl'd, should afterwards become, what he was, the Deliverer of *Rome*: Or of the Evil Genius, that before the Battle of *Philippi* attended and threaten'd the undaunted *Brutus*. These and the like Tales (to say nothing of Poets) Historians, and those of the best Account, have deliver'd to Posterity: Believe them who will, this is certain, the Posterity of *Bancho* (for of him the Royal House of *Stewart* is lineally descended) sits to this Day (and may it for ever continue) on the *British* Throne. As for *Macbeth*, he was, conform to the pretended Prediction made Thane of *Murray*, and being by his own Ambition, his Wife's Importunities, his popular Favour, his numerous Vassals, his mighty Successes, and his Master's Weaknesses, encourag'd; and some say, by his Friend *Bancho* assisted, he treacherously sets upon, and murder'd the good, but unactive and improvident King, at *Inverness*: From thence, posting with all Expedition to *Scoon*, upon the Head of those Villains he had win over to his Party before hand, he set the Crown upon his own Head, pre-

Macbeth usurps the Throne, A. D. 1034 or 1040.

gerous 'tis to overturn what has been consider'd as a Fundamental Constitution in any Nation. Compleat Ages can scarcely wear out the belov'd Memory of old Laws; and tho' better ones, as in this Case, should be establish'd in their Place, Length of time, and nothing but that, will enforce an universal Compliance.

Macbeth having thus by Fraud, Force and Regicide, got himself possess'd of the Kingdom; he govern'd it nevertheless, during the first ten Years of his Reign, with Moderation, Justice and seeming Piety. All this while, he was guilty of but one Crime, a very enormous one indeed, but such as most in his Circumstances think necessary, and therefore pardonable. He sought out the two Children of the deceas'd King, *Malcolm*, surnam'd *Canmore*, because of the Bigness of his Head, and *Donald*, call'd *Bane*, by reason of his fair Complexion; with a Design to put them to death. They were as yet but very young; nevertheless, they had the Courage to contend for their Right; and in spite of the Usurper, made a Shift to hold out for two Years, till at length, unable to protract the War, or even to lurk within the Kingdom, they resolv'd to preserve themselves: for better Times, and withdrew; Prince *Malcolm* to his Principality of *Cumberland*, and *Donald* to the Western Islands. *France* was too remote; and to the Court of *England* they could not go: That Kingdom being then, and for several Years afterwards, oppress'd no less than *Scotland* by Usurpers; and these are seldom inclinable to give Protection to Legal Princes; for that were to arraign themselves. Equity and Iniquity are incompatible. *Canute*, *Harold*, *Harfoot*, and *Harde-Canute* domineer'd successively over *England*, and all this while Prince *Malcolm* continu'd in his Retirement, where nevertheless he never ceas'd to correspond with the Loyalists in *Scotland*. A great many of these, unwilling to give Obedience to a King they could not in Conscience acknowledge, resorted to him, and offer'd their Services, in order to his Restoration.

Malcolm Canmore oblig'd to retire to *England*.

This *Macbeth* very well knew, and was sufficiently aware of: He could not hinder honest Men from doing their Duty, but he brib'd Knaves to personate honest Men; and they too frequently intreated his Return, and promis'd with Oaths to forward those Designs, they were pre-determined to defeat. The like Emissaries were, in our Fathers Days, employ'd by *Olivier Cromwel*, to amuse and over-reach our late Sovereign, King *Charles II.* while in his Exile: So true 'tis, that Usurpation is the same in all Ages; and that, as it works with the same Tools, so it tends to the same Ends, the enslaving of the People, and Destruction of the Great Ones: As the *English Cromwel*, so the *Scots Macbeth*, is a flagrant Witness of this.

While Invasions were fear'd from abroad, or Insurrections at home, *Macbeth* govern'd to the Satisfaction of almost every Body: He made many Popular Laws, which secur'd the Rights of the Subject, and did not much inroach upon the Prerogative of the Sovereign; and by his Liberality towards the Nobles, he fasten'd the most Part of them to his Interest with Chains of Gold. In fine, had

he

he not usurp'd, he had been reckon'd (says *Buchanan*) among the best of Kings. But all this, was at Bottom but Juggle and Legerdemain. 'Twas not enough that he had banish'd the lawful Heirs: He dreaded every one in Power, *Bancho* particularly, by Reason of his Birth, his Wealth, his Parts, and the Prediction of those enchanted Ladies that had prompted himself to reign. However he resolv'd to elude the Prophecy, so far as it related to *Bancho*: He invited him and his Son *Fleanch* to Supper, and Regal'd them nobly as his fastest Friends. They had done, and were late over Night retiring to their Lodgings, when a premeditated Tumult is rais'd in the Streets, in the Midst of which, the Father is set upon and kill'd. A just Judgement from Heaven, that he who had conspir'd against his Sovereign, should fall a Sacrifice to the Jealousy of the Tyrant, himself had contributed to raise. His Son *Fleanch* escap'd by Providence, and was reserv'd to be the Father of the Famous *Walter Stewart*, who first gave that celebrated Surname to the Immortal House that sways our Scepter; a House, from which all the Sovereigns, now reigning in *Europe*, are by frequent Inter-marriages descended.

Bancho kill'd
by *Macbeth*.

The Murder committed upon the Person of *Bancho*, struck the whole Kingdom with Terror: Every one dreaded the like Treatment, at the Hands of a Prince, no Services could win, nor Bounds contain: For after this, his raging Jealousy broke forth into open unpalliated Tyranny. But as Tyrants are ever bold and daring in Mischiefs, so in the End, they degenerate into Cowardliness and Terror; and no wonder, since their own Consciences, by acquainting them with what they deserve, sufficiently inform them of what they may expect.

Macbeth not only entertain'd a Band of Debauchees about him to guard his Person (& those he pay'd out of the Estates of honest Men, he had unjustly confiscated) but also, for greater Security, set about the building of a strong Castle, on the Top of a steep Hill, call'd *Dunsinnan*; from whence he had a large Prospect all over the Country, and by this means could easily foresee and prevent Surprizes. He took many other Precautions to secure his hated Life, and had never been easy, but for the Assurance given him by a Sorceress, (a) that he should not be vanquish'd, till the spacious Forrest of *Birnan*, should be brought to his Castle of *Dunsinnan*; and that he should never die by the Hand of any thing a Woman had brought forth. He believ'd the deceiving Oracle: And 'twas lucky for one *Macduff*, the Thane of *Fife* (a very great Man in those Days) that he did so. This *Macduff* was a noted Loyalist, (b) and consequently none of the most forward to pursue the Designs and Ends of the present Government. The King dreaded his honest, yet wary Temper, and threaten'd his Destruction: But delay'd putting his Threats in Execution, as being now assur'd, that while he kept himself at *Dunsinnan*, he was invincible; and invulnerable, tho he should stir from thence. But he had

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threat-

(a) Boet. ad vit. Machet. lib. 12. (b) Ford, apud Script. XX, p. 698.

threaten'd *Macduff*; and *Macduff* knew that when he had promis'd a Mischief, he was wont to keep his Word: Wherefore the Thane took shipping in haste; and (leaving his Lady, Children and Servants, to the merciless Rage of the pursuing Tyrant, who barbarously put them all to the Sword, and without a Legal Sentence seiz'd upon his Estate) he retir'd to *England*, in Search of his Rightful Sovereign Prince *Malcolm*.

Macduff Earl of Fife, instrumental in the Restoration of *Malcolm Canmore*.

By this time, *Edward*, the *Confessor*, was seated upon the Throne of his *English* Ancestors: To him the Prince had been introduc'd by his Grandfather, Earl *Syard*, and *Macduff* found him at the Court of that generous and bountiful Monarch. He acquainted him with the Occasion and Necessity of his own Flight, and of the present Circumstances of the Country, and Disposition of the Nobles and People. (a) He advis'd him; "As a Son, to revenge the Murder of his Father, and the Injuries done to the Royal Family; as a King, to commiserate the Calamities of his Subjects, and as a Man, those of his Friends and Kindred. Besides, he told him, what the Prince very well knew, "That King *Edward* was so good, that he would not be wanting towards his Assistance: That, as the Misfortunes of Kings do conciliate, & move the Hearts of all Men, even of the greatest Strangers, to pity and favour them; so the Similitude of Events & the Remembrance of the like Dangers King *Edward* had undergone, must needs assimilate his Mind, to that of a Prince now stated as he had been, and of a Prince, whose Father and Grandfather, and indeed all his Ancestors, when Governors of *Cumberland*, had been so eminently serviceable to the Monarchy and Monarchs of *England*. In fine, that his Cause was undoubtedly just; that as he would soon get the Hands, so he had already the Hearts and good Wishes of his Loyal Subjects, that God's Favour would attend the Good, and at last declare it self, in Opposition to his usurping Rival, if he was not wanting to himself. Prince *Malcolm* heard with Pleasure the Inviting Discourse, but Experience and Hardships had taught him Diffidence; and he resolv'd to try, whether *Macduff* might not be one of those Traitors, that had so often attempted to impose upon his Credulity. He did it very cunningly, replying in this Manner. "I am satisfied both of the Honesty of your Intentions, and of the Truth of what you relate; neither do I doubt, but that the present Circumstances are favourable; but to be plain with you, I live with Ease in this Country, and you see, that I'm honourably entertain'd at this Court: I love not to prefer Hope to Certainty, and Time and Exile have curb'd my Ambition; that is none of the domineering Passions of my Soul, but I am subject, nay, a Slave to others: Lust and Avarice, Vices fatal to many Kings, command me, they ly conceal'd as my self in my private State, but may break loose, how soon I shall be in Power. Take Care then, if ye wish well to the Blood of your Kings, that you don't invite me rather to a Precipice, I would avoid, than to a Throne, I don't much incline to ascend." *Macduff*

duff was surpriz'd with the Prince's Freedom, who had thus detected his own Failures: But made this prudent Answer. " Incontinency is (no doubt) a Vice God Almighty forbids, and when excessive and vagrant, most Men detest and despise. 'Tis a Passion, but a Passion of the most accomplish'd Souls: The greatest of Heroes, and wisest of Men, have felt the Power of Love, and have been conquer'd by Beauty. 'Tis a Disease, but 'tis one of those that admit of Cure, and yield to Remedies. The Addressees of Kings, are seldom repuls'd by the fairer Sex: Their yielding Disposition often contributes to allay Desire, and Variety begets Satiety. But this, I must own, is a Remedy, Christian Physicians will not prescribe; Marriage is better, and Age a sure one. As for Avarice, 'tis a mean and sordid Inclination, to possess what does not belong to ones self: 'Tis the Vice of private Men, but not of Kings; I mean Hereditary ones, such as your self: And tho' Prince *Malcolm* may be Avaricious, I am confident that King *Malcolm* will not be so. Some of your Predecessors have been Criminal that Way; and, by invading the Property of their Subjects, have precipitated themselves from the Throne: But then the Succession was uncertain, and they were desirous to provide for Posterity. The Case is alter'd: How soon you shall come to Reign, you're sure that your Children will also Reign after you; and you'll find, that to impoverish your People, is to rob them of their Patrimony. 'Tis true, that even Hereditary Princes (or to carry on their Wars, when of warlike or ambitious Tempers, or to build Palaces, cut out Gardens, adorn Cities, &c. when addicted to the more magnificent Arts of Peace) may be tempted to exact unreasonable Subsidies from their complaining Subjects. Nay, there are who have squander'd away their own Revenues, and incroach'd upon those of the Publick, towards the Support of an imaginary Grandeur, or, which is still worse, the Entertainment of Parasites, and supplying of Pleasures. Princes, so dispos'd, are rather to be pity'd, than resisted: They wrong themselves, and injure their Posterity, more than their People. Some are discourag'd and impoverish'd by these irregular Exactions, but others get by them: The National Stock is not impair'd, and while Money continues to circulate in a State, none, that have either Head, I mean, Wit to learn and contrive, or Heart, that is, Courage to Dare, or Hands to Work, can Want. To conclude, an hereditary Monarch cannot be Avaritious, unless he is at the same time Prodigal: And his Prodigality, tho' an Evil, is yet a tolerable one to all, and a real Benefit to many." The Prince reply'd, " That he had rather now make an ingenuous Confession to him, as his Friend, than to be found guilty hereafter, to the Ruin of them both: For to tell you the Truth, *said he*, " Whether 'tis the inherent Perverseness of my Nature, or that the Calamities of my Youth, and the experienc'd Deceitfulness of all I have dealt

“ with, have at length prevail’d over the Faculties of my Mind,
 “ I know not : This I know, that as I deal ingenuously and fairly
 “ with no Body, so, perswaded as I am, that there’s no Honour nor
 “ Honesty in the World, I can confide in no Body living : Every
 “ one I believe is a Villain, that has Wit or Courage enough to be
 “ so ; even your self I do not entirely trust, and were I your
 “ King, you had need to walk warrily.” *Macduff*, stund with
 Surprise, and overcome with Horror, at the black unalterable
 Colours of the Mask his Prince had put on, stood silent (a) for a
 While, and after sighing heavily, *Fordon* tells us, that he broke out
 into these Expressions. “ Good God ! What an unhappy irretriev-
 “ able Condition is this we are reduc’d to ? We, especially the
 “ Opposers of Tyranny, and Martyrs of Loyalty. One of the
 “ three we must resolve upon, all terrible, nay, insufferable ; or
 “ to abandon our enslav’d Country, relinquish our butcher’d Fami-
 “ lies, and forfeited Estates, and toil for mean Subsistence in fo-
 “ reign Climates : Or, to bow our Necks to the Yoke of a Tyrant,
 “ and unconscientiously obey an Usurper, that has no Right to com-
 “ mand : Or, to hazard our dearest Lives, towards the Restoration of
 “ a Prince, lawful indeed, but, by reason of the enormous Corrup-
 “ tion of his Nature, worse than the worst of Usurpers ; whose
 “ Lust, himself acknowledges, is insatiable, and Avarice boundless :
 “ That’s nothing ; but he’s a Cheat to boot, a Dissembler, that has
 “ no Trust to give, and, by his own Confession, deserves none ; Fickle
 “ and false, O Heavens ! Sure thou never design’d this Man for a
 “ Ruler of Men ; and shall we be bound to receive him as such ?
 “ No, let others do what they will, I’m fix’d in my Resolution, I
 “ scorn to Breathe, where either *Malcolm* or *Macbeth* shall Reign :
 “ Exile, eternal Exile is my Choice.” With these Words, he beat his
 Breast, Wept bitterly ; and turning his Eyes to the North, said, “ O !
 “ Scotland, for ever farewell ;” And so was about to sling away :
 Then *Malcolm*, extreamly satisfied, with so plain a Demonstration of
 Honesty, took him by the Hand, embrac’d him with Tears in his
 Eyes, and declar’d the Cause of his Dissimulation. After this, they
 had frequent Conferences together : And having concerted Mea-
 sures, and resolv’d on the Means of dethroning the Usurper, *Mac-
 duff* went privately to *Scotland*, to advertise the Loyalists of the de-
 sign’d Invasion, and dispose them to favour it. This could not
 be so secretly effected, but that *Macbeth* came to the knowledge of
 it ; and the rather, because he had Intelligence of the forward Pre-
 parations made in *England* against him. For the generous King
Edward was easily prevail’d with, to give Assistance towards an
 Expedition, that must needs reflect so much Glory upon himself.
 He appointed an Army of 10000 Men to be levied ; and gave the
 Command of it to Earl *Syard*, Prince *Malcolm*’s Grandfather. A
 great many Volunteers, desirous of Honour, and willing to learn
 the Art of War, join’d this Army from all Parts of the Kingdom :
 And

(a) Ford, apud. Script. XX. p. 694.

And some write, that a Fleet was also fitted out upon the same Occasion. Thus it was plain, that a speedy Invasion was design'd; and *Macbeth*, to guard against it, fell foul upon such Persons as he thought were disaffected to his Government. This, and the earnest Desire, almost the whole Kingdom had, of a new Revolution, made great Numbers take Arms, and form themselves into a Body. (a) The Nation was all in a Flame, when, *Malcolm* with his *English* Auxiliaries, advanc'd to the Borders: And he no sooner enter'd the Kingdom, but by the continual Resort of honest Men, he had the Satisfaction to see himself on the Head of a numerous Army, capable to Conquer in Spite of Resistance. But it soon appear'd, that no great Resistance would be made: For the Usurper's Men deserted him daily, and went over to their lawful Sovereign. He therefore withdrew to his Castle of *Dunfinnan*, with such as yet adher'd to his Interest: But distrusting even these (and indeed he had Reason to distrust all true Hearted *Scotsmen*) he sent his Friends to the *Æbuda* and to *Ireland*, with Money to hire Foreigners. Prince *Malcolm* follow'd him close upon the Heels, (b) the People praying for him all along as he march'd, and, with joyful Acclamations, wishing Success to his Arms. His Souldiers took this as an Omen of Victory; and as they march'd by the Wood of *Birnan*, cut down green Boughs, and stuck them in their Helmets; pretending thereby to Triumph, even before they had Fought. *Macbeth* saw them from his lofty Tower; and, perceiving the green Boughs, he found out the Fallacy of the Sorceress, that had cheated him into a Belief, that he should not be vanquish'd till the Wood was brought to his Castle. Nevertheless, he resolv'd to try his Fate, and put his Men in order of Battle: But upon the first Onset his Heart fail'd him, and he shamefully run away, and left the Field. Upon which his Souldiers, abandon'd by their cowardly Leader, laid down their Arms, and submitted to *Malcolm*. So say all the *Scots* Authors I have seen. But the *English*, (c) unjustly ascribing all the Honour of this Victory to Earl *Syward*, tell us, "That he fought with *Macbeth*, and defeated him, with the Deaths of many of his *Scots*, and such *Normans*, as had before gone over to him: And quite expelling him, made *Malcolm* King in his Stead, according to the Orders he had receiv'd from King *Edward*. They add, "That the Victory was purchas'd with the Lives of many of the *English* and *Danes*, besides *Syward's* own Son; of whose Death when he heard, he demanded, *Whether he had receiv'd his Wound behind or before?* And when he was answer'd *Before*, he declar'd himself *Glad*, otherwise he should not have thought him worthy of *Burial*." This may be true; and I doubt not, but Earl *Syward's* Son might have been like his Father, one of the valiantest Men in the World. Besides, He did many good Offices to *Malcolm*, and by his own Courage and Conduct (as well as by the *English* and *Danish*

T t t t

Auxili-

(a) Boeth. ad vit. Macbet. l. 12. (b) Buchan. in vit. Macbet. (c) Echard ad Ann. 1057. Book I. Willielm. cited by Ford. apud Scrip. XX. p. 698.

Auxiliaries he commanded) no doubt very much contributed towards the Restoration. But that he alone, or the Forces under his Conduct, defeated *Macbeth*, or that he made *Malcolm* King, is, to say no worse, a Mistake. *Fordon* (a) is positive, that *Malcolm* himself, with the *Scots* that own'd and join'd him, upon his first Entrance into the Country, had the Honour to restore himself: That had *Malcolm* been absent, and King *Edward* himself been in Person, together with *Syward*, at the Engagement, he doubts not, but *Macbeth* and his Men had stood their Ground: And in fine, that before the Work was compleated, Earl *Syward* and his Army were necessarily recall'd to oppose *Griffin*, King of the *Welsh*, who, this very Year

A.D. 1054. 1054, (b) Headed a Rebellion in *England*, invaded *Herefordshire*, and gave a Defeat to King *Edward's* Nephew, *Rodolph*. 'Tis moreover observable, that the Accounts given of this Matter, by the *English* Historians, are inconsistent and contradictory: For here they tell you, (c) that King *Edward* or his Lieutenant, made *Malcolm* King; and there (d) that he succeeded to the Kingdom by his own hereditary Right. But to put the Matter out of all doubt, and to evince, that *Syward*, tho' he help'd his Grandchild to get Footing in *Scotland*, yet did not make him King, as is asserted, we need but advert to the Death of *Syward*, and the Coronation of *Malcolm*. This last was not Crown'd, nor did he get Possession of the Kingdom, according to *Fordon* and *Buchanan*, till the Year 1057, nay, not till 1061, according to *Boethius* and *Lefly*; before either of which Years, Earl *Syward* was Dead, if we may trust the *English* Chronicles (e). A plain Proof of what *Fordon* asserts, That King *Malcolm* ow'd his Crown to his own Valour, and the Loyalty of his Subjects, who, it seems, made War upon the Usurper, for at least three Years, before they got him pull'd down. The finishing Stroak was given at *Lunfanan*, whither *Macbeth* had retreated, hoping, with the small Party of those that follow'd his Fortune, or perhaps with his hir'd Foreigners, to maintain himself in that Mountainous Northern Country. But he was mistaken. *Malcolm* and *Macduff* pursu'd him eagerly: And they say, that the latter, who, by the by, was not born of a Woman, but, like the first *Cæsar*, had been cut out of his Mother's Womb, kill'd him with his own Hand. And thus the Superstitious Wretch found for the last time, to his irreparable Loss, how vain 'tis to depend upon Prophecies, and how dangerous to consult with the Devil; or, which is all one, with Sorcerers, if there are any such: For I don't give implicate Faith to the Story I have related, and apologiz'd for. However, this is certain, *Macbeth* was kill'd, after a checker'd Reign, (the beginning of it having been tolerable, the end Tyrannical to the highest Degree) of seventeen Years.

Macbeth
kill'd.

Discite

(a) Script. XX. p. 696. (b) Echard ad Ann. 1053. Book I. chap. 6. (c) Chronic. Melros. ad Ann. 1054. cited by Sr. James Dalrymple chap. 9. (d) Ibid. (e) Chron. Melros. ad Ann. 1055. vid. Dalrymple ibid. vid. Tyrrel ad Ann. 1055.

*Discite quam sceptris non tutum fidere, Princeps
Esse volo, jam de Principe nullus ego.*

Says he of himself, or rather Mr. *John Johnston* in his Name ; and elsewhere.

*Sustulit insidiis cognato sanguine Regem,
Et pretium sceleris, Regia Sceptra tulit ;
Cade furit, cade ergo perit : fors ilicet aqua
Artifices cadis arte perere sua.*

The Death of the Usurper, did not quite overturn the Usurpation: He had a Son ; and this Son, tho a Fool, (and therefore surnam'd *Fatuus*) the Favourers of the late Government carried to *Scoon*, and saluted King ; notwithstanding of *Malcolm's* having assum'd the Title, and taken upon him the Administration of Affairs some time before, viz. on the 25th Day of April 1057. As *Luthac* (so was the Mock-Monarch call'd) usurp'd rashly, so he soon paid the Price of his Temerity : He had not Forces to keep the Fields ; all he could do, was to head a vagrant Party of Desperado's, who, after plundering the open Country for Subsistence, were retreating Northward to the Mountains for Safety. But *Malcolm* overtook them in *Strabogy*, and put them all to the Sword, yet had the Generosity to honour so far the Blood that had run in their Veins, as to appoint, that the Bodies of both *Macbeth* and *Luthac* should be buried in the Royal Sepulchre of *Icolmkill*.

*Malcolm Can-
more restor'd
A. D. 1057.*

Thus was King *Malcolm* restor'd to the Throne of his Ancestors : And with him, Honour, Probity, Peace and Plenty to *Scotland*. The Nation in general was over-joy'd, and every Body look'd for a long uninterrupted Series of Halcyon Days. Indeed Affairs were now so settl'd, that no open Force could disturb the Government : Yet (so difficult a Province it is, to win over Hereditary Rebels to Loyalty) the King, as great and as good as he was, was not absolutely secure against private Conspiracies. He had Intelligence, that some of that obstinate incorrigible Faction, (that had murder'd his Father and banish'd himself) were renewing their Cabals, and that they had plotted his Destruction. The whole Circumstances of the Design were discover'd to him : He commanded the Loyal Informers to keep the thing secret from all the World but himself. They obey'd ; and at length, the Villain that had undertaken to strike the Blow, came to Court, attended by a numerous Vassalage, ready to favour his Escape. (a) The King received him graciously, and invited him, together with some other Nobles, to a Hunting Match. Accordingly, the next Day, the whole Court took Horses, and after being wearied with Sport, they came to a pleasant green plain, that lay in the midst of a Wood ; and in the middle of it there was a rising Ground, either by Art or Nature fitted to receive the Hunters. Here they all alighted from their Horses : And the King, pla-

*Discovers a
Plot against
his Life.*

(a) Turgot cited by Ford, apud Script. XX. p. 697. Buchan. Boet. in vit. Reg.

Offers to
fight the
Traitor.

cing himself a little above the rest, conform to Custom, appointed to each his Station and proper Place, that the Beast might no where get out of the Wood, without being by some Body of other espyd and pursu'd. This done, he arose from his Seat, and, (with a cheerful Countenance, desiring the Traitor to attend him, he went back to the Forrest, then turning himself to him) he is reported to have spoken as follows. "Now, said he, you have your Opportunity; we're alone, our Arms are alike, no Eye can see, nor Ear can hear us: If you have the Soul of a Man in you, be a Man of your Word, be bold and dare to kill your King, while you may freely and safely, nay, in some Measure, honourably. I say honourably; for if you mean to do it by Poison, 'tis but what a Cook-maid may effect; if to attack my Bed, a Whore can do that as bravely as you; if to give a stolen Thrust with a hidden Weapon, each Cowardly Russian can do the same. Come shew your self a Gentleman, give me fair Play; I ask no more, than I am willing to grant". And with these Words the King was about to draw his Sword: But the Traitor, terrified with the unexamp'd Bravery, threw by his Arms, and falling on his Knees, beg'd (what he deserv'd not) Forgiveness. Nevertheless, it was granted to him, upon certain Terms; and both return'd from whence they had come, and the Business of the Day went on as before. Whether King *Malcolm* express'd more Courage or Clemency on this Occasion, 'tis hard to determine: This is certain, he shew'd himself a Hero more than a King; and this Action (certainly true, because related by *Turgot*, who liv'd in the Time) must needs be reckon'd among those extraordinary ones, that have in them a great deal of the *Merveilleux*; and which therefore all Men will admire, but Sovereigns take care how they imitate.

Scots. Authors agree, that henceforth King *Malcolm's* Reign was peaceable, till the *Normans* invaded and subdu'd *England*, when the War, like a Gangrene, over-spread the whole Island. But the *English* say, (a) "That *Malcolm*, in 1060 (that is, not full three Years after his Restoration) went and gave a Visit to King *Edward*, and contracted so great a Friendship with his Neighbour *Tosti*, who was made Governor of *Northumberland*, in the Room of Earl *Syward*, lately deceas'd, and who was appointed to attend him on his Way, that they became sworn Brethren; tho' to what Effect, the Event shew'd within two Years: For *Tosti*, being gone to *Rome*, his sworn Brother *Malcolm*, took the Advantage of his Absence, cruelly wasted the Places under his Government, and broke the Peace of *St. Cuthbert* in the Holy Island." To me this Story seems altogether incredible. Indeed 'tis not unlikely, that King *Malcolm*, after his Restoration, might have gone (as then the Custom was) to the Court of *England*, either to thank his Benefactor, King *Edward*, or perhaps to do him Homage for the Principality of *Cumberland*; (That he did not for his Kingdom of *Scotland*, Mr. *Tyrrel* (b) is so just

(a) Echard ad Ann. 1057. Book I. Chap. 6. Tyrrel ad Ann. 1061 Book VI. (b) ad Ann. 1054.

just as to acknowledge ;) or to renew old Friendship between the Crowns : But that he and *Tofti* should have become sworn Brethren, is what I do not so well understand ; much less, that a Prince of his celebrated Honour and Integrity, should have violated his Oaths, and, in *Tofti's* Absence, perfidiously and cruelly wasted his Government. This was not only a Breach of Friendship committed against *Tofti* the Governor, but a Piece of the blackest Ingratitude towards his Benefactor and Ally, King *Edward* ; a downright insulting him, and a plain quarrelling with the *English* Nation. I wish that *Simon*, who gives an Account of the Injury offer'd, had also acquainted us with the Resentment return'd : But I read of no such Thing, and therefore conclude, that he must be in some Mistake, at least, as to Circumstances of Time and Persons. *Malcolm* then made it his Business (as 'twas his Duty) to keep Peace with *Edward* the Confessor, neither did he quarrel with his Successor *Harold* ; but when he found that *William* the Duke of *Normandy* had master'd *England*, 'tis highly reasonable to think, that he was not at all fond of the Neighbourhood of a Prince, potent, bold and fortunate, more than any of the Sovereigns of his Co-temporaries in *Europe*. How far he strove to foment and heighten the Discontents of the conquer'd *English*, or enter'd into their frequent Conspiracies, or favour'd their Insurrections against the Conqueror, I cannot determine : But if we shall credit *English* Authors, (a) *The Root of all his Dangers was in Scotland, which Country had always been a Sanctuary for his Enemies, and the Malcontents of his Kingdom, and soon after became, the Receptacle of his Competitor Prince Edgar.* But, before *Edgar* offer'd to go thither, they say, (b) that King *Malcolm* openly favour'd a dangerous Insurrection in the North of *England*, but that, by the Mediation of the Bishop of *Durham*, a Peace was concluded between the two Kings, but of short Continuance : For about Autumn following, the Earls *Gospatrik*, *Waltheof* and *Marlesweyn*, with several of the *Northumbrian* Nobility, fearing to be imprison'd, as many others at that time were, drew over Prince *Edgar Etheling* to their Party, and with him his Mother *Agatha*, and his Sisters *Margaret* and *Christina*, and pass'd by Sea out of *England* into *Scotland*, where being kindly receiv'd, they remain'd all that Winter, and that *Malcolm* was so affected with the Beauty and Vertues of the Lady *Margaret*, that about two Years after, he married her himself.

Quarrels
with King
William the
Conqueror
of *England*.

The King of Scots, having thus above Board declar'd himself Protector of the *English* Liberties and Royal Stock ; a terrible Appearance was made in Opposition to the Conqueror, (c) who, thereupon taking the Alarm, sent away the Queen his Wife into *Normandy* A.D. 1069 for her Security ; and for his own, pretending to curb the Insolence of his Countrymen, invited the *English* Nobility to Court, disclaim'd the Title of Conqueror, and renew'd the Laws of King *Edward*. 'Twas no Wonder, that he was thus affrighted : For, much about this time, the Sons of the late King *Harold* return'd from *Ireland*, gain'd

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(a) Echard ad Ann. 1068. & 1072. (b) Echard ad Ann. 1068. Tyrrel ad Ann. eund. (c) Tyrrel, Echard, ad Ann. 1069.

a Battle, and over-ran two Shires; and the *Northumbrians* revolted against the new Governor of *Durham*: *Robert Cuning* surpriz'd him in the Night, and massacred him and 700 of his Men: Besides, a *Danish* Fleet of 240 Sail arriv'd in the *Humber*, and had no sooner landed their Men, but they were joyn'd by *Edgar Etheling* and all his Followers from *Scotland*. The Conqueror was not wanting to himself in the mean time; nor did his Fortune fail him: He came in Person to *York-Shire*, wasted the Country with Fire and Sword, and is said to have routed the *Danish* Army. Nevertheless, 'tis own'd, that on this Occasion, his Gold was more serviceable than his Arms. He sent privately to *Earl Osbern*, the *Danish* General (a); and, by means of a great Sum of Money, prevail'd upon him to leave the Kingdom. Which accordingly he did; but when arriv'd in *Denmark*, the King his Brother, suspicious of his Fidelity, banish'd him, as he deserv'd, from thence; a Punishment too small for an Action so vile. 'Tis probable, that the like means were us'd to debauch *Edgar Etheling's* *English* Adherents: Certain 'tis, that a great many of them abandon'd that unfortunate Prince, and made their Peace with the Ravisher of his Scepter, and the Ravager of their Country. Amongst these, we find *Gospatrik* and *Waltheof*, particularly mention'd; (b) but so far from being censur'd for their Perfidy, that on the contrary, one would think, they had done but their Duty, and return'd to their Allegiance: And King *William's* Generosity (Policy, I would have said) is highly commended, who thus restor'd them to Favour. And here *Mr. Tyrrel* (c) is at a Loss to know, where *Edgar Etheling* and his distress'd Family stay'd, now he was abandon'd by so many of his Attendants; the *Danes* having retir'd, and the whole North being reduc'd to the King's Obedience. Wherever they were, 'tis most probable, that they still continu'd under the Protection of King *Malcolm*; for he laid not down his Arms, tho' the invading *Danes*, and most of the revolted *English* did: He was rather exasperated by the Treachery of both; and, understanding that *Gospatrik* was made Earl of *Northumberland*, to be aveng'd of him, he invaded that Country (d) upon the Head of a numerous Army of *Saxons*; and (if we shall believe *Marianus Scotus*) (e) some *French* Auxiliaries, (a Testimony that the old *French* League had been lately renew'd): And then turning Eastward, he destroy'd all *Teyflale* and the Parts adjacent on both sides. He halted at *Hundreds Kild*; from whence, after having put some *English* Noblemen to the Sword, he sent a great Detachment back again, with much of the Plunder, designing likewise to intercept such of the Inhabitants as had before withdrawn from their Houses, and were now returning to them. Nor did he miss of his Aim. He did more: For, having laid waste Part of *Cleveland*, he also did the like in *Heorterness* by a new and sudden Incurfion; and from thence, marching through the Bishoprick of *Durham*, he bereft all the Inhabitants of their Goods, and some of their Lives: Nay, he

He invades
Northumber-
land.
A. D. 1070.

(a) Echard, Tyrrel, &c. ad Ann. 1069 (b) Echard ibid. (c) ad Ann. 1070. (d) Tyrrel, ibid. (e) Cited by Dairymple Chap. 8.

he is reported to have burnt several Churches, together with those that fled thither for Refuge; and, amongst the rest, the Church of St. Peter in *Weremouth*. A most incredible thing, considering the innate Humanity of that magnanimous Monarch, "Who (to transcribe the very Words of Mr. *Tyrrel*) whilst he rode near the River *Were*, feeding his Eyes with these sad Spectacles, had Advice, that *Edgar Etheling* and the Ladies his Sisters, together with *Syward*, *firmam'd Barry*, *Marlesweyn*, and a great many *English* Noblemen, were arriv'd in the Mouth of that Harbour. Upon which, he went presently to meet and bid them all Welcome, and promis'd them a safe Retreat in his Dominions." Such a noble Act of Generosity, to me seems inconsistent with the Cruelties laid at his Door. Or, if it is true, that he made such an unmerciful War upon a Nation, he pretended to protect, and his Interest oblig'd him to court, 'tis most likely, that he only did it, to retaliate the Outrages, *Gospairick* had committed upon his Subjects of *Cumberland*. When he heard of them, continues Mr. *Tyrrel*, he was scarce able to contain his Passion, and commanded for the future to kill or carry away Captive indifferently, all the *English* that should fall in the Hands of his Soldiers. Accordingly vast Numbers were slain, and such as were fit for Labours, were made Prisoners, and kept as Slaves; insomuch that *Scotland* became so stockt with *English* Servants, that there was hardly a Village, nay, nor a House without them.

'Tis strange, that while King *Malcolm* is own'd to have been Civil and Generous, almost to Excess, to the Blood Royal and Nobility of *England*, he should prove at the same time so unconscionably Severe towards the *English* Plebeians: For 'tis acknowledg'd, both by *Malmesbury* and *Matthew of Paris*, (a) That the whole Nobility of *England* went to the Scots. And Mr. *Echard* (b) tells us, that about this time, (a time, when, says the same *Malmesbury*, *England* became the Habitation of Strangers, and no Native was either Earl, Bishop, or Abbot) many of the *English*, forsaking the Place of their Birth, were receiv'd into the Favour of King *Malcolm*; and being by his Liberality settl'd in *Scotland*, have since that time propagated, and brought forth Branches of many noble Families, whose Posterity continue to this Day.

King *Malcolm* having over-run the Northern Parts of *England*, return'd Triumphantly to *Scotland*, (c) where he found *Edgar Etheling*, and those Noblemen and Bishops that attended him, safely arriv'd: He welcom'd and entertain'd them Nobly, as he had promis'd, and not long after put in Execution, what it seems he had before design'd: That is, he married the Princess *Margaret*, in the Year 1070, about two Years after he had receiv'd her, and her distress'd Family, into his Dominions. Whether they were driven thither by contrary Winds, when the Voyage was intended for *Hungary*, as most Scots and some *English* Authors affirm; or that, as Sir *James Dalrymple* (d) more probably conjectures, they had been previously invited,

Protects *Edgar Etheling*.

Marries his Sister.

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(a) Craig concerning Homage chap. 12. (b) ad Ann. 1072. (c) Tyrrel ad Ann. 1070. (d) Loc. cit.

invited, is a Matter of no great Importance. He lov'd the Lady, and she deserv'd it; yet more for her Prudence and Piety, than for her commanding Beauty, or Royal Extraction. And now he was, by the double Bond of Love and Honour, irretrievably fastn'd to the sinking Interest of the *Saxon* Race, he must needs resolve to encounter the fiercest Resentment of the *Norman* Conqueror. He dreaded it not; now especially, when the *English* (more and more disgusted by the hard Usage they met with, and the manifest Violation of all these solemn Oaths King *William* had taken to observe their ancient Laws) once more assembl'd a numerous Army, and nam'd *Edgar Etheling*, their King, say some, (a) others, their Leader. What this Army did, or how they were dissipated, I nowhere read: We are only told, that King *William*, by the Advice of Archbishop *Lanfranc*, renew'd his former Oaths, by which the *English* being satisfied, all return'd to their Habitations; but that the King, who had conceal'd his Intentions, within a few Days after, privately and suddenly endeavour'd to ruin those separately, whom united he could not overcome; which he perform'd, by killing some, dispossessing others, and out-lawing many more: And that upon this, Prince *Edgar* fled again into *Scotland*. So lame an Account of such a considerable Transaction, does not at all satisfy the curious Reader; and I am inclinable to believe, that Prince *Edgar* did not come from *Scotland* without an Army to favour the Insurrection design'd. But it may be, that this Insurrection being crush'd in the Bud, by the fraudulent Methods King *William* follow'd, *Edgar* failing of the Succours he had depended upon, was necessitated to retreat. This is the more probable, because a late Author of the History of *England*, (b) after having given an Account of the new personal Oath, King *William* took before *Lanfranc*, adds, that immediately thereafter, the *Scots* invaded *England*, and some Lords revolted in Favour of Prince *Edgar*. But he says, both the *Scottish* Invasion, and the Revolt of the Lords, were ill tim'd; and that the People, re-assur'd by the Conqueror's fair Promises, grew indifferent as to the Change which had been made in the Rights or Succession of the Crown. Besides, tho' they were well affected to *Edgar*, (in whom remain'd (c) all the Hopes of the true Hearted *English*, and of whom they made this Ryme:

Edgar Atheling, England's Darling ;)

yet they dislik'd the Company with which he came attended, and hated the Entrance of a *Scottish* Army into *England*, more than they lov'd their Darling. A Bizarre, and unaccountable Effect of National Pride and Jealousy: *England* was enslav'd by a Foreigner, a Duke of *Normandy*, that is, a petty Sovereign of *France*, who through Floods of *English* Blood, and, by the depopulating of Countries and Towns, had

(a) Echard, Tyrrel, ad Ann. 1070. (b) Edit. Lond. 1701. in the Life of King Will. I. (c) Tyrrel ad Ann. 1070.

Is deserted
by Edgar
Etheling's
Friends.

had fought his Way to a Despotick Power over the free-born Nation. He was now so securely fix'd on the usurp'd Throne, that the Nation alone could not over-turn him: A neighbouring King (by his Education, and Match with the Royal Princess of *England*, an *Englishman*) takes up their Quarrel, offers to liberate them from the Yoke of foreign Tyranny, presents them with their natural and lawful Sovereign; a Sovereign, whose glorious Ancestors had made them a Nation, and who himself was their *Darling*. No, they scorn to be indebted for the inestimable Favour to a King of the *Scots*; and they had rather continue in Chains, than have them loos'd by the hated Hand. They therefore choose to sit still, and, to their infinite Affliction, see all the Promises and Oaths of the *Norman Conqueror* vanish into Smoak; while their *English* Prince, unable to save them against their Wills, is again forc'd (a) to flee into *Scotland*, whither also a great Number of the bravest Patriots follow'd. Others went into *Denmark*, and some into *Norway*, pursuing any Methods to avoid the *Norman* Yoke. Amongst those the great Earls *Edwin* and *Morchar* were eminent (b): But the former in his Passage towards *Scotland*, was betray'd by his own Followers and Slain; and *Morchar* betook himself to the Isle of *Ely*: And a little while after, *Ogelwin*, Bishop of *Durham*, *Walter* Bishop of *Hereford*, and *Syward Barne*, came also thither by Sea out of *Scotland*; and 'tis probable they came not without some *Scots* Forces to attend them. These Noblemen Canton'd themselves in the Island, and defended it bravely for a long time, till at length the cowardly and interest-ed Monks of the Place, to recover their Lands and Goods, on which the Conqueror had seiz'd, constrain'd them to submit; only the valiant *Hereward*, and a few Followers, with great Difficulty escap'd over the Fens, and got into the usual Sanctuary of his distress'd Countrymen, *Scotland*.

Welcomes
the *English*
Refugees in-
to *Scotland*.

A. D. 1071.

King *William*, by his former Successes, and this last Adventure, become absolute Master over the *English*, thought it was high time, to put an End, if possible, to all future Disputes. With this View he resolv'd to follow his Competitor into *Scotland*; and by this Means to strike at the Root of his Dangers. Accordingly he invaded *Galloway* (c) upon the Head of an Army, he thought capable to subdue the whole Kingdom; but he found unconquerable Difficulties in that Country, by reason of the Mountains and Marshes, over which his Army must pass. He therefore gave over his Expedition that Way, and march'd directly into *Lothian*, (where King *Malcolm* then lay) fully resolv'd to put an End to the Quarrel, by a decisive Battle. "For some Days (says Sr. *William Temple*, (d) with his usual Elegancy of Stile and Justness of Thought) "the two Armies stood at a Bay, seeming both prepar'd for a "fierce Encounter; and yet both content to delay it, from a mu- "tual Respect they had to one another's Forces and Dispositions.

William the
Conqueror
invades *Scot-*
land.

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(a) Echard ad Ann. 1070. (b) Echard, Tyrrel, ad Ann. 1071. (c) Tyrrel, Echard, ad Ann. 1072. (d) Introd. to the Hist. of England p. 120, 121, & 122.

“ They were indeed not much unequal in Numbers, nor in the
 “ Bravery and Order of their Troops. Both Kings were Valiant
 “ and Wise, having been train’d up in Arms, inur’d to Dangers,
 “ and much embroil’d at home in the beginning of their Reigns.
 “ They were now animated to a Battle by their own Courage, as
 “ well as their Souldiers; but yet both consider’d the Event, in the
 “ Uncertainty and the Consequence. The loss of a Battle, might
 “ prove the loss of a Crown; and the Fortune of one Day determin’d
 “ the Fate of a Kingdom. They very well knew, that whoever
 “ fights a Battle, with what Number and Forces, what Provisi-
 “ ons and Orders, or Appearances soever of Success, yet at the
 “ best runs a Venture, and leaves much at the Mercy of Fortune,
 “ from Accidents not to be foreseen by any Prudence, or govern’d
 “ by any Conduct or Skill. These Reflexions began to dispose
 “ both Kings to the Thoughts of ending their Quarrel, by a Peace
 “ rather than a Battle: And, tho both had the same Inclinations,
 “ yet each of them was unwilling first to discover it; lest it might
 “ be interpreted to proceed from Apprehensions of Weakness or
 “ Fears, and thereby dishearten their own Souldiers, or encour-
 “ age their Enemies. The Scots at length began the Overture,
 “ which was receiv’d by King *William* with a Shew of Indifferency,
 “ but with a conceal’d Joy; and the more reasonable, as having
 “ the greater Stake, the less to win, and the more to lose; by the
 “ Issue of a Battle.” Scots Authors, (for I have hitherto fol-
 low’d the *English*) do all, on the contrary, assert, That King *William*,
 weary of the War, and distrustful of the Event, was the first that
 desir’d Peace at the Hands of King *Malcolm*: Besides, they acquaint
 us with some remarkable Passages of the War, I ought not to
 omit. If we may believe them, (a) upon the first Breach between
 the two Kings, one *Roger*, a *Norman*, was sent into *Northumberland*,
 to oppose the united Forces of King *Malcolm*, and those of Earl
Sward, who sided with *Edgar Etheling*; but *Roger* being defeated,
 and not long after kill’d by his own People, *Richard* Earl of *Glocester*
 was sent with a much greater Army: But he too was tyr’d out by
Patrick Dunbar, who fatigu’d him with frequent Onsets and light
 Skirmishes; insomuch that his Men not daring to straggle from the
 Camp, or to forrage in the Country, he was forc’d to retreat. At
 last, *Odo*, King *William*’s half Brother by his Mother *Arlette*, led a
 much stronger Army to the North of *England*, and having wasted
 almost all *Northumberland*, and slain some that offer’d to hinder his
 Depredations, King *Malcolm* and Earl *Sward* set upon him, as he
 was returning Home with a good Booty, slew and took many of his
 Army, and recover’d the Prey. When his Army was recruited,
Robert, *William*’s eldest Son, was employ’d, (to use the Phrase of
 an *English* Author) (b) in those hard and necessitous Wars of Scotland;
 but to no better Purpose: For he only pitch’d his Camp at the
 River *Tine*, and rather kept off, than attack’d the Enemy; and so,

conten-

contented himself with building a Castle at the Ford of the River, I have mention'd, where had been before a small Village, call'd *Monk-ester*, from certain Monks that liv'd there in great Austerity and Retirement: But after the building of this Fortrefs (design'd to curb Invasions from *Scotland*) it was from thence call'd (as 'tis at this Day) *Newcastle*.

The *English* agree with the *Scots* in their Accounts of this Expedition of Prince *Robert*; only they place it in the Year 1080; that is eight Years after they suppose the Peace to have been for the second time concluded between the two Kings; adding, that King *Malcolm* (a) broke that Peace in 1078, invaded *Northumberland*, as far as the River *Tine*, kill'd a great many Men, and, carrying away more Prisoners, return'd home with large Spoils. He had done the like, according to them, during the Reign of *Edward the Confessor*; And he had also broke loose upon *William the Conqueror*, before he came to be engag'd in the Quarrel of *Edgar Etheling*: And now, this Prince having laid aside his Pretensions, and being reconcil'd to the Conqueror, he takes up Arms again, and invades *England*, without any Provocation given him: For they inform us, neither upon what Account these three Wars were commenc'd; nor by whom, nor how long, nor with what Success they were carried on: Nor in fine, on what Conditions; nay, nor when they were ended. Inconsistencies, in my Opinion, more gross than those Mr. *Tyrrel* lays at the Door of the *Scots* Historians; the most Part of whose Relation of the the then Wars, he says, (b) is a meer Romance; for no such Man as *Roger* did invade the *Scottish* Dominions in those Days, nor was there a Duke or Earl of *Glocester* in *England*, till long after. And as for Bishop *Odo*, he was not sent to the North against the *Scots*, but to revenge the Death of *Walcher* Bishop of *Durham*. But 'tis own'd, that there were such Persons then in *England*, as *Odo* and *Roger*; and that the first, at least, was intrusted with the Command of Armies, and why not both? And why not against the *Scots*? The old *English* Historians do not say so; I grant it: And altho no Earl of *Glocester* is mention'd by them; yet it does not presently follow, that there was no such Man in Being, nor that the former, they do mention, have not been employ'd to make War upon *Scotland*. I have just now shewn, that these Authors have omitted to record Persons and Matters more important than these. But be this as it will (for I do not love to contend about Triffles) one Thing, the Authors of both Nations are agreed in, that after a long and a bloody War, a Peace was at length concluded, and probably in Anno 1072. The King of *England* (c) demanded three Things: First, That all the *English* Exiles should be given up; an Article absolutely rejected by the King of *Scotland*, witness *Edgar Etheling*, who continued to stay in *Scotland*, as long as he had a mind, and did not return, nor submit to his prevailing Rival, (d) till the next Year 1073, according to the Chronicle of *Melros*; nay, not till 1074, according to the *Saxon*.

Peace between *Malcolm Canmore* and *William the Conqueror*,

X x x x 2

Second-

(a) *Tyrrel* ad Ann. 1078. (b) ad Ann. 1070. (c) *Craig* concern. Homage, Chap. 22. (d) *Dalrymple* Chap. 8.

Secondly, That henceforth no more *English* Exiles should be received or entertain'd in *Scotland*. This was also deny'd; witness the famous *Gospatrik*, who falling anew under the Displeasure of King *William*, was after this Treaty (if we may believe *Simeon*) (a) again receiv'd into Favour by King *Malcolm*, who gave him *Dumbar*, and the adjacent Lands in *Lothian*. Thirdly, That the King of *Scots* should do Homage to King *William*, as King of *England*, for the Beneficiary Provinces he held in that Kingdom. To this last Article, King *Malcolm* thought fit to agree: He had already done all could in Reason be expected from him, in favour of the righteous Heir, whose Quarrel, he, and he alone, of all the Sovereigns in *Europe*, had espous'd and vigorously prosecuted for several Years. He had again and again presented *England's* Darling to the People of *England*: They would not receive him from his Hands; what could he do more? 'Tis probable, that Prince *Edgar* himself (who afterwards laid by his Claim and submitted) was not desirous, that his Benefactor and Brother, should, upon his account, continue to prosecute a War, by reason of King *William's* Fortune, become hopelets on his side. All King *Malcolm* demanded, was, that he should continue in Possession of his *English* Territories; and, that such of the *English* Outlaws, as were willing to return to their Country, should, upon their submitting to the Government, be restor'd to their Estate. A grating Article to the rapacious *Normans*; yet yielded to by their Sovereign, and so the Peace was made; and (b) in Memory of it, there was a Stone Cross erected in the middle of the Mountains of *Stannmore* in *Yorkshire*, having the Arms of both Kings engraven on the several Sides of it: And this Cross, by the *English*, or rather *Normans*, call'd *Rere Cross*, and by the *Scots*, *Key Cross*, that is, the Royal Cross, was for the future to serve for a Boundary between the two Kingdoms. Mr. *Camden* saw the Remainder of it, probably still extant.

That, in Pursuance of the Treaty, King *Malcolm* did Homage to King *William*, is positively asserted by the *English*, and not disown'd by the *Scots*; but whether, for all *Scotland*, or the *Lowlands*, or for *Cumberland*, as no old *English* Author has told, so the Moderns are willing to doubt: Nay, Mr. *Tyrrel*, a Writer every where judicious, and in most Things ingenuous, does us the Honour to declare, (c) "That *Holinshed* and others of the Modern *English*, have, without any Authority from their ancient Historians, said in express Terms, that the King of *Scots*, then did Homage to King *William* for all *Scotland*." The Testimony of so great a Man, no ways inclinable to lessen the Glories of his Country, is, in my humble Opinion, alone sufficient to silence the Tongues and efface the Writings, of such as have by Word or Writing (I should say Forging) asserted the contrary. These Seducers of Mankind, and Stifflers of Concord, Sir *Thomas Craig*, Sir *James Dalrymple*, Mr. *Ridpath*, and Mr. *Ander-son*, have confuted beyond the Possibility of a Reply: And from

them

(a) Dalrymple *ibid.* (b) Tyrrel *ad Ann.* 1072. Buchan. Boet. &c. *in vit.* Malcolm. (c) Tyrrel. *ibid.*

them (especially from the last mention'd) I shall borrow such Arguments, (and I shall do it conform to my ordinary Method, in as few Words as possible) as I think necessary to vindicate the Memory of the Monarch (whose Life I write) from the ignominious Aspersions, Envy and Malice have cast upon him. And,

First, 'tis pretended, that this King *Malcolm* did Homage to *Edward* the Confessor for his Kingdom of *Scotland*: Witness a Charter extant among the Archives in *Westminster*, publish'd by the Learn'd Mr. *Rymer*, and transcribed by Mr. *Ridpath* and Mr. *Anderson*: (a) The Substance of it is, That King *Malcolm* and his Son *Edward*, Earl of *Carrick* and *Rothsay*, own'd that they held the Kingdom of *Scotland* of *Edward* King of *England*, Liege Lord of *Scotland*, &c. and that this Charter was granted at *York* in the 9th Year of King *Malcolm's* Reign, with Consent and Advice of *Margaret* his Consort, and of *Edgar Etheling* her Brother; &c.

The Forger of this Paper, whoever he was, must needs have been as much a Fool as Knave; equally unacquainted with Antiquity, one of his Trade should have thoroughly understood, and with Honesty, to which, 'tis plain he had no Pretension. His whole Work (I mean the Charter) is but one continu'd Blunder: The Character of it, is by hundreds of Years after King *Malcolm's* time: Its Syllabication is modern: He makes the King to speak in the plural, which none ever did, in either of the Kingdoms, till the Reign of King *John* of *England*: He puts in his Mouth an impertinent Address to the King of *England*, in the Nature of a Prayer, O *Domine noster*, &c. He designs Him *Rex Scotorum & Insularum adjacentium*; a Title, by which never any of the Kings of *Scotland* design'd themselves: He miscalls his Eldest Son Prince *Edward*, by entitling him Earl of *Carrick* and *Rothsay*; whereas the Heirs of *Scotland* were then design'd Princes of *Cumberland*, and never assum'd the Title of *Rothsay*, till the *Stewarts* came to the Throne; about 311 Years after the Date of this Homage. He has an affected Genealogy of Queen *Margaret*, which is nothing at all to the Purpose, and makes Use of the French Word, *Parliament*, not known in *Britain* till after the Conquest. But that which proves this Homage to be a Forgery, beyond all Controversy, is the supposed Consent of *Margaret*, Queen of *Scotland*, and Prince *Edward* her Son. She was not Queen of *Scotland* till after the Conquest, as every Body knows, and I have but just now from *English* Authors documented. And if, with them, we shall suppose her Marriage to have been solemniz'd in the Year 1070, that is, four Years after King *William* invaded *England*, and add to these fourteen more (For no sooner could Prince *Edward* be capable of signing a Deed of this Importance) and to these again, some few Years interveening between the Homage pay'd to King *Edward* and the Conquest of King *William*; it follows, or, that this Prince *Edward* must have consented to and subscrib'd the Charter, about twenty Years

Y . y y y before

(a) *Ridpath's* Preface to Sir *Thomas Craig's* Book of Homage, and the Append. to Mr. *Anderson's* History, &c.

before he had a Being, and about six before his Mother was married; or that his Mother was married at least fourteen Years before the Death of King *Edward*, which is contrary to the uncontroverted Accounts of all Historians whatever; and by Consequence, to the Sense of the Learnd, and the Reason of Mankind.

The next Argument adduc'd to prove that *Malcolm* was, even as King of *Scotland*, a Subject of the Kings of *England*, is drawn from the Laws of *Edward the Confessor*, and *William the Conqueror*, as publish'd by Mr. *Lambard* in his *Archæionomia*. Those Laws I have, from Sir *Thomas Craig's* Observations, already shewn to be equally favourable and honourable to *Scotland* and *Scotsmen*, so far as they are genuine: But that they are not all so, Mr. *Anderson* has prov'd to a Demonstration. For (to say nothing of the Exceptions hinted at, by the most worthy, impartial, and eminently Learn'd, Doctor *William Nicolson*, Bishop of *Carlisle*, against Mr. *Lambard's* Edition of these Laws) (a) Mr. *Lambard* himself fairly acknowledges, that he transcrib'd them from two Copies; in the latter of which, there were several Things not be found in the more ancient; and that these Things he had caus'd print in a lesser Character. Now all those Paragraphs, which point at the Superiority and Dominion of *England* over *Scotland*, are printed in the lesser Character: A plain Proof they are fictitious, since not to be found in the ancient Copy. We have a Copy of these Laws in *Hoveden*; another in the *Chronicle of Litchfield*; a third in that of *Leicester*; there's a fourth mention'd by the famous Antiquary, Sir *Henry Spelman*: In all which, there's not a Syllable that insinuates or imports the pretended Homage; nor is there any thing in *Brompton*, a most exact Collector of the *English* Laws, concerning those of the *Conqueror*, to that Purpose. That he stil'd himself King or Monarch of *Britain*, is plainly false: That Pope *Eutherius*, who liv'd in the Year 67, should have written a Letter in 169, to King *Lucius*, Monarch of *Britain*; and in it regulated the Limits of the *British* Monarchy, is downright Nonsense. That the famous King *Arthur* subdu'd *Scotland*, *Ireland*, *Norway*, &c. as far as *Russia*, and made *Easter Lapland* the Boundary of the Kingdom of *Britain*, is ridiculous: That *Ina* was chosen by an Angel, to be the first Monarch of *Britain*, is no less absurd. In fine, that *Scotland* had its Name from one *Scottus*, a famous Captain, is a meer Whim, like those just now hinted at, to be found no where upon Record, save in those Legendary Paragraphs and spurious Charters hatcht by juggling Monks, or Forging *Hardings*, who, to purchase a Pension, (as that calumnious Fire-brand *John Harding* (b) did from *Henry VI.* of *England*) or to get their Livings augmented, have by Forging Deeds, vitiating Laws, and coining Stories, endeavour'd to trick their Sovereigns into a Belief, that they had a Right to invade and trample upon Kingdoms and Kings at their Pleasure. But,

I am

(a) *Anderf. Hiltor. Essay*, p. 116, 117, &c. (b) *Mr. Anderf* p. 105: 106. &c.

I am satisfied, that I have dwelt too long upon these invidious Arguments, the Learn'd and Judicious, both of the South and North of *Britain*, had confuted to my Hand: I return to the Life of King *Malcolm*. He had no sooner put an End to these foreign Wars, Policy, Justice, Gratitude, and good Nature, had made him undertake, and carry on as long as the least Hopes of Success remain'd, but the unruly Temper of his more unciviliz'd Subjects, cut out new Work for him at Home (a): For much about the same time, those of *Galloway* and the *Æbuda*, in one Part of the Kingdom, and in another, those of *Murray*, *Caithness* and *Ross*; disclaim'd the Royal Authority, took Arms, ravag'd the Country, and committed Murthers, wherever they met with Opposition. Against these, *Macduff* (the same that had so eminently contributed to the Restoration) was sent with an Army; and against those, *Walter*, the Grandchild of the celebrated *Bancho*, by his Son *Fleanch*. To be short, such was the Conduct and Courage of those two great Men, that in a short time, both Rebellions were quell'd, and the principal Authors of them exemplarily punish'd. But this King was ever more forward to reward Merit, than to punish Offences: He made *Walter*, Lord High Steward of *Scotland*, that is, he made him General Receiver of the Royal Revenues: And from this Office, the now Royal Family, and all the collateral Branches, that have sprung from the honour'd Stock, have their Sirname to this Day. *Macduff* had done more, and was more nobly repaid: For the King appointed that his Posterity should have the Honour of placing the succeeding Kings, when about to be Crown'd, in the Chair of State: That they should lead the Van of the Royal Armies: And that if any of his Family should be guilty of the unpremeditated Slaughter of a Gentleman, he should pay 24 Merks of Silver, as a Fine, and but 12, if of a Plebeian. This last Law was observ'd, (if we may believe *Buchanan*) as long as any of that Family were in Being; which if true, the Posterity of *Macduff* did not last till the Days of *Buchanan*; tho other Authors on the contrary assert, That the noble Family and present Earl of *Weems* have the Honour of being descended from that illustrious Patriot: Witness these Verses done by Mr. *John Johnston* to his praise;

Quells intestine Broils

Walter the Son of Fleanch, made Steward of Scotland.

Macduff, Earl of Fife, said to be the Ancestor of the noble Family of the Weems.

*Exilium vici, Regem in sua regna reduxi,
Subjecique armis colla tyranna meis.
Addo decus priscis meritis, monumenta vetusta
Servat adhuc rerum Vemiana domus.
Credita res posse haud fieri hæc nisi Cæsaris armis;
Cæsar ego cæsa de genitrice feror.*

The same Poet has also celebrated the Praises of the first Stewart, as follows;

Y y y y 2

Armo-

(a) Boeth. Buchan. in vis. Reg.

*Armorum felix domui virtute rebelles,
 Premia magnanimo Principe dante tuli.
 Reddidi avis decus antiquum, gens alta nepotum
 Sceptrigerum per me nomina tanta gerit.
 His cresce auspiciis sanguis meus; addite fati
 Fata meis; etenim vos meliora manent.*

These two, it seems, were the largest Sharers in the Favours and Rewards of this King: But he was bountiful to all, especially to those, or the Children of those that had suffer'd under the late Usurpation. He did not think, that naked Loyalty would ever be proof against Temptations; or, that upon the ungrateful Supposition, that Friends would still be so, 'twas Politick to neglect them, in order to win over Enemies. On the contrary, he very well understood, that Rebels are to be born down, till they come to learn, that 'tis their Interest to be Loyal; and that Loyalists must be encouraged, not so much that they may persevere in the Will (for that Men of solid Principles will ever do) as that they may have Power to guard the Person, and support the Government of their Sovereign. He therefore, upon the Entrance of his Reign, conven'd an Assembly of the Nobles and Clergy at *Forfar*; and the very first thing he did, was to gratify those that had been instrumental towards his Restoration, and to dedomage such, as *Macbeth* had, upon his own, or his Father's Account; injur'd. To these, or the Offspring of these brave Men, he either restor'd or gave ('tis hard to tell which) Tenements and Baronies of Land; from the Names of which, many ancient Families, yet extant, have their Surnames. *Boethius* mentions these following; the *Gordons*, *Setons*, *Leslies*, *Lockbarts*, *Abercrombies*, *Meinziefes*, *Learmonts*, *Lauders*, *Meldrums*, *Calders*, *Shaws*, *Strachans*, *Rattrays*, *Dundaffes*, *Cockburns*, *Mars*, *Myrtouns*, &c. Nor were his Rewards confin'd to the Loyalists of his own Kingdom, He heap'd Benefits upon those of *England*; whence 'twas, that such Multitudes left their native Soil, and so obstinately adher'd to their legal Prince, *Edgar Etheling*: Those the Conqueror was, by the Treaty of Peace, oblig'd to restore to their Estates: But a great many of them chose rather to breath a free Air, under a bountiful Patron, than to enjoy the most plentiful Fortunes, under the Arbitrary Sway of one they consider'd as an Usurper. From these are descended the *Maxwels*, *Lindsays*, *Ramsays*, *Prestons*, *Sandilandses*, *Bissats*, and a great many more Families, still extant and flourishing; as are also the *Mauls*, *Fotheringhams*, *Borthwicks*, &c. whose Ancestors are said to have come from *Hungary*, and belong'd to the Retinue of *Agatha*, the Wife of *Edward*, the Outlaw of *England*; and of *Margaret*, the Queen of the *Scots*.

These illustrious Foreigners, especially the *English*, were acceptable to King *Malcolm*; because they were, as his own Wife, for their Loyalty, banish'd from *England*. But because he himself had

Surnames
 first intro-
 duc'd into
 Scotland.

got *English* Education: And as Education of Youth very much influences the Opinions, Manners, Maximes and Actions of Manhood, and old Age; so he prefer'd the *English* Language, their Dress and Customs, to those of his native Country. The *Scots* were, in his Opinion, too coarse in their Apparel, too savage in their Way of Living, too Fierce and Resenting, and consequently Unquiet, Mutinous, and apt to commit those Barbarities, that had been fatal to so many of the best of his Ancestors. He had a Mind to polish and civilize the Nation: The Design was reasonable, but the Means he employ'd were altogether improper: For the then *English* had Vices, by far more dangerous to the State, than those he labour'd to correct in the *Scots*. These last were, if compar'd with politer Nations, Barbarous and Wild; but then they were Hardy, Robust, Sober, contented with Little, patient of Hardships, Lovers of their Country, unanimous in the Defence of it, and every way fitted for the most daring Atchievements. These Qualifications had enabl'd them to resist those Swarms of Barbarians that conquer'd all other Nations, their Neighbours: Whereas, the *English*, whose Manners they were now unhappily invited to imitate, had added the Gluttony and Drunkenness of the *Danes*, to that Effeminacy so natural to all those that live in rich and plentiful Countries. (a). Piety, and all good Literature were become unfashionable, even among the Clergy: The Monks were cloathed in fine Stuffs, and observ'd not the Rules of their Orders: The Nobles were given up to Idling, and a dissolute Life, neglected the Service of the Church, made a Prey of the common People, debauch'd their Daughters, and then turn'd them to the Stews; while the meaner Sort spent Night and Day, and their whole Substance in Rioting and Feasting, and practis'd all those Enormities, which effeminate both the Body and Mind: In sum, the Generality of the *English* Nation (for all were not alike) ripen'd for Servitude, were so foolishly vain, that they laded their Arms with golden Bracelets, and mark'd their Skins with diverse Images: And at the same time were so shamelessly indulging to their inordinate Appetites, that they would eat till they surfeited, and drink till they vomited. These last Vices they communicated to the *Normans*, their Conquerors, who, in Exchange taught them those Arts, and introduc'd those Customs among them, which (by their own Industry, and the continual Concourse of other Foreigners, they are still so wise as to welcome and encourage) have made their naturally fertile Country, one of the Richest, and, in every Respect, most Flourishing in the World. So that, as I have elsewhere observ'd from *English* Authors, *England* was better'd by being undone: And it may be said of that fortunate, tho' then distress'd, People, *Periisset nisi periisset*. Nature has not been by far so bountiful to the Northern, as to the Southern Part of the Island: Yet *Scotland* has those native Advantages from its Situation, its Rivers, its Harbours and golden Seas, (I may say so without Exaggeration)

Manners of the *Scots* and *English*, in the Days of *Malcolm Canmore*, and *William the Conqueror*.

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(a) Richard, Book I, chap. 6, p. 123.

ration) which, if artfully improv'd, might render its frugal, brave, healthy and laborious Inhabitants (for such are still the most Part of *Scotsmen*; whom Faction, Self-interest, mean Pride, and shameless Luxury, have not quite debauch'd) second to none but the *English* in Wealth or Power. This we now hope the *English* will, for their own Sakes, endeavour to Effect: But then they could not, for the Reasons I have express'd. What they could, they did; that is, they taught us their *Saxon* Language, which till softn'd and polish'd, by being allay'd with the *Latine* and *French*, was as harsh and uncouth as our own; which our Ancestors had done better to have transmitted to their Posterity, who no doubt had refin'd it ere now. With their Language, they brought in those Degrees and Titles of Honour, Vanity is still so fond of, tho in reality no better nor less barbarous, than the Designations of *Thane* and *Abthane*, formerly in use. But, which was worse, they introduc'd all these modish Vices, the Nation detested before; such as Vanity of Apparel, Magnificence in Feasting, Voracioufness in Eating, Madnes in Drinking, Softness in Bedding, Riot, Luxury, Effeminacy, Loosness and Excess in all Things, but Acts of Honour and Vertue. Most Part of the Nation, the Nobles especially, devour'd the pleasing Bait, and ran headlong into Debauchery, which they miscall'd by the false Names of Politeness and Gallantry. By good Luck the provident King began very early to take notice of the growing Mischief: He wisely foresaw that such Courses would prove the Ruin, not only of Religion and Piety, but of military Discipline; and by consequence usher in those Means of Subjection and Conquest, by which *England* had been so lately enslav'd. He therefore reform'd his own Court with great Exactness, and afterwards made sumptuary Laws, very severe, and as severely put them in Execution. Other Laws or Customs, tending to Loosness or Sin, he abrogated; particularly that infamous one of *Ewen*, the Heathen, by which the Landlord or Superior, when the Widow, Daughter, or Servant-Maid of the Vassal was married, had a Priviledge to anticipate the Bridegroom in the Enjoyment of his Bride. In lieu of this unexampl'd Priviledge, he substituted a Merk of Silver, payable by the married Couple to the Landlord; and this Payment is to this Day call'd *Marcheta mulierum*. As in *England*, so likewise in *Scotland*, Churchmen had begun to degenerate from the Learning and Piety of their celebrated Predecessors: And whereas *Scotsmen* had formerly been the Apostles of Heathenish, and Masters of Christian Nations, (for to these they had by their Lectures and Pens restor'd the liberal Sciences; and those, by their persuasive Sermons, and yet more eloquent Lives, converted to Christianity) they now wanted those Treasures of Knowledge and Vertue, they had so liberally bestow'd upon others. Of the four *Scots* Bishopricks, only two, that of *St. Andrew's*, and that of *Murthlaek*, preserv'd the Spirit of Religion, and Vigour of Discipline. Those of *Glasgow* and *Whirborn*, had retain'd nothing of their eminent Founders, *Kentigern* and *Ninian*,

Malcolm endeavours the Reformation of Manners.

nian, but a Veneration for their Names. These last, the King took Care to reform, by appointing Learn'd and Exemplary Men to govern them: And, to these four Sees I have mention'd, he added two more, that of *Murray* and that of *Caithness*; both which he fill'd with able and good Prelates.

These were Actions becoming a Magnificent and Christian King; but they were such, as Usurpers and Tyrants have perform'd as well as he; or, out of Policy, to delude the People, and oblige the Clergy; or, from an erroneous Opinion, that by these petty Compliments put upon the Deity, that stood in no need of them, their crying Iniquities, Slaughter, Rebellion, Perjury, &c. might be obliterated; so that (notwithstanding King *Malcolm's* solicitous Care towards the Reformation of his Subjects) he had done nothing in my Opinion commendable, had he not begun by reforming himself. He did both: And, next to the prevailing Grace of God, he ow'd all the most shining Performances of his Life and Reign, to the prudent and eminently pious Endeavours of his incomparable Consort, Queen *Margaret*. The most copious Languages want Words, and Oratory, Figures, fit to express the exalted Merits of this *virtuous Woman*, the wisest of Men could not find out. *Turgot*, her own Confessor, an *Englishman* of undoubted Veracity and good Learning, wrote her Life, and that of her Husband. Others have copied after him; and if from these I should but collect, and set down these Things they have recorded, I should be thought to write Fables; at least, to exchange the Character of an Historian or Biographer, for that of a Panegyrist. She (a) was no sooner seated upon the Throne, but she banish'd from about it all the Disorders and Impieties that wait upon Great Ones: Lewdness, Intrigue, Slander, Calumny, Envy, had no footing in her Court; Virtue, and nothing but Virtue, was countenanc'd: Charity especially, she recommended to others, and practis'd her self; feeding, with her Royal Hands, about threescore indigent Persons at a time, and every Day washing the Sores, and dressing the Wounds of six of the most abject and miserable. When she went abroad about the Affairs of the Kingdom, or her Devotions, a Troop of Widows and Orphans would circle her on all Sides as their Mother: She heard their Cryes with Compassion and Patience, and by her Liberality drain'd up the Source of their Tears. Her Prayers were fervent and frequent: And she not only often receiv'd the Sacrament of the Eucharist; but by reviving the Custom of Easter-Communion, then in dis-use, made all those that would not be thought scandalous to do the like. The Abuses crept in about the Observation of Lent, she also took away; and she so far prevail'd upon the good Disposition of the King, that, had his Royal Authority been sufficient to bring about a thorow Reformation in the Church and State, the National Sins, I mean Quarrels, Fewds, Murders, Rapines, had been quite eradicated, and no Access had been given to the Foreign ones, I mention'd: But the Dis-

Vertues of
St. Margaret.

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ease

(a) Dr. Mackenzie, in the Life of St. Alfred.

easē was Epidemick and fierce, and the Remedies employ'd, did indeed palliate and allay the more frightening Symptoms, but were not able (as generous as they were) to effect a Cure.

King *Malcolm* was thus busily employ'd in reforming and settling his Kingdom of *Scotland*, when *William* the Conqueror, King of *England*, died. He was succeeded by his second Son, *William Rufus*; or, because he would shew the World, that he could dispose of *England*, his own Conquest, as he pleas'd; or, out of Resentment against *Robert*, the Duke of *Normandy* his Eldest Son, who had formerly taken Arms against him; or, by Reason that he thought the haughty, daring, and cruel Temper of *William*, were Qualities, more proper for one, who was to govern a Nation, but lately subdu'd, and naturally stubborn, than the mild and easy Disposition of *Robert*. This last however could not well brook the Affront put upon him: He quarrell'd with his Brother, but was soon foil'd, and brought to Terms of Peace; one of the Effects of which, was this. King *William*, jealous of *Edgar Etheling*, who, by his Reconciliation with the Conqueror, was possess'd of a great Estate in *Normandy*, caus'd Duke *Robert* (a) deprive him of his Lands, and banish him out of the Country. The injur'd Prince had Recourse to his usual Sanctuary, the Court of his Brother-in-Law, King *Malcolm*; and so came into *Scotland* as before. The King of *Scots*, no doubt, resent'd his Quarrel: And he could do no less, in Favour of so near a Relation, for whom he had done so much before; and the rather because he himself had obtain'd from the Father, those Possessions the Children had unjustly resum'd. This, I take it, was the Occasion of the Breach that ensu'd betwixt him and King *William*: For, if we may believe the *English*, (b) *Malcolm* was the first Aggressor, and say they, took Advantage of their King's Absence, and invaded *Northumberland*; which, to be sure, a Prince so religiously scrupulous as he was become, and now so old, had never done, unless provok'd by some notable Injury. *Scots* Authors (c) seem to deny the Matter of Fact, and ascribe the War to nothing else, but the irreligious and incroaching Humour of *William*, who, they say, pick'd a Quarrel, and surpriz'd the Castle of *Alnwick*, at that time possess'd by the *Scots*. This is the more likely, because 'tis own'd, that when a Treaty of Peace was afterwards set on foot, the King of *England* did oblige himself to restore to *Malcolm* (d) twelve Mannors, which he had formerly held of his Father; a Proof that he had previously seiz'd them. However, 'tis certain, that in 1091, King *Malcolm* did invade *Northumberland*, where he was like to have made a considerable Progress; had he not been hindred by, I know not what Accident, History does not relate. He retreated suddenly and unexpectedly, for *God would have it so*, say the Monastick Historians of *England*; but his Army carried away great Store of Booty along with them.

In *August* following, King *William*, and his Brother, Duke *Robert*, march'd upon the head of a numerous Army to *Scotland*, whither they

War breaks
out between
Malcolm Canmore
and
William Rufus
K. of
England.

(a) Echard ad Ann. 1091. (b) Echard, Tyrrel, &c. ibid. (c) Boeth. Buthan, &c. in vit. Reg. (d) Echard, Tyrrel libid.

they had sent a great Fleet before, to annoy the Coast : But this Fleet was much shatter'd by Tempests, and most of the Ships lost or dispers'd ; so that King *William* must wholly rely on the Numbers and Courage of his Land Army, and of that too he had lost a great many, by Hunger and long Marches. These Disasters (whoever invades the Mountainous Parts of *Scotland*, must expect to meet with) made *William* to know, that, as the King of *Scots* would not be bully'd, so he was not easily to be beaten out of his Rights. This Truth he was yet more convinc'd of, when, as some write, *Robert de Moubray*, Earl of *Northumberland*, or, as others, Duke *Robert*, his Brother, had view'd the *Scots* Army, and inform'd him of their Numbers, and Resolution to fight : He then found, that he had advanc'd too far, and endeavour'd to find out the means of retreating with Honour. His Brother did him the friendly Office : He understood that *Edgar Etheling* was in the *Scots* Army ; he apply'd to him, others say, (a) to King *Malcolm* himself, who entertain'd him kindly for the Space of three Days in his Camp, and propos'd Terms of Accommodation. They were such as *Malcolm* accepted of, nor could he in Reason decline them : For his Brother-in-Law, *Edgar Etheling* was again restor'd to his Estate ; and the King of *England*, not only gave up the twelve Towns or Mannors, in Dispute, but also oblig'd himself to pay every Year twelve Merks of Gold to the *Scottish* King, with this Proviso, That *Malcolm* should yield the same Obedience to King *William*, which, by the last Treaty, he had yielded to his Father, that is, that the King of *Scotland* should do Homage to the King of *England*, for the Lands he possess'd in that Kingdom, as the Kings of *England* ever did to those of *France*, while they were in Possession of *French* Territories.

Makes
Peace.

'Tis probable, that this Treaty was concluded, not in *Lothian*, as some would have it, (b) but in *York-Shire*, at a Place then call'd *Loyden*, now *Leeds*, to which King *William*, had found himself, by Reason of his great Losses, oblig'd to retreat, and where he met with King *Malcolm*, who a little before, is said, by *English* Historians, (c) to have march'd with his Army from *Scotland* into *Lothene* in *England*. The Sound and Resemblance of these Words, *Loyden* and *Lothian* (which Authors have converted into *Latin* as they thought fit) have occasion'd the *Scots* Country *Lothian*, and the *English* *Loyden*, to be frequently mistaken for one another : And this Mistake has furnish'd Mr. *Atwood* and others, with a groundless Argument, whereby they pretend to prove, that *Lothian* was of old a Part of *Northumberland*, or *England*, and that this King *Malcolm* did Homage for it to King *William*. But 'tis acknowledged by *Ordericus Vitalis*, that, at that Time *Lothian* was a Part of *Scotland* : And Sir *James Dalrymple* (d) has from a great many *English* Writers, Ancient and Modern, such as *Florence*, *Simeon*, *Brompton*, *Camden*, *Tyrrel*, &c. evinc'd, that by these Words (Ancient Authors make Use of) *Lothene* in *Anglia*, *Loidis*, *Provincia Loudicensis*, and the like ; *Leeds* in *York-Shire* is to be understood :

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For

(a) *Orderic. Vitalis*. ip. 703. (b) *Tyrrel*, lib. 4. p. 185. (c) *Chron. Sax. ad Ann. 1093.* (d) p. 193.

For which whether King *Malcolm*, or any other *Scots* King did Homage to the Kings of *England*, no *Scotsman* is concern'd to inquire. Be it as it will, the Peace lasted not long. King *Malcolm* had too much Honour and Advantage by it; at least King *William* thought so: He scorn'd perhaps to become in some Measure Tributary, tho' for a small Sum, to one unequal to himself in Power, and in one Respect his Vassal. Perhaps he lik'd not to have a Vassal, that both could and would, when Occasions were offer'd, controul his Despotick Commands. For these or the like Reasons, he fail'd in Performance of some Things agreed to. *Malcolm* complain'd of this Breach of Faith by his Ambassadors; (a) and the *English* Nobility, solicitous to perpetuate the Peace, (b) propos'd an Interview of the two Kings which accordingly was consented to, and *Malcolm* was conducted with great Honour to *Glocester*, the Place appointed for their Meeting. But the haughty *William* us'd him uncivilly, and, say the *English*, refus'd to admit him into his Presence, unless he would do Homage to him in his own Court. Had he only desir'd, or not pretended to exact or force this Piece of Complaisance, I see no great Reason, why *Malcolm* shou'd not have humour'd him so far; but he was not to be Hector'd into any thing unusual: For himself and his Predecessors had wont to make their Acknowledgement to the Kings of *England*, no where but in the Confines of both Kingdoms; that is, where the Beneficiary Lands (for which the Acknowledgement was made) did ly. He therefore left *Glocester* in a great Discontent, and resolv'd to do himself that Right King *William* had deny'd. With this View, he rais'd a great Army, invaded *England*, and made great Devastations as far as *Alnwick*. He sat down before that Place (c) and reduc'd it to that Extremity, that those within were forc'd to treat of a Surrender. Accordingly, *Robert Moubray*, the Governor, or, as others write, *Moreal* of *Bebanburgh* his Steward, came out on Horse-back, with the Keys of the Castle on the Point of his Spear, and presented them to the King, as if he design'd to surrender. The King, and indeed every Body else, believ'd him sincere: But in stead of doing what he pretended, he treacherously run his Spear into the King's Eye, and leaving him half dead, was carried off by the Swiftness of his Horse; on the Confidence of whose Heels, he undertook the memorable Enterprize. Prince *Edward* his Eldest Son pursu'd the Villain, with great Haste and no Precaution, and thereby fell into an Ambush, laid on Purpose to favour *Moubray's* Escape, and was also slain. So say all the *Scots* Historians: And some of them add, That from this inglorious Action of *Robert Moubray*, the *Piercies*, his Off-spring did derive their Name and Origine.

A. D. 1093. The *English* (d) deny the Matter of Fact; and on the contrary assert, that both King *Malcolm* and Prince *Edward* were kill'd in Battle; that the *Scots* Army were routed, and that most of it, either fell by the Sword, or perished in the Rivers, then much swell'd by the Winter

And quarrel again.

Malcolm Canmore kill'd.

A. D. 1093.

(a) Chron. Sax. ad Ann. 1093. Dalrymple Chap. 8. (b) Florent. Simeon. and Hoveden cited by Dalrymple. (c) Boet. Duchan. &c. in vitæ Reg. (d) Echard, Tyrrel, &c. ad Ann. 1093.

ter Rains, as they were retreating to *Scotland*. This is the more probable, says Mr. *Tyrrel*, because the King's Corps remain'd in the Power of the *English*, and, being found among the *Skain*, was by two Country Fellows put in a Cart, and buried in the Monastery of *Tinmouth*.

'Tis true, that he was first buried in that Monastery, which was at no great Distance, and might have belong'd to the *Scots* in those Days: Nor is it Matter of Wonder, that the Army, being discourag'd, by the double Loss of a King, and a King's eldest Son and Heir, should have interr'd them both, where Conveniency allow'd, and Decency did not hinder: But that two Country Fellows should have perform'd that Office to the Corps of a King, is highly improbable: The *English* Nation was ever Generous: Had they gain'd a Victory, and kill'd the *Scots* King in Battle, to be sure, the General had taken care of his Corps, and either convoy'd it to *Scotland*, or at least buried it with Honour and Respect. But 'tis a Mistake that a Victory was obtain'd, or that a Battle was fought, or, if any such thing happen'd, it may not be impertinent to ask, Who were kill'd on either side, besides the two Princes? How many Colours, what Prisoners were taken? In fine, Why did not the Victors pursue their Advantage? They had never a fairer Opportunity: For all turn'd to Confusion in *Scotland*, in a very short time; and the Usurper *Donald Bane* had never been able to have expell'd, as he did, those *English*, his Brother King *Malcolm* had settled in *Scotland*; and at the same time to have repuls'd an *English* Army, flush'd with recent Victory, and animated with almost infallible Hopes of an easy Conquest.

Queen *Margaret*, (a) worn out by her constant Watching, frequent Fasting, and the other Austerities of her inimitable Life, lay Sick in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, whilst her Husband was carrying on the Siege of *Alnwick*. Four Days before her Death, she was more than usually sad, and, expressing a very deep Concern to those about her, she told them, That a great Misfortune had happen'd to the Kingdom. They took this for an effect of her Malady, and thought that she was raving; but they were soon undeceiv'd: For within two Days, her Son Prince *Edgar* arriv'd from the Camp, and, at her earnest Intreaty, acquainted her with the dismal News. She was not at all dismay'd, but thank'd God, that had thought her worthy to undergo those Tryals she hop'd would refine her Soul, and consume the Dross of her Sins: Then she let a few Tears drop from her melting Eyes, and emitted many pious Ejaculations to Heaven, whither her happy Soul, now disengag'd from all Attachments on Earth, in a few Minutes follow'd. 'Twere rash, if not Criminal, to think otherwise of a Princess, endow'd with all those Vertues which make the Saints. The Church of *Rome* honours her with the Title, places her as such in their Kalendar, and celebrates her Feast on the 10th of *June*, the Day on which

St. Margare
ret Dies.

(a) Dr. Mackenzie in the Life of St. Ælred.

she expir'd. Her Body was carried with Royal Pomp to the Monastery of *Dumfermling*, and interr'd in the Church of the most Holy Trinity, she her self had built: Thither also was that of her Husband afterwards translated.

Character
of Malcolm
Canmore.

He had Reing'd 33 Years, when he died, fighting for Honour and Justice: These had been his favourite Vertues, during the whole Course of his Life. He had so much of the first, that he could not sit down with the least Affront offer'd to his Royal Person or Dignity, no not when a very old Man; and which is more, a most Religious Christian: But he knew that the Character of a Christian, is not incompatible with that of a King, and that Kings may, and ought when in their Power; not only to seek (for that's allow'd to every Body) but to take Reparation for Wrongs. King *Malcolm* did it on all Occasions; but he did it openly and honourably, indeed too much so sometimes: Witness the single Combat he fairly offer'd to a private Man his own Subject, nay, a Traitor he could have Sentenc'd to die, yet nobly pardon'd. A proof that he was not, as Mr. *Tyrrel* writes of him, *Too apt to revenge the least Injuries*. Revenge is a mean and abject Passion; and 'twas beneath him to seek it: But he stood upon his Honour, and would suffer nothing derogatory to the Crown he wore. He had many Wars, but never an unjust one. The first he manag'd in Person, was against the Tyrant *Macbeth*; and whether he express'd more Prudence, before he undertook it by the Sollicitations of *Macduff*, or Courage in prosecuting it, notwithstanding Earl *Sward* with his *English* Auxiliaries had been recall'd, is not easy to determine. The Civil Wars, he was afterwards forc'd upon by the riotous Disposition of the *Higlanders*, I suppose no Body will arraign. But *Sir James Dalrymple* seems to discommend his tenacious Attachment to the Interest of his Brother-in-Law, *Edgar Etheling*, and is of Opinion, that he thereby, rather diminish'd than increas'd the Dominions left him by his Predecessors, and that he was overmatch'd by his Cotemporary King *William the Conqueror*. If he lost Part of his Dominions and was overmatch'd notwithstanding he had the whole *English* Nobility, on his Side, he had been much more so, had he made no Party in *England* at all. Had he sitten still, and suffer'd the Torrent to run on, he himself had probably been swallow'd up at last: And all the Reward the *Scots Ulysses* could have expected from the *Norman* Giant, was, what *Poliphemus* promis'd to the *Græcian* Heroe, that he would devour his Friends one after another, and reserve him for the last Morsel. If then King *Malcolm* fail'd in his Politicks with reference to his Wars with *William the Conqueror*, 'twas only in this that he fail'd: He should have oppos'd him upon his very first Entrance into *England*, crush'd his budding Grandeur, and join'd with King *Harald*, or any Body, rather than to have permitted a Prince of his Power and Character, to conquer a neighbouring Kingdom. He knew not, it seems, how far Statesmen and Divines have thought it lawful to make War, for no other Cause or Reason,

Reason, but meerly to keep Danger afar off, and Neighbours within Bounds: *Principis obsta.* The Ballance of Power in this Island (his greatest, if not only Concern) was, by his Remifness, fix'd on the Conqueror's Side, before he was aware of the Danger that threaten'd his own Dominions. Perhaps he thought that the *English*, so naturally Brave, would have been also so Wise, as to re-unite their whole Forces, and by their own native Strength retrieve the lost Battle of *Hastings*. Perhaps, like some of his Posterity, he had not Freedom of Conscience to quarrel with a Sovereign, who 'as yet had never injur'd him, nor to be over forward in meddling with the Concerns of a People not his own. But how soon he was invited to the Support of Equity; I mean, how soon the Exil'd Royal Family of *England* sought Protection from him, he afforded it generously; and tho he met not with the Encouragements, he had reason to look for, yet he kept his royal Word, ventur'd his Life, and, which was more, his Crown; and never put up his Sword, till he had obtain'd such Conditions for the rightful Heir, as this last was content to accept of. If he restor'd him not to the Throne of his Ancestors, being (by the Iniquity of the Times, and the Fortune of a prevailing Invader) *over-match'd*, he could not help it: Providence had its own unsearchable Ends: And 'twas not the first time, that,

Victrix causa Diis placuit, sed victa Catoni.

As *Cato*, invincibly stiff, he adher'd, to the last, to that Cause, he and all good Men thought the Justest. He made nothing by it for himself, but rather *diminish'd than increas'd* the Dominions left him by his Predecessors: But Vertue never fails of being rewarded sooner or latter: And his Offspring have found it; nay, *England*, to this Day must needs acknowledge, that, to his Obstinacy in the Prosecution of those Wars, he undertook in behalf of the *Saxon* Race of their Kings, the popular Laws, Rights and Priviledges they still enjoy and boast of, are in a great Measure owing. This may seem a Paradox at first view; but 'tis a Truth: For 'tis plain, from the whole Conduct of King *William I.* and particularly from the manifest Violation of the Oaths he took to govern by their ancient Laws, that he had never taken, much less kept them, but for the continual Dread of Invasions from abroad, and Insurrections at home. Most part of those were made, and all these encourag'd by the King of *Scots*, and the *English* Nobility he entertain'd in *Scotland*; insomuch that he has the Honour of both. But King *William* violated his Oaths and Laws. 'Tis true, but still he was a leading Example to the Kings, his Successors, and After-Generations were thereby taught to ask and force from them, those Grants, they nor he durst scarcely refuse. This I take notice of the rather, because some *English* (notwithstanding the whole Nation did then, and have since reap'd such valuable Benefits from this King's gene-

rous Endeavours to retrieve their lost Liberties) do nevertheless tax him with Cruelty in his way of making War, and (a) misconstrue his last Disaster, as *A Punishment for the five Devastations he made in England*. God Almighty best knows, for what Reasons and Ends he sometimes permits the best of Endeavours to be frustrated, the best of Causes to be worsted, and the best of Men to meet with that Fate, we think, should attend but the worst. King *Malcolm* and his whole Family often struggl'd with, and were sometimes over-power'd by, Adversity, the certain Adversary of Justice and just Men: But upon the Main, Heaven was propitious to him; and he was visibly bless'd, during his Life, with a happy Restoration, a glorious Reign, and an incomparable Wife; and after his Death, with a second Restoration of his Children, and with Children as happy as Diadems could make them, and as good as Nature could frame, and Vertue accomplish.

Of the six Sons, (b) he had by Queen *Margaret*, the eldest was *Edward*: He died Nobly in Pursuit of the Coward that murder'd his Father. The second, call'd *Ethelred*, was cut off by Sickness in his Youth. The third call'd *Edmund*, in Imitation of his Grandmother *Agatha*, and Aunt *Christina*, forsook the World and its Vanities, and dedicated himself to the Service of God in a Cloyster. The other three, *Edgar*, *Alexander* and *David*, reign'd successively: The last was, as his Father, a Heroe and as his Mother a Saint; an Assertion more true than credible, as I shall evince in his Life. As for *Edgar* and *Alexander*, the one was justly firnam'd *Probus*, and the other *Acer*; and we have these Characters of them from St. *Ælred* Abbot of *Riedwall*; “ *Edgar*, says he, was of a mild and amiable Temper, and, in every thing, like to his Grand-Uncle, King *Edward the Confessor*: He had nothing in his Nature that was interested, harsh or Tyrannical, and he govern'd his Subjects, as a Father, with Affection and Kindness. *Alexander* again was, as his Brother, to Churchmen and Monks amiable and humble, but to the rest of his Subjects, beyond Expression, terrible: He was a Prince of a great Spirit, and of an uncommon Reach, extending his Thoughts and Cares to every thing. The Courage of his Heart, was greater than the Strength of his Body: He was Learnd, &c.

Besides his Male Issue, King *Malcolm* had two Daughters, by the same Queen *Margaret*, *Matilda* and *Mary*. *Matilda* was brought up in a Monastery with her Grandmother and Aunt; from whence she was not easily drawn, tho' to be the Wife of King *Henry*, the best and greatest of the three Sons of *William the Conqueror*. In her Person, the old *English* Race was replac'd on the Throne of *England*; and from her are descended all the Emperors, Kings and Princes, who Glory to have drawn their Grandeur from the illustrious Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*. She was, for her many Vertues and eminent Bounty, firnam'd the *Good*: And of her it was said:

Prosper

(a) Dalrymple, chap. 8. (b) Boeth. Buchan. in vit. Malcolm. Dr. Mackenzie in the Life of St. Ælred.

Prospera non letam fecere, non aspera tristem:

Aspera visus ei, prospera terror erant.

Non decor effecit fragilem, non sceptrum superbam,

Sola potens humilis, sola pudica decens.

Mary was married to *Eustace*, Count of *Bulloign*, Brother to the Immortal *Godfrey* King of *Jerusalem*: From her are also descended a Glorious and long lasting Race of Heroes and Sovereigns; amongst the rest, the Dukes of *Bulloign* and *Auvergn*; whence the late so much celebrated *Turrene*, to whose Valour, and more than *Cæsarean* Conduct, *Lewis XIV.* of *France* is indebted for all these admir'd Actions, which begot him the Surname of *Great*, and laid the Foundation of that so much dreaded Grandeur and Power, the united Politicks, Forces and Treasures of *Europe* have had so much ado to reduce.

King *Malcolm* had another Son, call'd *Duncan*; but he was a Bastard, and tho very brave, yet in every other Sense unlike to the lawful Issue of his Father. (a) He usurp'd the Crown of *Scotland*, by the Help of the *Normans* and *English*; and say the *English*, held it of the King of *England*: Which, whether true or no, is no Matter of Moment: He was a Bastard and an Usurper; and, tho a lawful King, could as little alienate the Sovereignty of *Scotland* to the *English*, as his Competitor *Donald Bane*, an Usurper likewise, could dismember it, by giving away the Western Islands and *Orkney* to the *Norwegians*. But as both ascended the Throne with a just Title, so they were in a short Time most justly pull'd down from it; *Donald*, by *Duncan*, and *Duncan* again by *Donald*; and this last, the last of Domestick Usurpers, (for I can allow neither the *Bruce* nor *Baliol* to have been of the Number) by the righteous Heir, King *Edgar*. I know that some (b) have endeavour'd to justify the Title of *Duncan*, by making him the legitimate Son of King *Malcolm*, by his first Wife, *Ingibierge*, the Widow of *Torfinn*, Earl of *Orkney*, and Mother by her first Marriage, of the Earls *Paulus* and *Erlendus*. But this Account given of him by *Torfaus* is Unchronological, and contrary to the more unquestionable and joint Authorities of all other Authors, both *Scots* and *English*. I also know, (c) that in a Charter, granted by him to *St. Cuthbert* of *Durham*, he designs himself, *Duncanus, filius Regis Malcolm-bi, constans hereditarie Rex Scotiæ*: But his own Assertion can neither legitimate his spurious Birth, nor his unjustifiable Usurpation. He had a mind to entail the Crown upon his Posterity, by an hereditary Right: Who doubts it, and who is the Usurper that has not the same Design? But God Almighty disappointed him; and he fell a Sacrifice to a Man as wicked, and, not long after, as unfortunate as himself. This shews that the best of Men may beget the worst of Children, and that Vertue is not always hereditary; tho for the most part it is so, when eminent: Witness all the legitimate Issue of the same King *Malcolm*, whose Life (tho much more might be ad-

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ded,

(a) Dalrymple Chap. 8. (b) Torfaus Chap. 16. vid. Dalrymple ibid. (c) Dalrymple ibid.

ded, even from foreign Vouchers, as *Eadmerus*, and others (who stile him, *Milcolumbus nobilissimus Rex Scotiae*) I shall end with the following Distichs of Mr. *John Johnston*; tho, to say the Truth, they come far short of the Merits of so prudent, generous, warlike, just, and religious a Monarch, as his Actions proclaim him.

*Virtute illustrat titulos, titulisque decoris
 Facta ducum, & meritas signat honore comas.
 Hoste quater fuso, spoliis decoratus opimis,
 Lata coronatis signa revexit equis.
 Armaque nata domi toties compescuit, armis
 Jam positis, populo scribere jura libet.
 Immanem luxum, exemploque ac lege coercet,
 Pronus, & effuso sacra favore juvat.
 Stat decus eternum meritis; stat fama laborum,
 Et pretium virtus testis & ipsa sui est.*

He adds, with more Energy and Grandeur of Stile and Thought;

*Tu patrie certas, patriæ & pietatis amore,
 Nec patria aut pietas cedit amore tibi.
 O multum felix rerum discordia! Magne
 Marspiter in Reges talia bella sere.*

The LIFE of
 David, Sirnam'd the
 S A I N T.
 The Ninty first King of Scotland.

TIS so difficult and so rare, to be Great and Holy at the same Time, that the Scripture mentions it as a Wonder; but for one and the same Person, to be not only holy and great, but also warlike, is next to impossible. Indeed 'tis observable, that most Princes that are thought to have merited a Place in the Kalendar of Saints, have been scord out of the List of Heroes; the essential Qualifications

lifications of great Chistains, seem incompatible with those Vertues
 Christianity has recommended. Resignation of one's own Will to that
 of others, Meekness of Spirit, Lowliness of Mind, Patience to suf-
 fer the greatest of Afflictions, and most signal Affronts, Mercy to
 forgive the most notable Injuries, Disinterestedness, to part with the
 Goods of Fortune; nay, and the Priviledges of Birth; Simplicity,
 to act without Fraud or Dissimulation, Humility, to think bet-
 ter of others than of our selves, and Submission, to be dependent on the
 very Caprice of Superiors. These, and such Ingredients as these,
 make up the Composure of a good Man in the Sense of the Gospel;
 and whoever is such, despises Glory, and therefore is deaf to the
 Applauses of Victory; avoids War, because a Lover of Peace; if
 necessitated to take Arms, does it but slowly, and so loses the Oppor-
 tunities of doing it to Purpose; Fights with Mercy, and thereby
 loses the Benefit of Rapine and of Slaughter: Is ever willing to
 take up with reasonable Terms, and by Consequence, can never
 extend his Conquests. Besides, he is Bountiful; too much so, for
 the most Part, to the Souldiery, tho' mutinous; to the Officers, tho'
 Covetous; to the People, tho' Seditious; to Great ones, tho' Factionous;
 to Counsellors, tho' Treacherous; and to Traitors, tho' try'd and
 convict. Hence 'tis, that good Princes are generally thought weak,
 their Lenity is miscall'd Timidity; their Piety, Bigotry; and their
 Bounty Simplicity: Hence Plots and Conspiracies arise at Home,
 and from Abroad come Inroachments and Invasions. To be a great
 Prince, 'tis, for the most part, necessary to be Martial and Daring:
 And to be successfully so, 'tis not always enough to have a good
 Cause, and a numerous well paid Army, to have Skilful Officers and
 Hardy Souldiers, a consummated Knowledge of the Art of War, nor
 to have manag'd it, whether by Sea or Land with Reputation; to
 command an exact Discipline, to prefer Valour, to discourage Ti-
 midity, to be forward to attack, and slow to retreat; to know when
 to march, and how to encamp; to conceal ones own Design, and
 spy out those of the Enemy; to be wary in Deliberation, and
 brave in Action: In a Word, to be successfully Martial, 'tis not al-
 ways enough to be at once, a Sovereign, a General, and a Souldier: There
 are concomitant Qualifications besides, oftentimes as necessary. To in-
 stance in some, 'tis necessary to make War; but 'tis no Matter, whether
 the Cause be just or not, provided the People are pre-dispos'd to engage
 in, & contribute to it: Then it must be commenc'd at a fit Time, when
 the Enemy is unprepar'd, and trick'd into Hopes of Accomodation.
 The Sovereign that undertakes, or his Council that advise it, must
 lay aside Humanity and Justice, find out colourable Pretences, spread
 abroad irritating Calumnies, affront Honour, defy Honesty, palli-
 ate Usurpation, foment Rebellion, contemn Right, support Wrong,
 combine with Knaves, disperse Libels, sow Jealousies, scatter Dis-
 cord, bribe Foes, cheat Friends, perpetuate Taxes, promise Won-
 ders, say and gain-say, swear and perjure, pretend Law, preach up
 Religion, and trample upon both. By these and the like Means,

Wars may be, and often are commenc'd with Zeal, carried on with Success, ended with Triumphs. But these are Means, Christians, if truly such, do detest; and therefore I say 'tis hard, 'tis next to impossible, for a Prince to be at once a good Christian, and a great Warriour. *Julian* the Apostate was so much convinc'd of this, that he would not suffer a known Christian to carry Arms under him. He thought that the Evangelical Vertues debas'd Courage, and enervated Vigour: But he was mistaken, sincere Vertue is ever bold; a good Conscience fears no Death, and Christians dare venture upon any Thing but Sin. So that if so very few Princes are found equally conspicuous in Story, for their Military Atchievements and Actions of Piety, this is not at all to be ascrib'd to the want of Courage to make War, but to their laudable Inclination to cultivate Peace. And if such of them as Necessity has compell'd to unsheath their Swords, have been either foil'd, or not so universally Successful, this again is by no Means to be attributed to any Deficiency in their Courage or Conduct: They knew the Means of Success, but would not use them, and they scorn'd to Triumph, as most Conquerors do, in Rebellion, Usurpation and Violence.

Nevertheless, there are those, who have reconcil'd the Sword and the Cross; Courage in War, and Moderation in Peace; Justice and Force; the Heroe the King, and the Saint. *David I.* of *Scotland* did it: He was the Sixth Son of the great King *Malcolm* and the blessed Queen *Margaret*. Upon their Death, and the ensuing Troubles, he was, together with his Brothers and Sisters, convoy'd by the affectionate Care of his Uncle *Edgar Etheling* into *England*. They were all equally brought up under the Tuition of this faithful Guardian, who gratefully repay'd to them all those Offices of Generosity, Naturality and Charity, he had receiv'd from their Father. Nay, he did something more in their behalf, than King *Malcolm* had been able to do for him; for he was a principal Agent and Instrument, towards their Restoration to their Country and Dignities. By his Means, and the concurring Loyalty of his own Subjects, *Edgar*, King of *Scotland*, had been plac'd upon the Throne of his Father. To him succeeded his Brother *Alexander*; and all, or most Part, of this Time, *David* continu'd to reside in *England*, where he liv'd in great Plenty and Honour: For (besides the Principality of *Cumberland*, which, it seems, (a) he possess'd, during the Reign, at least of his Brother *Alexander*) he was also Earl of *Northumberland*, *Huntington* and *Northampton*, (b) in Right of his Wife *Matilda*, the Daughter of *Walsheof*, who was the Son of *Seward*, Earl of *Northumberland*, and of *Judith* Countess of *Huntington* and *Northampton*, a Niece of *William the Conqueror*, from whom she had the Earldoms I've mention'd. Nor were these the only Endearments that detain'd Earl *David* in *England*: His Sister *Matilda* was married with King *Henry I.* and that Illustrious Monarch, charm'd by the Beauty and Goodness of his Royal Consort, and secur'd on the Throne by her Interest and

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(a) Vid. Dalrymple, p. 168, (b) Dalrymple, ibid. & p. 176.

immediate Descent from the *Saxon Kings*, her Ancestors and his Predecessors, kept a most friendly Correspondence, and an unviolated Peace, with her Brothers, the Kings of *Scotland*; and no doubt, had a peculiar Regard for the youngest, *Earl David*, who, 'tis probable, was often at his Court; and, as his Brother *Alexander*, even when King of *Scotland*, assisted and serv'd under him in his Wars: Nor did this brotherly Love and neighbourly Friendship cease, while King *Henry* liv'd.

David confirm'd it, how soon he came to be King by the Death of his Brother: For two Years after, (a) having settl'd the Affairs of his own Kingdom, he paid a Visit to King *Henry*, and by him was most Honourably receiv'd, and Royally entertain'd, for about 12 Months; so long did he stay in the *English* Court, where nothing of Moment was transacted without his Privacy and Advice. 'Twas by his Counsel chiefly (and why he gave that Counsel I cannot tell, to be sure he gave Reasons both just and satisfactory) that King *Henry's* Brother Duke *Robert* was taken out of the Custody of the Bishop of *Salisbury*, and committed close Prisoner in the Castle of *Bristol*, to the Care of *Earl Robert*, the King's natural Son. But the Presence of *David* was necessary in *England*, upon another Consideration, by far more Important: Prince *William*, the only Son King *Henry* had by his Wife *Matilda*, a Son, who was the Joy of his Father, and the Hope of the Nation, to whom they had unanimously taken an Oath of Allegiance, as to the Heir both of their *Norman* and *Saxon Kings*, had been unfortunately drown'd in his Passage from *France* into *England*; and now *Matilda*, his full Sister, the Widow of the Emperor *Henry IV.* was the only surviving Child left to the disconsolate Father. As she re-united her Brother's double Right to the Succession in her Person; so her Father was earnestly bent to have her unexceptionably secur'd in it. But this was no easy Task: She was a Woman, and Women had never yet (for ought I can see) sway'd a Scepter in *Britain*, tho Men had often done it in their Right. For this Reason, King *David* himself might have pretended preferably to her, in Right of his Mother Queen *Margaret*, by whom alone the *Saxon Race* had been preserv'd: So might *Stephen* Earl of *Mortaign* and *Boloign*, in Right both of his Mother *Adela*, a Daughter of the *Norman Conqueror*, and of his Wife, nam'd, as the Empress, *Matilda*, the Daughter of *Mary*, who was also, by her Mother Queen *Margaret*, of the *Saxon Race*. To obviate these and the like Difficulties, King *Henry* thought fit to exact an Oath from all the Clergy, Nobility, and Commons of *England*, but especially from King *David*, and *Earl Stephen*; by which they bound themselves, to receive, if he should chance to die without Issue Male, his Daughter *Matilda* for Queen of *England*. *David*, it seems, had laid aside all Thoughts of pretending to a Crown, he had so little Prospect of winning; and therefore as a Subject of *England* for his *English Territories*, he frankly took the Oath (b)

Comes to
be King.
A. D. 1124.

Goes to Eng-
land.
A. D. 1126.

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and

(a) Chron. Sax. ad Ann. 1126. (b) Echard, Tyrrel, &c. ad Ann. 1127.

Acknowledges his Neice the Empress Matilda lawful Heiress of the Crown of England.
A. D. 1127.

Stephen usurpes the Throne of England, in prejudice of the Empress Matilda.
A. D. 1135.

King David espouses the Quarrel of his Neice Matilda.

Makes War upon King Stephen.

and resolv'd to keep it. Sure this could not but be infinitely agreeable to King Henry: For, by this Means, his Daughter was not only rid of a potent Competitor, but assur'd of a faithful Protector, equally willing, as a good Man, and able, as a potent Prince, to ascertain her Title. After so great an Example, none could offer to oppose the Royal Pleasure: All swore, and among the rest, Earl Stephen. This last (and with him the whole Representatives of the English Nation) renew'd his Oath again and again; not only to the Empress Matilda, but also to her Son, Prince Henry, afterwards the II. of England, whom she bore in 1132, to her second Husband Jeffrey Plantagenet, Earl of Anjou. But he kept it not: For no sooner did King Henry die, but he fell upon Means (what they were I have elsewhere related) of getting himself, and the whole, or the greatest Part of the Kingdom of England, absolv'd from their Vows. In a Word, he perjur'd himself, and usurp'd the Crown. All yielded to the criminal Yoke, *Præter atrocem animum Catonis*; so I may speak of the inflexible Honour and Conscience of King David, as stout as, and a more fortunate Defender of Equity and Right, than the austere Cato. For that very Year (a) he fortified *Vessein*; no doubt against King Stephen, since we read of no Mis-understanding that ever broke out between him and the late King Henry. The Year following, he was either invited, as the English say (b), by a loyal Party in England, to support the Right of the Empress, or, as the Scots (c), provok'd and irritated, first by the Menaces of King Stephen, and then by some Depredations made by his Command upon the Scottish Borders. For, say they, King Stephen, grown insolent by the Successes of his beginning Reign, not only forgot the fair Promises and repeated Oaths he had made to the English (a Truth these last do not at all deny) but also began to presume upon Strangers, requiring particularly of the King of Scots, that he would do him Homage for the Countries of Cumberland, Northumberland and Huntington. To this King David made answer, That he, together with Stephen himself and the whole Nobility and Commons of England, had not long since oblig'd themselves by Oath, to obey the Empress Matilda, the now lawful Queen of England: That he had since paid Homage to her as such, for these Counties he held of her; and that he would acknowledge none other, while she or her Son were alive. The justice of this Answer is so much the more conspicuous, that King David was, as I have above related, equally concern'd in Matilda the Empress, and Matilda the Queen: But the Queen was only so in Fact, the Empress by Right: And King David thought that Possession gives not always a Right to possess. Upon this a War ensu'd: Who was the Aggressor, I shall not determine: This is acknowledg'd, (d) King David invaded England, and took both Carlisle and Newcastle, together with all the Fortresses (e) in Cumberland and Northumberland, to Durham, except-

(a) Chron. Sax. ad Ann. 1135. (b) Echard ad Ann. 1136. (c) Boeth. Buchan. &c in vit David. Dr. Mackenzie in the Life of St. Ælred, &c. (d) Echard, Tyrrel, ad Ann. 1136. (e) Histor. Joan. Prior. Henr. p. 58. Inter Scrip. X.

(excepting *Babanburgh*) unexpectedly, says Mr. *Echard*, and treacherously, says Mr. *Tyrrel*, no doubt after the Authors they follow. But since he had Right to both these Counties, and was actually possessed of them in the Reign of King *Henry*, 'tis plain, King *Stephen*, since his Accession to the Throne, must needs have seisd them into his Hands: And with what Justice the Memory of the conscientious King *David*, should be branded with Treachery, because, forsooth, he repossess'd himself of his own, and would not hold them but of the Empress, to whom, as rightful Sovereign, they belong'd, I cannot comprehend: For to her he made all the Nobles of these Counties take an Oath of Fealty, and give Hostages to himself in her Name. Did not King *Stephen* expect this at his Hands? Or, if he did not, upon what Assurance could he build his Confidence? Had King *David* own'd him as lawful King? Or, had he, as most Part of the *English*, violated his Oath to *Matilda*? No, but he pretended a *friendly Visit*, and in his Journey to those Places, treacherously seisd upon them. We all know, (and I shall afterwards make it appear) that when the Kings of *Scotland* went to visit those of *England*, they were receiv'd upon the Frontiers, by a numerous Train of *English* Nobility, and Royally conducted through all the different Stages of their Journey to Court. If then King *David* pretended a friendly Visit, whence came it, that King *Stephen* did not instantly appoint an *English* Retinue to attend him? Which if he did (as to be sure he would have done, had any such Visit been pretended) by what Means could these Places have been surpris'd, and how could a *Scots* Army have pass'd the Borders, and advanc'd so far, without the *English* had sent Word of it to their King? Did he rely so much upon King *David*, who he knew was so deeply engag'd in the Interest of *Matilda*, that he had no Spies about him, nor on the Frontiers to watch his Motions, and give Intelligence of his raising of Armies, and marching them into Territories which were not his own? However, he got Intelligence of the thing, when 'twas done, and unconcern'dly said, *Very well then, what he has thus treacherously taken, I will manfully recover.* He was not quite so good as his Word: He rais'd a great Army indeed, and march'd Northwards as far as *Durham*; but halted there: And King *David*, (a) being at the same time at *Newcastle*, a Peace was concluded, say the *English* (b), upon these Conditions. "That, since
 " King *David* would not take an Oath of Fealty himself to King
 " *Stephen*, yet that Prince *Henry* his Son should take one, and do
 " Homage for the Territories he held of him. Then the King of
 " *Scots* surrendr'd *Northumberland* and *Newcastle*, but detain'd *Carlisle*
 " and *Duncaster*, and his Son was put in Possession of *Huntington*,
 " as an Augmentation of his Dignity and Revenue." Others, and
 (c) with a great deal of Probability, *That*, besides those Territories granted to Prince *Henry*, King *Stephen* also promis'd, that he should

A Peace

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(a) Dalrymple p. 170. *Histor. Joan. Prior. Hagulst. Ibid.* (b) *Tyrrel* *ibid.* (c) *Richard Prior of Hagulst. 2d Ann. 1136. p. 312. Joan. Major in vit. David.*

not dispose of the County of Northumberland in favour of any other, till he had first heard the Claim of that Prince for it, and done him Justice in his own Court: And that upon the Faith of this Promise, Werk, Alnwick, Norham and Newcastle, were evacuated by the Scots, and return'd to the English. This is so much the more likely, because, after the Conclusion of this Peace, we find King David (a) still insisting that Northumberland might be restor'd to his Son. Which Demand being by King Stephen refus'd, or at least put off, upon Pretence of his being necessarily detain'd in Normandy; these Dilators did not satisfy King David: He rais'd a powerful Army the next Year, and march'd on the Head of it, as far as Roxburgh, with a Design to penetrate into the very Bowels of England, where Miles de Beauchamp (b), the Governour of Bedford Castle, had openly declar'd himself for him, and where 'tis also reported (c) that a Plot was privately carried on by some of the English to Murder all the Normans upon a Day agreed on, and then to deliver the Kingdom into his Hands. This Plot he certainly knew not, or, if he did, he had no mind to favour it, else he had not so easily comply'd with the Overture made to him by Thurstan, the Archbishop of York. This Prelate waited on him at Roxburgh, pleaded the Absence of his Master, King Stephen, and obtain'd a Truce till he should come Home. He arriv'd in England a little before Christmas, and, being elevated by his late Successes in Normandy, he absolutely refus'd (d) to bestow Northumberland on Prince Henry, as King David demanded. Nay, he march'd down, notwithstanding the Rigour of the Season, and even on Christmas Day attack'd Bedford Castle, which De Beauchamp held for the King of the Scots, and press'd it so hard that he took it in a short time.

A. D. 1137.
Renews the
War.

Invades
England.

King David in the mean time, finding himself so often disappointed, resolv'd in good earnest to do that Justice to his Son, the King of England denied. Wherefore he sent William, the Son of the late Usurper, King Duncan, his Nephew (a valiant Commander, whom, for that Crime, his Father not himself was guilty of, he would not punish) with part of his Army, and Orders to besiege the strong Castle of Werk in Northumberland. (e) William attack'd it accordingly; but not being able to make it Surrender, the King himself and his Son Prince Henry went thither with the main Body of the Army, and endeavour'd to take it by diverse Engines and various Assaults, but could not; such was the Bravery of the Garrison, the Strength of the Place, and the excessive Cold and Sharpness of the Weather: For this Expedition was made, according to Mr. Tyrrel, much about the same time that King Stephen reduc'd Bedford Castle; consequently in January or February. Wherefore, that something might be done to purpose, the King resolv'd, at last to forrage the Country, and reward the Labour of his own Men with the Spoils of his Enemies. He committed unheard of Cruelties, if we may believe

(a) Dalrymple, p. 170. (b) Tyrrel ad Ann. 1137. (c) Tyrrel ibid. (d) Tyrrel ibid. (e) Tyrrel ad Ann. 1138.

believe some *English* Writers, (a) a Thing incredible of this King, as I shall afterwards evince: And to say the Truth, Mr. *Echard*. (b) has so much Respect for his Memory, as to impute what was done amiss, only to the *ruder sort of the Army*; "who (continues he) too tragically re-
 veng'd the Injuries of the Empress *Matilda*; by ripping up the
 "Wombs of Big-bellied Women, and tossing their Infants upon the
 "Points of Spears, slaying the Priests at the Altar, and dittem-
 "bring their Dead Bodies, after a most inhumane Manner."
 'Tis hard to tell what Truth may be in these Accounts we have only from Enemies, determin'd, as the *English* of old were, to keep up the National Animosities that rag'd between the two Kingdoms, and to found the Trumpet of Strife, to alarm the People, as often as their Sovereigns desig'n'd to quarrel. I shall not be positive, but Barbarities may have been committed by an Army, that besides about forty Days Provisions (for so much did each Souldier carry along with him) had no other Means of Subsistence, but what they purchas'd by Plunder; and what the Souldiery can do, when let loose, every Body knows, and all Countries have felt. This I'm sure of, King *David* was far from countenancing, much less commanding, Enormities of this Kind; and the Humanity of his Nephew and General, *William*, who sav'd the Church of *Hagulstad* from being destroy'd, is, even by *English* Authors (c) commended. After this Expedition, which ended about *Canlemass*, the King return'd with his wearied, but enrich'd, Army; and the rather, because he had Intelligence, that King *Stephen* upon the Head of one much more numerous, was on his March to dislodge him. That King followed him, and passing the River *Tweed*, (to be even with him, says Mr. *Tyrrel*) laid waste most of the Borders of Scotland; that is, if I take it aright, He destroy'd the Inhabitants, without any Distinction of either Age or Sex, (not sparing the very Churches) and slew the Infants hanging at their Mother's Breasts: and the Priests before the very Altars; else he could not have been *Even with them*, in the Sense of these Authors, after whom Mr. *Tyrrel* has copied. Thus, its easy to retort but I would forbear Reflections; and tho there's a great Difference between the avow'd Characters of both Kings, yet I am not apt to believe, that even King *Stephen*, none of the most conscientious of Princes, should have been *even* with Infidels at this Rate. Indeed he could not: For the King of *Scots*, having now retreated into his own Dominions, did not leave the Borders so very open to Hostilities (d). He encamp'd his Army within a certain Bogg, not far from *Roxburgh*, and there lay watching, with a Design, no doubt, to guard the Country, as well as to fall upon the Enemy by Night, in case he could get them decoy'd into the Town. With this View, he wisely commanded the Garrison and Townsmen to open their Gates to King *Stephen*, if he should come that Way: But this last, being forwarn'd of the Stratagem, as also of another Design projected by some of his dissaffected Nobility, who had conspir'd, upon the first Engagement,

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to

(a) *Tyrrel*, *ibid.* (b) *ad Ann.* 1138. (c) *Joan. Prior. Hagulst. ad Ann.* 1138. (d) *Tyrrel*, *ibid.*

to revolt to the *Scots*, in behalf of the Cause they pursu'd; & likewise, considering that a great Part of his Men were unwilling to serve; that Provisions began to fail; and in fine, that he was threaten'd with Insurrections at Home, he declin'd going to *Roxburgh*, and thought best to return with his Army into the Southern Parts. King *Stephen* having thus retreated, and the Holy Days of *Easter* being now over; King *David* took the Fields anew, invaded and laid waste, both the Sea Coast of *Northumberland*, and the Bishoprick of *Durham*, then sat down before *Norham* and took it, but generously offer'd to restore it to the Bishop, who was Lord of the Place, if he would but return to the Allegiance, all the Bishops of the Kingdom had sworn to the Empress, his Niece.

While the King himself was employ'd in this Siege, he sent a considerable Detachment of his Army, under the command of *William*, his Nephew, into *York-Shire*, where he carried all before him; and, routing a great Party of *English*, at a Place call'd *Clitherton*, kill'd many, and took more Prisoners. After which, without any Resistance, he did what he lik'd in the Country. This Overthrow of the *English* at *Clitherton*, is perhaps what *Scots* Authors call the Battle of *Allerton*: (c) They give us this different, and more full Account of it.

An Army of *Scots*, say they, under the Conduct of the Earls of *March*, *Menteith* and *Angus* (*William*, the King's Nephew, they do not mention) enter'd *England*; and meeting the *English* at *Allerton*, a sharp Battle was fought with equal Slaughter on both Sides, as long as the Enemy stood their Ground. At length, the *English* gave Way, and were routed. Great Numbers perish'd in the Flight, and many of the Nobility were made Prisoners: Among the rest, their General himself, the Earl of *Glocester*. *Stephen*, extremely concern'd at the Loss of so many brave Men, and fearing, lest the Kindred and Friends of the Captive Nobles, might be alienated from him, refus'd no Conditions of Peace: He pay'd a Round Sum of Money, for their Ransom, say some; others, that they were releas'd without Ransom. But this they all agree in, He quitted all the Claim, which, as Chief Lord, he pretended to have over *Cumberland*; but observ'd the Articles of this Treaty no better than the Oaths he had taken to the Empress *Matilda*; and afterwards to his own Subjects of *England*. For, before the Armies were quite disbanded, he again surpriz'd some Castles in *Northumberland* (which Country, or a great Part of it, the *Scots* had still possess'd; and consequently, did not inhumanely ravage, if we shall believe them) and by driving away Bootys from the *Scots* Territories, renew'd the War. Upon this, the *Scots* took Arms again, and despising an Enemy they had but lately overthrown (A fatal Error, by which Kingdoms have been undone) attack'd them rashly at the River *Tees*, but paid for their Folly, and were beaten in their Turn; yet not

(c) Boeth. Buchan. Dr. Mackenzie, &c. ubi supra.

not so, but that they quickly recruited, and forc'd King *Stephen* to those Terms of Peace, of which afterwards.

Mr. *Tyrrel* (a) offers to confute this Relation, by those Arguments that follow. King *Stephen* did not begin the War (says he) nor did he give up any part of Northumberland to King *David*. No indeed, but King *David*, in Right of his Wife was in Possession of it, as I have shewn, before King *Stephen*'s Accession to the Throne; and who did usurp this, would not probably scruple to invade that. But *Arch-bishop Thurstan* did not attend King *David* at Roxburgh, in order to sue for a Peace in this Year 1138, but in the precedent: Nor was it in this Year neither, but in the preceding, that King *Stephen* march'd to, and retreated from the same Place. What then? And who is concern'd about this Chronological Trifle, since both Matters of Fact are uncontroverted? But *Thurstan* did not agree to any such Condition, as that the English should deliver up Northumberland to Prince *Henry*, and therefore could not break the Truce; in not delivering it without their King's Consent. How far *Thurstan* condescended to that Condition, I can't tell; but I have shewn from English Vouchers, that King *Stephen* promis'd to enquire by Legal Methods into the Claim laid by Prince *Henry* to Northumberland, or to, at least, a Part of it, and to do him Justice in his own Court. He did it not; and therefore he broke the Truce: And the Scots may be very well suppos'd, to have laid waste that Part of Northumberland Prince *Henry* did not claim. A Method all Nations take on the like Occasions: When their own is detain'd from them, they seize on, or over-run what is not their own. But the *Earl of Gloucester* was never trusted by King *Stephen*, with any Command under him; he being always on the same Side with the King of Scots; consequently, did not command an Army against them, nor was he taken Prisoner. English Authors say not that the *Earl of Gloucester* commanded an Army against the Scots; yet 'tis not improbable, but he may have done it. Mr. *Tyrrel* tells us, that he did submit (notwithstanding he was a natural Brother of the Empress) to King *Stephen*; and that he swore Fealty to him, in the Year 1136; nor did he renounce his Allegiance till after *Whitsuntide*, in the Year 1138. Now, the Battle of *Allerton*, as the Scots call it; or, as the English, of *Clitherton*, was fought, according to both, before this last Time condescended upon; consequently, while the *Earl* continu'd as yet to dissemble with the King: And 'tis not unlikely, but the King dissembling also with him, might (or to try his Fidelity, or to win him over to a hearty Compliance) have entrusted him with an Army against the Scots. He knew that a Man of Honour would not readily betray the Trust, and such a Trust too, as that committed to his Charge, if he came to accept of it. And to me it seems more probable, that the *Earl* would be apter to decline such a Command, than the King would be affraid of entrusting him with it. As for the Silence of English Authors about this Matter, I shall say nothing, but that they do not contradict the Thing, tho they mention it not:

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And

And those that do would do well to tell us, who he was that did command the *English*, when they were overthrown at *Clitherton*; and who were the Prisoners that are own'd to have been taken. In fine, Mr. *Tyrrel* objects against the Relation of *Scots* Authors, that, *There was but one Battle fought between the English and the Scots in the two last Years*, (for he will not allow the Action at *Clitherton* to deserve the Name, tho many of the *English* were kill'd, and more made Prisoners) That there never was but one Battle near *Allerton*, commonly call'd that of the *Standard*; and that in it the *Scots* were utterly routed. That *Scots* Authors may have mistaken the Word *Clitherton*, for that of *Allerton*, I shall not deny; but that they gain'd a Victory near one of those Places, is uncontroverted. That the Victory was very considerable, cannot be doubted; if it is true, as the *Scots* assert, that immediately thereafter, King *Stephen* su'd for Peace, and refus'd no Conditions. But if a Peace did not ensue, till the *Scots* were afterwards foil'd at *Allerton*, or (which I shall grant to be all one) In the *Battle of the Standard*, it follows, that the Loss, they sustain'd on that Occasion, was not by far so great as the *English* represent it. And the Reason is this. After that Engagement a Peace followed very soon, and the Terms of it were equally honourable and advantageous to the *Scots*, as is evident, even from the following Relation, I shall borrow from *English* Vouchers.

Not long (a) after King *David* had reduc'd *Norham*; and his Nephew *William*, had defeated the *English* at *Clitherton*, and ravag'd, or laid the whole Country under Contribution, some Souldiers, sallying out of the Town of *Werk*, took many Waggons loaden with Victuals, and Baggage belonging to the King of the *Scots*: They also routed a Party commanded by his Son *Henry*. The King provok'd by these Actions, march'd straight to *Werk*, and besieg'd it the second Time (b); but having increas'd his Army, he left the Siege to be carried on by two of his Thanes or Barons, and march'd towards *York*. He was joyn'd by *Eustace Fitz-John*, a Baron of the North of *England*, and Lord or Governor of the Castles of *Alnwick* in *Northumberland*, and of *Mealton* in *York-Shire*, who (being either addicted to the Interest of the Empress, or disoblig'd by King *Stephen*) now openly declar'd for the King of the *Scots*. From this suspected Lord (and many such there were in *England*, who, as Mr. *Echard* (c) tells us, by King *Stephen's* Example and Proceedings, had been sufficiently taught the Arts of Perjury) the King of *England* had taken the Government of *Bamboroughs* Castle: Thither the King of *Scotland* directed his March, probably hoping that the Garrison would yield to *Eustace* their late Governor. They did it not: But the King fell upon a Party of them unawares, and kill'd about 100 Men. He afterwards laid waste the adjacent Country, took the Town of *Melford*, repais'd the *Tine*, enter'd the Bishoprick, and there stay'd for some time, till the Reinforcements, he expected from *Scotland*, should
joyn

(a) Tyrrel ad Ann. 1138. Vol. 2. Book 4. p. 210. 211. &c. (b) Joan. Prior. Hist. p. 261. ad Ann. 1138. Dalrymple p. 171. (c) ad Ann. 1138.

join him. They came at length, and his Army consisted now of about 26000 Men. Upon this, *they say*, he grew so confident, that he threatn'd to lay waste, or over-run the greatest Part of *England*: And no doubt he might have done it, had the Empress's Friends bestir'd themselves, as he probably expected.

However, he left *Durham*, pass'd over the River *Tees*, and carrying all before him wherever he went, enter'd *Yorkshire*. He lay encamped by South the *Tees*, when *Robert de Bruce*, and *Bernard de Baliol*, two Noblemen, Vassals both to him and to the King of *England*, waited upon him, and promis'd, that if he would desist from Hostilities, they would obtain from King *Stephen* (what had been so often ask'd; and as often refus'd) the Country of *Northumberland*, for his Son Prince *Henry*. 'Tis not easy to tell, for what Reason; King *David* rejected the Overture; perhaps he trusted not to their Word, no more than to their Masters; perhaps he nobly preferr'd the Interest of the Empress, to his own; and would not lay down his Arms, while he had a Prospect of righting her. Besides, he had a good Army, not easily to be rais'd anew, if once disbanded; and his Men flush'd with Victory, were earnestly, nay inconsiderately bent upon Action. His Nephew *William* (a) particularly is said to have oppos'd the Advice given by *Baliol* and *Bruce*, who, being thereby irritated, renounc'd the Allegiance they ow'd to King *David*, for some Lands it seems they held of him in *Galewegia* (that is, in *Annandale*, then within the Extent of *Galloway*) and return'd to the Army commanded by Archbishop *Thurstan*, King *Stephen*'s Lieutenant. But this Martial Prelate was himself detain'd from the Field by Sickness and old Age, and therefore appointed *Ralph*, Titular Bishop of the *Orcades* to command in his Room; for he was an *Englishman* born, and, tho consecrated a Bishop, never fill'd that, nor perhaps any other See, but upon Occasions supply'd the Place of, and officiated as a Vicar to others. He acted his Part very well on the present Occasion: And, as Archbishop *Thurstan* before had ordain'd a three Days solemn Fast, and earnest Supplications to be made to God, for the Support of that Interest and Cause, against which all the Bishops of the Kingdom had solemnly Sworn; so now Bishop *Ralph* not only made long and invective Speeches against the late *Scottish* Barbarities, but also absolv'd all those from their Sins, who should happen to fall by the Hands of the Enemy; and caus'd a certain Machine, call'd the *Standard*, to be erected in the Midle of *Cutun Moor*, the Field of Battle, on the Top of which they plac'd a Silver Pix, and in it (as was given out) the consecrated Host. Besides, they hung on each side of this Machine, the Banners of *St. Peter*, *St. John of Beverly*, and *St. Wilfred*; so good an Use have Churchmen in all Ages known to make of Religious Pageantry; and so much have the Vulgar been misled into the Assurance of heavenly Protection, by the hypocritical Grimaces, and Legerdemain Tricks of their spiritual Guides; who, while they have no other

Battle of the Standard,

(a) Dalrymple p. 173.

view, but to indulge their own Appetites, and gratify their private Passions, ride on the deluded People to Perjury, Rebellion, Death, and if God Almighty do not stop them in their Career, Damnation. The Engine had its design'd Effect: It gave a keener Edge to the natural Courage of the *English*, made them resolute in the Defence of it, and dispos'd them to think, that they fought for the Cause of God, whose sacred Name their Leaders had so often attested to Witnesses, even those Vows they violated by making this very War.

The Clergy and Monks had acted their Part; but the Souldiers had scarce got themselves in a Readiness to fight, when Word was brought that the *Scottish* Army was at Hand: And now the greatest Part of the Horse alighted, the better to fight on Foot; the choicest of whom being mingl'd with the Archers, were plac'd in the Vanguard: But most of the chief Commanders and Barons, were drawn up in the main Body about the Standard; the rest of the Army lying round them, as near as possible, whilst the remaining Body of Horse, with the Horses of those Souldiers who had alighted, retir'd further off, that so they might not be frighted with the Noise and Shouts of the *Scots*.

The *Scots* on their Side alighted also; and among the rest, the King himself, their Horses being kept at a Distance: But there were some Contests among them, about the Order of Battle; each Body contending who should fight in the Place of Honour, that is, of greatest Danger. The *Galloway* Men, or *Picts* (as yet so call'd by *English* Authors) pleaded their Priviledge of leading the Vanguard, alledging greater Security in their Courage and Loyalty, than could be expected from the *Welsh*, that is, I suppose, from Foreigners, and such were the *English*, many of whom, being of the Empress's Party, were now in the *Scots* Army. They gave for Instance the Victory obtain'd at *Clitherton*, which they said was owing chiefly to their Valour. Nay, *Malyse*, Earl of *Strathern*, is said to have ask'd the King, with unbecoming Boldness, *Why he trusted to the Welsh, when he well knew, that none of them, tho arm'd Cap-a-pe, durst venture upon him tho unarm'd?* He was contradicted by *Alan de Percy*, an *Englishman*, the natural Son of the Great *Alan*. However, the King yielded to the Request of his Subjects of *Galloway*: But, to make amends to the *English*, he appointed a Body of them, as he did another of *French*, (a Proof of the Amity and League that continu'd in King *David's* Reign, as I have shewn it to have done in that of his Father, between the two Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *France*) to guard his Body: The rest of the *English* Auxiliaries he mixt with the *Scots* of *Murray*, and plac'd them in the Center, not far from his Person. His Son, Prince *Henry* commanded the right Wing, where stood those of *Cumberland* and *Teviotdale*; and with him was join'd the above-mention'd *Eustace Fitz-John*. In fine, those of *Lothian* and those of the *Isles*, together with the *Lavernani*, (who these

these were I know not) were posted on the Left. And in this Order did the *Scots* Army advance, with preposterous Haste, and inconsiderate Boldness, and attack'd the advantageously posted Enemy, on the Plain call'd *Cutun Moor*, not far from *Alverton*, now *Northallerton* in *Yorkshire*.

When they saw the Standard not far off, some *English* Historians say, (a) that their Hearts began to be struck with a Pannick Fear: But others tell us (b), that the *Galloway* Men broke in upon the Enemy with three Shouts, no great Sign of their being frighted by a meer Shew. However they were, notwithstanding their Assurance, and the Boasts of their Leader Earl *Malyse* worsted: For being but lightly arm'd, they were not able to endure the Showers of Arrows, and Force of the *English* Swords. Two of their chief Commanders, *Ulgric* and *Dunenald* were kill'd upon the first Onset: At length they fell back upon the *Lothians*, and these (their Leader being also slain by an Arrow) upon the main Body, where the King was in Person. He did all he could to rally them; and accordingly some came back to his Royal Standard (which was a Dragon) and made up a fresh Body; insomuch that the fight was renew'd, and the King (with the few that were about him) stood bravely to his Arms (c), till his best Friends urg'd him to desist. He yielded to Necessity, and commanded his Men (d) to fring their Tokens, (I mean the Marks by which they knew each other) and mix themselves with their Enemies, which they immediately did, and so easily pass'd through the Vanguard of the *English*. So says Mr. *Tyrrel*: And this is a Proof, both that they had stood their Ground, till they were quite envelop'd, (and no Men could, or ought to do more) and that the *Scots*, in those Days, did not deserve the Epithet of *Barbarous*, Mr. *Tyrrel* gives them; since, by their Garb and outward Shew, not to be distinguish'd from the civiliz'd and well bred *English*. The King was forc'd to flee, but being got out of Danger, made no very great Haste, that so he might the better in his March pick up those that had escap'd. At length he arriv'd safe at *Carlisle*, tho' much concern'd for Earl *Henry* his Son, who was left behind. This brave Prince (e) esteeming Honour more than Life and Safety, had, even after his Father's Retreat, rush'd in among the retiring Souldiers, and with undaunted Bravery perswading them to regard themselves and his Person, had restor'd the Battle a third time. But he too at length, being overpower'd by the main Body of the *English*, was constrain'd to quite the Field, and came also to *Carlisle*, the third Day after the King his Father's Arrival.

This is the Account *English* Historians give us, of this famous Battle and Victory; for so are they pleas'd to term it. They add,
 " That the *English* Army was but small in Comparison of the *Scottish*;
 " that nevertheless they lost but few Men on their Side, and kill'd or
 " took Prisoners, above 10000 of the Enemy: For, say they, so many
 " *Scots* were missing, when they were muster'd after their Return to

• F f f f f

Scotland.

(a) *Tyrrel* ad Ann. ubi sup. (b) *Dalrymple* ibid. (c) *Echard* ubi sup. (d) *Tyrrel* ubi sup. (e) *Echard* ubi sup.

Scotland. Scots Authors, on the contrary, assert, that the *English* Victory, and the Loss sustain'd by the *Scots*, were but inconsiderable. Nay, some undervalue this Action so much, that they pass it over in Silence; and others relate it, but as it were *en passant*: Nor have I seen any, that have thought it worth their while, to enter into the Detail. 'Tis impossible to determine the Controversy at this great Distance of Time: All we can do, is to judge of the Cause by the Effects, I mean, of the Battle by its Consequences.

Mr. *Tyrrel* (a) tells us, that it had this Effect, *That the Scots were now driven, not only out of Part, but out of all Northumberland*. I wish he had cited his Vouchers; to be sure he had not this from the same Author whom he follow'd but in the preceding Page, (b) where he tells us, *That the English Forces, getting large Spoils---- return'd Home in Peace; and that their sudden Departure tended very much to the Prejudice of the King's Affairs*. 'Tis plain then, that they did not stay to reduce any one Fortrefs or Place possess'd by the *Scots* in *Northumberland*, nor elsewhere. Nay, Mr. *Tyrrel* himself, pursuing the Thread of the Story, tells us (c) *That, notwithstanding this Defeat, the King of Scots no sooner had heard that the English Forces were return'd Home, but recruiting his shatter'd Army, he again march'd into England, and laid fresh Siege to the Town and Castle of Werk*. This is a very remarkable Sort of Victory, and an Overthrow, that has something in it very singular: For here's a victorious triumphing Army that retreats, and a shatter'd one that recruits in an Instant, and besieges Towns. The Victors seem vanquish'd, and the Vanquish'd triumph. 'Tis true the Place they attack'd did not instantly surrender; but the shatter'd Army of the *Scots* (d), having the whole Country round about in their Power, so block'd it up, that it could receive no Relief any way; insomuch that the besieg'd, when they had eaten up all their Horses, were at last forc'd to surrender it to King *David*; and he caus'd both Town and Castle to be demolish'd. This was the first Effect of this so famous Battle and Victory, gain'd by the *English* over the *Scots*: Nor was it the only one. For,

In the mean time (e), *Albert*, Bishop of *Ostia*, the Pope's Legate, came from the Court of *England*, to that of *Scotland*: He found King *David* at *Carlisle*, and propos'd Terms of Peace, but could scarce obtain a Truce. Here again the Victors seem vanquish'd: They employ no meaner Agent than the Pope's Legate to sue for Peace, and the Vanquish'd, notwithstanding he was a Saint, even in the Popish Sense, has so little Respect for his Holiness, that he declines to admit him; or, which is all one, his Legate, as Mediator in a Treaty. A Proof, that all Popish Saints have not been so blindly Submissive to Popes, as is commonly believ'd: And that to be Holy and Good, one needs not to be Priest-rid. But,

Matilda, the Queen, was more successful than the Legate: She was the Wife of King *Stephen*; and, by her Mother *Mary*, the Niece

of

(a) *Tyrrel* ad Ann. 1138. (b) p. 213. (c) p. 215. (d) p. 215. (e) *ibid.*

of King *David*; and (a) therefore did all she could to reconcile them. She came and waited on her Uncle (b): And by her Means, a Treaty of Peace was set on foot, (c) about the Beginning of the Winter, but took not effect till the Year following 1139; when early in the Spring, says Mr. *Tyrrel*, (d) King *Stephen* march'd with his Army into Scotland, which he had laid waste with Fire and Sword, till at last the King of Scots was forc'd to make Peace with him. This exact Author has written so much, that he sometimes forgets what himself writes. He had formerly told us, (e) that the Peace was owing to the Mediation of the Queen; and the Terms were such, as made both King *Stephen* and his Barons unwilling to grant or accept of them: And now he says, that King *David* was forc'd to make Peace. Had he told us the Terms agreed to, he had confuted himself; but by good Luck others have been more ingenuous, and fairly acknowledg'd, (f) that the Thing in Debate was yielded to the Scots; That is, *Northumberland* was deliver'd up to Prince *Henry*; only the Towns of *Newcastle* and *Babanburgh*; and the Lands belonging to the Monasteries of *St. Cuthbert* and *St. Andrew* remain'd in the Hands of the *English*: But then King *Stephen* was oblig'd to give to the Prince an Equivalent for these in the South of *England*. So that 'tis plain to a Demonstration, that King *David* was not forc'd to make Peace, unless he may be said to be forc'd to make Peace, who gets by it that very Thing for which he made War.

Makes
Peace.
A. D. 1139.

Northumberland (g) was deliver'd up to Prince *Henry* at *Durham*, on the 9th of April: A Demonstration, that King *Stephen* did not march with his Army into Scotland, and lay it waste with Fire and Sword. (h) He did not besiege the Castle of *Slede*, which belong'd to the revolted Earl of *Gloucester*, till after *Christmass*. This Castle, no doubt, held out some Time: And 'tis not alledg'd, that King *Stephen* march'd into Scotland, till it was surrender'd; no, not till the Spring. So that if he laid Scotland waste with Fire and Sword, he must have perform'd the mighty Atchievement, in the Space of about one Month: Nay, and in so short a Time return'd with his Army to *Durham*, and both enter'd into, and compleated a Treaty of Peace. This is so far from being practicable, that, I humbly conceive, no thinking Man will believe it possible. At this Rate, he had out-done *Pompey* and *Cesar*, as expeditious as they were in some of their Wars, and said with the last, *Veni, vidi, vici*: But he neither came, saw nor vanquish'd; Witness the Treaty in all its Circumstances. By it King *Stephen* yielded all that was, or in Reason could be, demanded of him, and King *David* nothing: For 'tis not so much as pretended, that this last did ever violate his Oath to the Empress, consequently he never acknowledg'd King *Stephen* as King of *England*. 'Tis true, his Son Prince *Henry* did, and he could do no less; since by him put in Possession of so fair a Province as *Northumberland*; for

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which

(a) *Tyrrel* *ibid.* (b) *Buchan.* in vit. *David.* (c) *Tyrrel* *ibid.* (d) *ad Ann.* 1139. p. 219. (e) *ad Ann.* 1128. p. 215. (f) *Joan.* *Prior Hag.* *ad Ann.* 1139. p. 265. & 330. *Dalrymple.* p. 173. (g) *Joan.* *Prior* *ibid.* (h) *Tyrrel* p. 219.

which, he not only paid him Homage, but waited on him at *Nottingham*, not as an Hostage, (as Mr. *Tyrrel* (a) asserts) but as a Friend, a Kinsman, and the first of the *English* Laity. For the Hostages given for the Security of this Treaty were, (b) the Sons of Earl *Gospatrik*, of *Hugh de Morevilla*, of Earl *Fergus*, *Mel* and *Ma*, said, by the *English* Author, to have been five *Scots* Earls. Besides, had Prince *Henry* been in the *English* Court, as an Hostage, I leave it to any one to judge, what Usage he met with, when the very next Year, his Father King *David*, notwithstanding the Treaty, declar'd so openly for the Empress; but he was very civilly us'd by the King, and much esteem'd and caref'd by the Nation. A Proof of this is, that he married *Ada*, the Sister of *William*, Earl of *Warren*, a Person of high Rank, singular Beauty and great Worth. He also attended the King in several of his Expeditions against the Lords that had revolted; particularly, at the Siege of *Ludlow* Castle; where 'tis said (c) that this adventurous Youth was by the Besieg'd pluck'd from his Horse with an Iron Grapple, and had been taken, had not King *Stephen* with extraordinary Valour and Honour succour'd and brought him off.

King *Stephen* had hitherto, by his Conduct, Valour and Vigilance, (for tho none of the best of Men, yet he was a very great Prince) kept the still pretending Empress at a Distance beyond Seas; brought her Party at Home to a State, if not of Submission, at least of Non-action, gain'd over the Prince of *Scotland* to acknowledge his Title, and as Earl of *Northumberland*, *Huntington*, &c. to serve under him: And which was more, he had now laid the King of *Scotland* aside, who having obtain'd all himself or his Son could challenge, was not (till requir'd by the Empress, to whom as Prince of *Cumberland*, &c. he had sworn Allegiance) to disturb the establish'd Government. But, unluckily for King *Stephen*, he quarrell'd with the Bishops and Clergy, by whose Interest and Power he reign'd: And they soon taught him what it is to alarm the Zeal of Holy Church, or to seize, as he did, (d) upon the Persons of Bishops. In this, he was so much the more Impolitick, because he very well knew, that the then Church of *England*, did not consider him as an Hereditary Monarch. They had previously declar'd, (e) that, as they had elected, so they swore Fealty to him, on this Condition, *Viz.* So long as he preserv'd the Liberty of the Church, and the Power of its Discipline. This was a fair Warning; and in so far they dealt honestly: Yet King *Stephen*, as precarious as his Title was, would reign alone; and they resolv'd he should not. These Divisions (f) between the King and the Bishops, occasion'd many to revolt, and encourag'd the Empress to come over in Person; who, with her Brother, the Earl of *Glocester*, landed at *Arunel* in *September*, with an Attendance of no more than 140 Men. So inconsiderable a Party did she think sufficient to embroil a distracted Nation,

The Empress *Mari* pursues her Right to the Crown of *England*.

(a) P. 219. (b) Joan. Prior. Hag. p. 330. Dalrymple p. 173. (c) Tyrrel ad Ann. 1139. Echard ad Ann. 1138 sub an. (d) Echard ad Ann. 1139. P. 181, & 189. (e) Tyrrel ad Ann. 1136. p. 292. (f) Echard, Tyrrel, &c. ad Ann. 1139. 1140, &c.

Nation, and to dethrone a King, whose best Title was, that the Clergy and Nobles had elected him, and the People submitted. Nor was she much mistaken.

The Loyalists or Rebels (for so are they differently call'd by different Authors) flock'd to her Royal Standard from all Corners of the Kingdom. Among the rest, King *David*, her Uncle (a) came to her Assistance ; and, to be sure, he came not single. A most bloody and long lasting War ensu'd , and, for several Years henceforth, we find nothing in the History of *England*, but taking, and re-taking of Towns and Castles, plundering and burning of Houses and Churches, and all the Marks of Trouble and Desolation. At length a Decisive Battle was fought at *Lincoln*; in which the King's Party was routed, and himself taken Prisoner ; and afterwards, either through Suspicion or Hatred ingloriously fetter'd with Irons.

Is assisted by King *David*.

Makes King *Stephen* Prisoner.

This Victory made the Empress absolute Mistress, not only of *England*, but also of *Normandy*: The People of that Country taking the Opportunity to revolt in her Favour ; insomuch that, as the sole Monarch of both Countries, she commanded in all Affairs, and dispos'd of all Dignities and Offices at her Pleasure: But her Pleasure was not to be regulated by Counsel or Reason , especially when she found her self possess'd of the Capital of the Kingdom. Her Uncle, the King of *Scots*, who accompanied her thither, (b) and her Brother, the Earl of *Glocester*, did all they could to allay her feminine Haughtiness, and to persuade her into discreet and moderate Measures ; but in vain : She was a Woman, and, like most of her Sex, when in Power, would hearken to no Counsels, but those her Pride and Resentment suggested. She caus'd King *Stephen* to be fetter'd with Chains, scornfully rejected the most humble Request of her Cousin, the Queen, who begg'd not the Crown, but Life and Liberty for her Husband ; and, to be short, gave so much Disgust by her rigid Deportment, especially to the *Londoners*, that they privately conspir'd against her ; insomuch, (c) that she her self, her Uncle King *David*, the Pope's Legate, her Brother Earl *Robert*, and the rest of the Noblemen of her Party, were forc'd to withdraw from the City. Not long after this, the Legate, who was a natural Brother of King *Stephen* (for Reasons foreign to my Purpose) deserted her, as he had done some Years before ; and most of the Nobility of *England* followed his Example. But the King of *Scots* was incapable of Change: He was acted by Principle, & was therefore immovable: He continu'd to attend her in Adversity, (d) as he had done in Prosperity, & with him the Earls of *Glocester* & *Hereford*, & some few Barons.

They besieg'd the Castle of *Winchester*, to be even with the Legate to whom it belong'd ; but it held out bravely, till at length a superior Army approach'd towards its Relief. Upon this, they were oblig'd to raise the Siege and retreat: But being overtaken and set upon, the Earl of *Glocester*, who brought up the Rear, was made a

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(a) Joan. Prior. Hag. ad Ann. 1140. (b) Tyrrel ad Ann. 1141. p. 233, 235. (c) Tyrrel ad Ann. 1141. p. 236. (d) Tyrrel p. 237.

David
Oliphant,
brings off
King David
I. after the
Defeat of
the Empress
his Niece.

Prisoner. The Empress and King *David* made a Shift to escape, by what Means is uncertain : But we are inform'd (a) that one *David Olifard*, or *Oliphant*, who is a frequent Witness in the Charters of the Kings, *David*, *Malcolm*, and *William*, had the Honour of being very instrumental in bringing off his Master. Duke *Robert* was afterwards releas'd, and so was King *Stephen*, they being exchange'd for one another : But the War still continuing, and the Affairs of the Empress declining, it was her Fate to be closely pent up in *Oxford*, and very nigh made a Prisoner ; yet she escap'd to the Admiration of the World.

The Em-
press leaves
England.

Thus about four Years pass'd, with amazing Variety of Successes and Disasters ; and every Year on each Side, produc'd fresh Calamities, to the infinite Damage of the whole Kingdom, but mostly to the strengthening and increasing King *Stephen's* Interest : For, during this Time, the two famous Earls, *Robert of Gloucester*, and *Milo of Hereford*, Men of great Abilities, and unshaken Fidelity to the Empress, both lost their Lives ; one by a Distemper, and the other by an Accident. These reiterated Misfortunes made the Empress to leave *England*, and retire into *Normandy*, where she continu'd with her Husband, the Earl of *Anjou*, till his Death. What King *David* did all this while, we know not distinctly : This we are sure of, by what I have already related, he was a strenuous Asserter of the Empress's Right ; and Mr. *Echard* (b) tells us, that under that Pretence, he seiz'd upon the County of *Northumberland*. But he is mistaken ; that County had been deliver'd up to him, at least to his Son, by the Treaty I have mention'd : And while Confusion, Rapine and Slaughter, rag'd throughout all the rest of the Kingdom, the Northern Counties, being in the Hands of the *Scots*, enjoy'd a profound Calm. And 'tis probable, that King *David* added to these some more of the adjacent Territories : For we find, that in *Anno 1142*, (c) *William Cumin* his Chancellor, by the Grant of the Empress, enter'd the Castle of *Durham*, and took Possession of that Bishoprick ; but he afterwards restor'd it to the Bishop, reserving *Alverton*, and some other Lands, which were yielded to his Nephew *Richard*. This *Richard* (d) was Father to *William Cumin*, the first Earl of *Buchan*, and Lord chief Justice of *Scotland* ; and from him descended the Great, Noble and Numerous Family of the *Cumins*, which afterwards made so great a Figure in *Scotland*.

Cumin, their
Rise in Scot-
land.

Prince Hen-
ry, the Em-
press's Son
lands in
England.
A. D. 1149.

The Retreat of the Empress did not secure King *Stephen* in his Throne : She had a Son, and he, tho but a Youth of about sixteen Years of Age, had already the Wit, Courage and Conduct of the ablest Men. He left *France*, his native Country, where he had many fair Possessions, and afterwards acquir'd more, and came over to *England*, with a small but select Army. Prince *Henry* (for so was he call'd) no sooner arriv'd, in search of that Crown he had so much Right to, but he was joyn'd by those, who, out of a Principle of Loyalty had still adher'd to his Mother. Nevertheless, he had not Forces (e) sufficient to make open War against King *Stephen*, and there-
fore

(a) Dalrymple, p. 174. (b) Echard ad Ann. 1141. p. 185. (c) Chron. de Melros. Joan. Prior Hagulstad. ad Ann. ut sup. (d) Dalrymple, p. 174. (e) Tyrrel ad Ann. 1149. p. 247.

fore march'd straight to King *David*, his Grand-Uncle, in order to be instructed in Feats of Arms by him; who, without Controversy (if we may credit *Buchanan*) (a) was the greatest Warriour of that Age. King *David* (b) receiv'd him at *Carlisle* with great Honour and Magnificence, and at the Feast of *Pentecost* ensuing, Knighted him, together with some young Noblemen of his Retinue, in a most solemn Manner, as the Fashion then was. The Ceremony was no sooner perform'd, but the King, having rais'd an Army towards his Assistance, went in Person with him to the Campaign; but it prov'd not bloody. King *Stephen* oppos'd their March, and both Armies, after they had lain the whole Summer watching each others Motions, return'd Home without Action.

Is Knighted
and assisted
by King
David.

Thus the War was renew'd, chiefly by the Forces and Direction of the King of *Sots*; and it was henceforth prosecuted with Vigour, both in *Normandy* and *England*. Prince *Henry's* Party had the better for the most Part, yet King *Stephen* was not idle: He meant to secure the Succession to his eldest Son, Prince *Eustace*, a bold and warlike Youth. With this View, he endeavour'd to invest him (c) with the *English* Diadem, and in a grand Council at *London*, call'd for the Purpose, commanded the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to set it upon his Head: But he absolutely refus'd, alledging that the Pope had forbidden to Crown him, whose Father had, contrary to his Oath, usurp'd the Kingdom. The rest of the Bishops, now returning to their Duty, express'd themselves much in the same Manner, and were all shut up with their Primate in one House. Nay *Henry of Winchester* himself (d), (who was, or had been Legate to the Pope, and who, by making his Brother King, had brought such Miseries upon the Nation) at length struck with Remorse, contributed his utmost Endeavours to bring about a Peace. The great Work was forwarded, not only by the repenting Clergy, but also by all those that had any Regard for their afflicted Country, or Love for their Sovereign. And 'tis reported, that while King *Stephen*, at the Head of his Army, was giving Orders for a Battle, his Horse mounted thrice with his fore-Legs, till at last he fell down backwards, to the great Hazard of the King's Person. Upon this, the *Earl of Arundel* took Occasion to exhort him, to be warn'd by these ill Omens, and not to expect any Success against the juster Cause. Upon this Advice it was resolv'd to come to a Parley; and a Treaty was set on Foot, notwithstanding the vigorous and spiteful Opposition made against it by Prince *Eustace*. But he died suddenly, and his Brother *William* was, as himself, neglected; so that the Treaty went on: And 'twas agreed, That *Stephen* should enjoy the Crown of *England* during Life, but that he should be succeeded by Prince *Henry*; which accordingly fell out the very next Year 1154.

A. D. 1151

A. D. 1154

I would not in the least derogate from the Courage and Constancy of those *English* Loyalists that fought so bravely, and so tenaci-

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ously

(a) In vit. Reg. (b) Echard, Tyrrel, &c. ad Ann. ut sup. (c) Echard ad Ann. 1151. (d) Echard ad Ann. 1153

ously adher'd to their rightful, tho' exil'd Sovereigns, the Mother and Son. They did much, but I hope, 'twill be acknowledg'd that King *David* did more. He appear'd more early in Opposition to the Usurper (for such he thought King *Stephen*) than any Party of Men in *England*; nay, sooner than the Empress her self. All, or most part of them, chang'd Sides, and took contradictory Oaths; he never did. Had it been possible to have brib'd him, 'tis not to be doubted, but King *Stephen* would have done it: He had made no Difficulty to have given up a Province or two to a neighbouring Prince, capable to have secur'd him and his Posterity in the Possession of a Kingdom. Nor could Favour or Consanguinity prevail any more than Interest, over King *David*: Had he been capable of being gain'd over from Justice, sure Queen *Matilda* (by all Accounts reported to have been a more reasonable Person than the Empress, and as near a Relation to him) had prevail'd: But nothing could do, no not the Clergy, nor their then acknowledg'd Superior, the Pope: He had vow'd to God, and he would accept of no Dispensation from Men. Accordingly God Almighty bless'd his Endeavours: For with his own *Scots* Forces, and but a very few *English* Auxiliaries, he did right to himself, in Spite of the elsewhere triumphing King *Stephen*: And when the Empress appear'd, and openly challeng'd her Right, he assist'd her so Powerfully, that she gain'd the Kingdom, and had kept it, had she but follow'd his Advice. Her Son was more pliable to good Counsel, and was therefore more fortunate: He comply'd with moderate Overtures, and suffer'd his contending Rival, not only to live in Freedom and Safety (a Request his Mother had refus'd to grant) but to Reign while he liv'd.

Thus, after *England* had felt all the ordinary Calamities that wait on Usurpation, during the Space of about 18 Years, Peace and Justice were again restor'd to the Nation, together with the lawful Heir: And all this was in a great Measure owing to the unshaken Fidelity, steady Conduct, and powerful Assistance, of the King of *Scots*. A Favour Prince *Henry*, when King of *England*, ought not to have forgotten: For 'tis plain, he had never been King, had his Grand-Uncle oppos'd him, in Conjunction with King *Stephen*; or, had he but stood by, and unconcern'dly look'd on. And this shews, that the *Scots*, when united among themselves, were ever able to cast the Ballance of *England*, when divided, as they had a mind.

War is certainly one of the greatest Evils that Nations are liable to; but 'tis such an Evil, as is often, like unpalatable Medicines, necessary. Some People, especially the *British*, are naturally so Bizarre and Inconstant in their Temper, so impatient of Ease, so Stubborn and Factious, that the Greatest and Wisest of their Sovereigns, have like cautious Physicians, thought fit from time to time, to moderate the Activity of their Spirits, by Blood-letting; I mean, by employing them in foreign Wars, lest being fatten'd and oppress'd

oppress'd by Idling and Wealth, they should relapſe into their un-
 al Diſtemper, Phrenſy ; and act the Chirurgeons upon themſelves ;
 that is, fall foul upon one another, and make War at Home. As
 beneficent and good as King *David* was, he experienc'd, that, till
 his Subjects were employ'd in thoſe juſt Wars he wag'd in *England*,
 they were in ſome Meaſure incapable of enjoying the Bleſſings of
 Peace, Plenty and Piety, he endeavour'd to ſettle among them :
 For, about two Years after his Acceſſion to the Throne, a dange-
 rous (a) Commotion was rais'd by *Angus*, Earl of *Murray*, who, as
 ſome ſay, was deſcended (b) of *Duncan*, the late Uſurper ; and
 perhaps as ſuch pretended to high Matters : But he was cut off with
 all his Followers ; and *William*, the Son of *Duncan*, was receiv'd into
 Favour, and afterwards prefer'd to Honour and Truſt ; a Proof
 that he had not been concern'd in the ſeditious Attempt. *Malcolm*
Macbeth, an hereditary Enemy to the King, endeavour'd a ſecond Re-
 bellion ; but he was taken and committed Priſoner in the Caſtle of
Roxburgh ; and, not long after, his Son *Dovenald*, being guilty of the
 ſame Crime, was alſo apprehended at *Whit-horn*, and us'd in the
 ſame Manner. 'Tis probable the Father and Son were eminent
 for their Intereſt and Power in *Galloway* ; and that thoſe of that
 Country (then much larger in Extent than it now is) adher'd to
 them : For we find, that, (c) ſome Years afterwards, *Robert Bruce*,
 in order to diſſwade King *David* from invading *England*, deſir'd him
 to remember, That by the help of the *Engliſh* Arms, he had been
 terrible to thoſe of *Galloway* ; and that *Walter Eſpec*, and ſome *Eng-
 liſh* Noblemen (whether as Volunteers, or, by the Orders of their Ma-
 ſter, King *Henry I.* I cannot tell) waited on the King at *Carlile*,
 and aſſiſted him in quelling this laſt Rebellion. This I mention
 the rather, becauſe I incline to omit no Opportunity of doing Ju-
 ſtice to the Merits of the *Engliſh* Nation. And ſo much of King *David*'s
 Wars : 'Tis now time to talk of the no leſs glorious Actions of his
 more peaceable Reign.

King David
 I. quells Ci-
 vil Commo-
 tions.

One of the moſt commendable Things he did, was this: He en-
 deavour'd by all Means, that Juſtice ſhould be impartially admini-
 ſter'd to his Subjects ; and that they ſhould be instructed in the
 Knowledge of Right and Wrong. With this View, (d) he employ'd ſe-
 veral of the moſt Knowing and Learn'd of the Nation to make a
 Collection, not only of the Laws of *Scotland*, but alſo of thoſe they
 had obſerv'd to be of greateſt Uſe in their Travels abroad. This
 done, he call'd a grand Council from all Parts of the Kingdom ;
 and by their Advice he pick'd out from theſe Collections, that Sy-
 ſtem of the *Scots* Law, we commonly call *Regiam Majeſtatem*. A
 System, ſo Excellent, and ſo deſerv'dly admir'd, that the *Engliſh*,
 by borrowing from it, or rather adapting it entirely to their own
 Uſe, have made it a Doubt, whether we have our Law from them,
 or they from us. The moſt-knowing *Sir Thomas Craig* was indeed

Laws of
 King David

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of

(a) Buchan. Boeth. &c. in vit. Reg. (b) Dalrymple, p. 169. (c) Ethelred de bell. Standard. p. 345. (d) Anderſon's Hiſtor. Eſſay, p. 137, &c. Chron. Kinloſs penes Sir Robert Sibbald.

of Opinion, that the *Regiam Majestatem*, was no Part of the Scots Law; but that it was taken from *Glanvil* an *Englishman*, who was Chief Justice under *Henry II.* and by Consequence unwarrantably impos'd upon this Nation: But he was Mistaken; and, since his Time, the learn'd Clerk-Register, Sir *John Skeen*, and after him, Mr. *James Anderson*, and Sir *James Dalrymple*, have resolv'd the Question, by uncontrovertible Evidence. For, to say nothing of the most renown'd *English* Antiquaries, *Spelman* and *Selden*, who both acknowledge, that these Laws were publish'd by the Command of *David I.* of Scotland, and consequently were but transcrib'd by *Glanvil*, or his Master King *Henry II.* of *England*, who did not begin to Reign, till about the Death of King *David*. The thing is evident from the following Observations.

The Composer of the *Regiam Majestatem*, in the 10th Paragraph of his Preface, tells plainly, that he digested these Laws by Order of King *David*, *Cum sano consilio totius regni sui, tam populi quam cleri.* Besides, King *William*, the Grandchild of King *David*, by one of his uncontroverted Statutes, appoints, *That if any be challeng'd for Theft, the Custom and Statute of King David shall be observ'd.* And King *Alexander II.* his great Grandchild, ordains, *That all stoln Goods shall be brought to the Places, appointed by King David; the I. to be sure: For King David II. did not Reign till very long after.* Now these two Statutes of after Kings, do plainly allude, the I. to the 16 Chapter, and the II. to the 20th of the I. Book of the *Regiam Majestatem*.

Besides 'tis remarkable (and I had the judicious Observation from a Person of Quality, who, to say nothing of his refin'd Taste, with Reference to the politer Arts, and *Belles Lettres*, is eminent, tho he would not seem to be so, in the Knowledge both of History and Law) that when King *Edward I.* of *England*, had in the Year 1304, brought *Scotland*, (as he thought) to Subjection, that Prince appointed (a) *Les Lois que le Roy David fist; the Laws of King David to be sought out and revis'd, together with the Emendations and Additions since made by succeeding Kings.* The Laws then of King *David*, were the standing Laws of the Kingdom in those Days: And what other Laws he made, besides those contain'd in the *Regiam Majestatem*, we know not; but are sure, that to these, Emendations, and Additions were put by succeeding Kings. 'Tis therefore plain, that the Scots *Regiam Majestatem*, is the Original; and that the *English Glanvil* has borrow'd from, and copy'd after King *David*: And no wonder, that a Prince, so eminently Just in all the Actions of his own Life, should have been, as *Justinian* and other great Monarchs, sollicitous to collect good Laws, and transmit them down to Posterity.

He did Justice to all (b), but chiefly to the Poor: Their Causes he heard himself with incredible Patience and Condescension, while he remitted those of the Rich to the Judge Ordinary; and if a false Judgement had been given, he would not rescind it, but
 His great Justice and Charity. compell'd

(a) Pryn Collections Tom. III, p. 1055. (b) Buchan. Joan. Major in vit. David.

compell'd the Judge himself to pay the Damgages awarded. *John Major*, to shew the tender Feeling he had of the Miseries of the Inferior People, tells us, that one Day, designing to divert himself and his Court with Hunting, he had call'd for his Horse, and had his Foot in the Stirrup, when a poor Man approach'd, complain'd of some Injury done him, and begg'd to be redress'd. The King, mov'd with Compassion, alighted, heard his Complaint, gave him Satisfaction, and then, and not till then, took Horse, as he had before design'd.

His Beneficence to the Church and Church-men was extraordinary; (a) for he not only repair'd such Monasteries, as were decay'd by Age, or defac'd by the Injuries of War, but to the six Bishopricks, formerly erected, he added four more, viz. *Ross, Brechin, Dunkeld, and Dumblane*: As also, the Abbies of *Fedburgh, Kelso, Melrofs, Newbottle, Holy-Rood-House, Kinlofs, Cambuskenneth, Dundrenan*; and *Homcultram* in *Cumberland*. He founded likewise two Religious Houses at *Newcastle*; one for the *Benedictines*, another for the *White Monks*; And for profess'd Virgins or Nuns, two Monasteries; one at *Berwick*, and another at *Carlile*: All which he provided with competent Revenues. His Liberality in this Respect many condemn, others approve and cry up to the Skies. His severest Censors are *John Major*, a Popish Priest, and the Learn'd *Buchanan*. The first is of Opinion, that had he consider'd how many Religious Houses his pious Ancestors had already erected; with what Parsimony Church-men, especially Monks, ought to live, and what inconsiderable Duties or Subsidies the *Scots* Nation was then in Use to pay to their Sovereigns; he had not thus lavishly squander'd away the Royal Revenues, to feed the Luxury of Prelates; and debase the Devotion of Monks. For, says he, and indeed truly, no sooner did Opulency get Enterance into Cloysters, but Irregularity follow'd: Great Men's Children, young, riotous, and debauch'd, stole, nay, openly intruded themselves into the Church, which they dishonour'd by their Ignorance and Vices: Abbays, and Church-Lands were given in *Commendam*; and those licentious Superiors, had not the Front to crush the Seeds of those Vices in their Inferiors, which had grown up to such an unmeasurable Height in themselves. Hence, adds *Buchanan*, as in Bodies too Corpulent the Use of all Members ceases; so the Sparks of Wit, oppress'd by Plenty began to languish; Learning became nauseous; Piety, Superstitious; and Vice was taught, even in the Schools of Vertue. Upon the Main, they're both in the Right: Those Houses were design'd as *Asylums* or Sanctuaries for Piety, as Colleges for Learning, as Seminaries of Godliness, and Retreats from Sin. Those that retir'd thither, fatiated with the Heavenly Manna, they reap'd in the Desert, ought not to have look'd back upon the Flesh-Pots of *Egypt*; they should have despis'd the World, and the World had honour'd them, and never re-enter'd into it, but to amend it. In a Wotd, it must be own'd, that Church-men, if vicious, are the very worst of Creatures; and

His Liberality to the Church, condemn'd, and vindicated.

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(a) *Spottiswood, Book 2d, p. 324. Dr. Mackenzie, in the Life St. Ælred, Buchanan, Boet. &c.*

the Church of *Rome* came to stand in need, even in the Popish Sense, of a thorow Reformation. Yet King *David* is not at all to be blam'd: (says Arch-bishop *Spottiswood*) He was, in the Opinion of this Reform'd Prelate, a most wise King, knew very well his own Work, and could proportion his Gifts to his Revenues. His Donations, according to the highest Estimate made of them, did not amount to above 120000 Franks; a valuable Sum indeed in those Days, but such as he could spare: Witness his Successors, who, tho not so liberally, yet founded many Monasteries in succeeding Ages: A Proof that he did not leave them destitute of Means to support their Royal Dignity. If Abuses crept in afterwards by Length of Time and the Corruption of Persons; this the good King could not help, nor live to prevent. The *Scots* Bishops and Monks, for many Centuries before, had from their Cells dispers'd Light all over the known World: Nay, in his Days, we find none of them noted for Ignorance or Vice. And if the Reason objected should hold, the best of God's Creatures, and the most pious Institutions which ever were in the World, should be all condemn'd: For what is it, that was ever put in the Hands of Man to use, that has not been abus'd: *Remaneat usus, tollatur abusus*, is a Maxime, Wise Men, in the like Cases will ever practise. Besides, says the Arch-bishop (a) this further will I boldly affirm; that if there be any Profusion excusable in Princes, it is this: And the Reason is plain: For, as these Foundations are the most lasting Monuments, to glorify their Memories, so they are their readiest Helps. to supply their Necessities on all Occasions. Indeed we have often found by Experience that 'tis so; at least, where the Prince and establish'd Church are in good Terms: Witness the equally loyal and liberal Church of *England* in the Days of King *Charles I.* And witness those of *France* and of *Spain* at present; had it not been for their *Dons gratuits*, King *Lewis* had been humbl'd, and *Philip* dethron'd ere now. The Wealth of the Church, is, or ought to be, with Reference to the State, what the *Cors de Reserve* are in Armies; and where the National Church is poor, the Country, not only wants those beautiful and lasting Ornaments elsewhere to be seen, but also, a ready Fund to supply, upon Occasions, the Deficiency of all others. If so, King *David* cannot be said to have given away the Revenues of the Crown: He only lent a Part of them, or rather laid them up in Store, for the Use of the Kings his Successors, the Benefit of the Nation, & the Improvement of the Country. Hence those noble Structures and stately Edifices, inconsiderate Zeal afterwards overturn'd; Edifices so wonderful, that their very Ruines are still admir'd. Hence the high Ways and Bridges, yet extant in several Parts of the Kingdom, the Piety of Bishops, erected. Hence the fat and well cultivated Lands, the Labour and Industry of Monks improv'd. Besides, 'tis observable, that where the Church is rich, and Church-men live in Celibacy, there noble Families are more lasting, and all Ranks of People better provided for: And the Reason is evident; for besides the numerous Hospitals they build for the

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Entertainment of such Poor, as would otherwise have died, for want both of Medicine and Food : They generally bestow great Part of their Yearly Revenues towards the Support of their nearest of Kin. They consider their Nephews and Nieces as their Children, and take Care to have them educated conform to their Rank, Inclination and Parts. Nor is their Care, as that of Parents, confin'd to but one Family ; all their Kindred share in their Gifts : And since there is not one, tho never so mean and despicable, but is some way or other related to Churchmen in Place, it follows, that there are none in a Nation but are better'd by them, insomuch, that if the People continues indigent and miserable where such a Church is establish'd, this is owing to the unhappy Circumstances or Constitution of the Country, which, if depriv'd of these Means of Encouragement and Support, would be unhappier. Widows and Orphans would be really so, there being no Persons willing, nor Funds sufficient to afford them Subsistence or Education. None without a Stock or Employment could thrive ; and none, or but few, come to Employments that had not been born to a Stock : The best Families would at length decay, and Children become burdenson to Heirs, because oblig'd to provide for all those, who (were the Church Rich) would by becoming Churchmen, both provide for themselves, and support their Brethren and Friends. Women and Maids, especially those of mean, but Honourable Families, would be expos'd to all the Temptations that assault the Weaker Sex ; because oblig'd to live in the World, and unable to do it for want of Patrimonies. Thus Chastity should have no Safeguard, nor Piety a Retreat from Wordlings ; nor could Learning flourish, where none could get either Honour or Wealth by being Learn'd. These, or such Reasons as these, might probably induce King *David* to be liberal to the Church ; which, had Care been taken to keep Churchmen to their Duty, might have prov'd so beneficial, even to the State, that after-Kings would not have thought this one to have been, what King *James I.* is said to have call'd him, *A fore Saint to the Crown.*

So much Courage, such Justice, and so great Beneficence could not fail of begetting Love and Respect, both for his Person and Government. Accordingly, all his Subjects obsequiously comply'd with whatever he desir'd : He reign'd in their very Hearts ; and, by Consequence, prosperously ; yet was twice affected with unspeakable Grief ; but suffer'd both Calamities with Heroick Patience. The one proceeded from the untimely Death of his Wife, t'other, from that of his Son. His Wife, an incomparable Lady, for whom he had all the Tenderness her great Beauty, and greater Vertue deserv'd, died in the Flower of her Age, and in the 7th Year of his Reign. He liv'd full twenty Years after her ; and all this time, not only continu'd a Widower, but, as all Authors agree, kept even his Thoughts free from the ordinary Desires of healthful Nature : For his constant Application to the publick Concerns, both of War and Peace, is a sufficient Testimony, that he was far from being of a weak or un-

Death of
his Wife.

manly Constitution ; but, it seems, he was satisfied, that, as he who marries does well, so he who marries not does better.

Death of his
Son and
Heir,
Prince Hen-
ry.

The second and most cutting Affliction of his Life, was occasion'd by the Death of his Son, Prince *Henry*, the Comfort of his old Age, the Heir of his Crown and large Territories, the Darling of his People, nay, and the Object of the Admiration and Love of the *English* as well as the *Scots*. Both Nations (for both were very much concern'd in him; the *Scots*, as in the Heir of their Crown; the *English*, as in the greatest Prince and first Peer of *England*) consider'd his Death as a publick Calamity : Every particular Person lamented the private Misfortune, which he thought had happen'd to himself. He had been sick some Years before ; and, if we may believe *St. Bernard*, (a) had been recover'd by a Miracle : But Miracles are rare, and never to be look'd for ; and it God Almighty wrought one in his Favour, he did not think fit to repeat it : So he died in the Year 1152. His Father's Grief was increas'd by the Circumstances of the Time ; for he was now an old Man, and his Grand-Children young ; by Consequence, not yet able to support the Weight of the Government ; whereas his Grand-Nephew Prince *Henry*, who was to succeed King *Stephen* in the Throne of *England*, was then in the Heat and Fervour of his Youth, and naturally of a fierce, restless and ambitious Temper. He fear'd, that if he himself, whose Authority alone was capable to over-aw that Prince, should die, as 'twas probable he could not be long liv'd ; he fear'd, I say, what afterwards fell out, that Prince *Henry*, forgetting the Obligations put upon him, would catch at the Opportunity of aggrandizing himself, by inroaching upon his Neighbours. These Considerations every Body thought capable to depress his languishing Spirits, and to shorten the few Days of his remaining Life. But, besides his Martial Temper, he had, by the Exercise of all the Christian Virtues, so strongly fortified his Mind against the Fiercest of humane Passions, that he had attain'd to an immoveable Constancy. This appear'd very plainly on the present Occasion. For,

When his Nobility fear'd, that he should have sunk under the Weight of irresistible Grief, he call'd them together to an Entertainment in his Palace, and, in stead of seeking Comfort, gave it to them ; who, to say the truth, stood more in need of it than himself. He told them (a) “ That no new thing had happen'd
“ to him or his Son : That he had long since learn'd from the
“ Conversation and Sermons of good and learn'd Men, and more
“ particularly, from the Examples of his Father and Mother, that
“ the World was govern'd by the Providence of Almighty God :
“ That Providence was not to be resisted, and that he ever ob-
“ serv'd a Ray of it, in the darkest Night of his Afflictions. That convinc'd
“ (as he ever was) that the powerful Worker of all things does
“ no-

(a) In vit. Malach. (b) Buchan. Dr. Mackenzie ubi sup.

“ nothing but for a good End, tho hidden from the Weakness of our
 “ Conceptions, he could not grieve for ought that could happen,
 “ but that he rather found Joy in the midst of Sorrow, and Comfort in
 “ Troubles. That Heaven had been pleas’d to bless him with many
 “ Afflictions of the same kind: For, continu’d he, my Father, when
 “ I was but an Infant, paid his last Tribute to Nature: He was the
 “ Father of his People, especially of the Poor, as well as mine;
 “ and could Tears have preserv’d him, he had never been cut off.
 “ Death, to execute the Decrees of its Sovereign, did also seise my
 “ Mother: I speak nothing of her Vertue; the World knows it.
 “ My Brothers, who lov’d me with a peculiar Tenderness, were
 “ snatch’d from me one after another. My Wife, whom I honour’d
 “ and cherish’d above all things on Earth, was likewise taken from
 “ me by Death. The Son has now follow’d his Mother, and no
 “ Wonder, since he, as they, was born on no other Terms, but
 “ that he behov’d to die, and, by dying, pay that Debt to God and
 “ Nature, which he contracted before he was born. This is our
 “ Case, and ’twas his, and if we are, as we ought to be, always
 “ ready to pay our Debts, when crav’d, ’tis no matter how soon
 “ our Creditor, God Almighty, shall call on us for it. If only wic-
 “ ked Men were subject to Death, then we might justly grieve at
 “ the Loss of our Kindred: But we see that good Men die as well
 “ as the bad, and often sooner, because sooner ripe for these Joyes
 “ laid up for them in Heaven. All Christians ought therefore to
 “ be thoroughly settl’d in this Persuasion, *That no evil can happen to*
 “ *the good, whether dead or alive.* As for my Son, if he has been
 “ call’d upon before us, that so he might the sooner visit and enjoy
 “ the Fellowship of my Parents and Brethren, those precious Souls
 “ the World was not worthy of, why should I regrave or envy his
 “ Happiness? Sure I cannot do it, but out of a Principle of Self-
 “ Love; and should I mourn for him, it might be thought that I
 “ grudge at nothing but the Loss I my self have sustain’d. To
 “ conclude, I have more reason to rejoyce that God gave me a Son,
 “ who (in your Judgment, and consequently in that of all my Peo-
 “ ple) deserv’d to be lov’d while alive, and is now lamented when
 “ dead. Since ’tis so (as ye by your many good Offices of Respect,
 “ both to me and him, have abundantly shewn) I ought not, can-
 “ not regrave the Loss of a Treasure, which I have possess’d so short
 “ a time, nor so many fair Hopes that are now vanish’d, nor that
 “ dear Part of my Heart torn from me: Neither can I complain
 “ of Injustice; God has re-demanded what I held of his Goodness:
 “ I think to follow him, and hope to be quickly deliver’d from the
 “ Miseries, Anguishes and Disgraces, that are inseparably mingl’d
 “ amongst the greatest Pleasures of the World, to begin an Eterni-
 “ ty of Pleasure in Heaven.

These last Words, some think he spoke with a Prophetick Spirit:
 For, says *John Major*, he fore-knew his Death, either by a natural

Instinct, or, which is more credible, by an Inspiration from Heaven, a Year before it happen'd ; for which Reason he redoubl'd his Acts of Charity, and was more than ever, assiduous in his Devotions, feeding the Poor with his own Hands, and receiving the bless'd Sacrament every *Sunday*. Nor did he neglect the Affairs of State : Prince *Henry* had left three Sons behind him, *Malcolm*, *William* and *David*, and as many Daughters, *Adama*, *Margaret* and *Matilda*. The eldest Son *Malcolm*, he commended to the Care of the Nobility, but more particularly to that of *Duncan Macduff*, Earl of *Fife*, a very powerful and prudent Man ; whom, in Quality of Governour to the young Prince, he commanded to wait on him through the several Countries of the Kingdom, with Orders to shew him to the People, and to cause him be receiv'd and proclaim'd as the undoubted Heir of the Crown. *William*, his second Grand-son, he took along with himself to *Newcastle*, nam'd him Earl of *Northumberland*, and caus'd the principal Men of that Country to do him Homage, and give Hostages for their Fidelity. In fine, he made *David*, the youngest, Earl of *Huntington* in *England*, and of *Garioch* in *Scotland*. These Destinations *John Major* arraigns ; as impolitick : 'Twas possible that the younger Brothers, might, by *English* Influence, be afterwards prevail'd upon to prove undutiful to the elder : And this Danger might have been prevented had the young Princes got Possessions in *Scotland*, and the *English* Counties remain'd in the Hands of the *Scots* King. However, no Mischief did ensue upon this equal Division : And Naturality, as well as all the other Vertues, descended down to most of the Posterity of King *David*.

Margaret, the eldest Daughter of Prince *Henry*, was afterwards married (a) to *Conan*, Duke of *Britany*, and *Adama* the second, to *Florence*, Earl of *Holland* : And from them are lineally descended all those of the so long contending and rival Houses of *Austria* and *Bourbon*. What came of the youngest, *Matilda*, I do not find upon Record : 'Tis probable, that in Imitation of so many of her nearest Relations, she despis'd the World, and became a Nun.

Besides Prince *Henry*, by most Authors mention'd as the only Child of King *David*, we have good Authority (b) to believe that he had a second Son nam'd *Walter*, *Walthemus*, or *Walderus* : But the pious Disposition of that Prince's Youth, made him leave the World before he well knew it, and become a Monk in the Abbacy of *Melrofs* : He was afterwards preferr'd to be Superior of that Monastery, and was elected Bishop of *St. Andrews*, but declin'd that Honour. He died on the 3d of *August* 1159, is said to have wrought many Miracles, and is now ranked among the Saints of the *Roman* Church.

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(a) Chron. Melrofs. ad Ann. 1160, & 1162. (b) Chron. Melrofs ad Ann. 1152. Vit. Pontiff. St. And. MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edinburg.

The King was now well stricken in Years, and, not long after, sickn'd, and saw Death at Hand. He had fearlessly view'd it before in all its most frightening Shapes; and beheld it, on this more certain Emergency, with a serene Eye, a pleasant Countenance, and a Mind, as usually, undaunted: Nay, he welcom'd it, as a Herald sent from his Sovereign, with the long'd for News of an eternal Peace; yet he prepar'd himself for the Meeting, as became a humble Penitent, and a contrite Sinner. He would not suffer the bless'd Sacrament to be brought to his Bed-Chamber, but caus'd himself to be carried to the Church. He no sooner enter'd it, but he made a short and fervent Exhortation to all about him, intreating they would be serious in their Devotions with him: Then having heard Divine Service, he receiv'd the bless'd Sacrament upon his bended Knees, and so return'd to the Palace, where he was not long, before he felt the nearest Approaches of Death: Then, with these Words (the last he spoke) *Jesus, my Saviour, I render thee the Kingdom wherewith thou didst intrust me; put me in Possession of that, whereof all the Inhabitants are Kings;* He exchange'd his earthly, for a heavenly Crown, and so died at *Carlisle*, after a glorious and happy Reign of 29 Years, two Months and three Days, in the Year of our Lord 1153, on the 24th Day of *May*, and was afterwards buried at *Dumfermling* with Royal Pomp and Splendor.

His pious
Death.
A. D. 1153.

'Tis not easy to give a Character of this Prince, in any manner answerable to his Merits. He equall'd all bypast or present Warriours. He had to do with an active, unfaithful and daring Enemy, at once a King of *England*, and a potent Sovereign of several Provinces in *France*; by Consequence much Superior to himself in Wealth or Power; yet he plainly over-match'd him, in three different Wars: For by the first he forc'd from him the Territories contended for; and in the next, he was a principal Instrument in pulling him down from the Throne he had usurp'd, and in placing the lawful Heirefs upon it. She had not Steddiness enough to sit secure: But then the constant Protector of the juster Cause, did by her Son, what he had done by her; that is, he made him King: I may say so, since 'tis evident, that King *Stephen* had never been brought to disinherit his own lawful Son, *William*; and to adopt his greatest Enemy and Rival, *Henry*; had King *David* stood by an unconcern'd Spectator of their Battles. So that what was said of *Pompey*, may be apply'd to King *David*; *Æque pulchrum esse judicavit & vincere Reges & facere.* But, if he was Brave and Generous as *Pompey*, he was, as *Cato*, inflexible, austere and rigid in Right. The greatest Wits of Antiquity seem to have contended who should best express the admir'd Vertue of the *Roman* I mentioned last: The Good, says *Virgil*, (a) are plac'd apart by themselves, and *Cato* gives them Laws: And *Horace* tells us, (b) that all the World submitted to Usurpation, but the unconquerable

His Char-
acter.

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Spirit

(a) Secretosque pios, his dantem jura Catonem. (b) Et cuncta terrarum subacta, præter atrocem animum Catonis.

Spirit of *Cato*. Another (a), that he was, *Homo virtuti simillimus, per omnia ingenio Diis quam hominibus propior, qui nunquam recte fecit, ut facere videretur*. Could such Pens as these be found to write the Life of King *David*, how nobly would they write, upon a Subject as far elevated above those they handl'd, as Fortitude, properly so call'd, is above Courage misapply'd; as Justice is above Ambition; Patience above Despair; Charity above Humour; the Heroe above the Brave; and the Saint above the Heroe: So far did the Christian Excellencies of King *David*, surpass the noblest Endowments of the *Alexander's*, *Pompey's* and *Cato's*. Nay, if we may believe *Buchanan*, (b) (no Flatterer of Kings,) *He equall'd all former Kings in military Science, and excell'd them in the Arts of Peace; in so much, that, if the best Heads and greatest Wits should set themselves to frame the Character of an accomplish'd Prince, they could never devise nor imagine such an one, as he did express himself in the whole Course of his Life*. Archbishop *Spotiswood* (c) says the same thing, and much in the same Words. Sir *Thomas Craig* (d) calls him, *The most Religious Prince that ever was heard of*; and complains bitterly of some *English* Authors, who, in stead of acknowledging the good Offices he did to their Constitution and Royal Family, ungratefully tax him with Barbarity in making War: As if it was possible, that the same Prince, whose only Fault (if he had any) was to have been prodigal in his Favours to the Church and Poor, could have kill'd Priests at the Altar, and butcher'd Children and Women with Child. That he did make War, when provok'd to it, and that he made it with Vigour and Resolution, is certainly true. And *John Major* (e) tells us plainly, that it was an essential Part of his Character,

Parcere subjectis, & debellare superbos.

But most part of the *English* do him Justice: Mr. *Miles* (f) acknowledges, that while he was but Earl of *Huntington*, he had for his Armorial Bearing the Lyon of *Scotland* within a double Tressure, which, by the by, confutes what Mr. *Rymer* has asserted, and shews that the Kings of *Scotland* did actually bear the Double Tressure, as a Badge of their more ancient Alliance with *France*. *Matthew Paris* (g) gives him this Testimony, that he was, *Vir magnæ sanctitatis & mirificæ largitatis*: And St. *Ælred* (h), (accounted an *Englishman* by some of that Nation, adds, That he was exactly like the King whose Name he bore, *A Man according to God's own Heart*. St. *Bernard* (i), his Cotemporary, extolls him highly, and meaning to praise his Son, Prince *Henry*, says, That he was like to his Father King *David*; a brave Souldier, a prudent Captain, a just Man, and a Lover of Truth: His Words are these, *Henricus est iste----- unus patris sui, miles fortis & prudens, patrisonans (ut aiunt) in sectando justitiam & amorem veri*: That is, the Eloquence of St. *Bernard* could praise the Son by no means better, than by saying, that he follow'd

(a) Velleius Paterculus. (b) ubi sup. (c) Book. II. p. 37. (d) Disput. concerning Homage chap. 27. (e) bi sup. (f) Dalrymple p. 176. (g) Idem p. 175. (h) Dr. Mackenzie ubi sup. (i) in vit Malach.

follow'd the Steps of his Father. In fine, Mr. *Johnston* celebrates King *David*, as follows,

*Aurea progenies, genus alto a sanguine Divum,
O decus, O patriæ flosque jubarque tuæ ;
Auspice te, antiqui imperii nova jura resurgunt,
Cumque novis redeunt sæcula prisca bonis.
Relligio tua cura, tuis super omnia fati.
Res protracta foris, res quoque adacta domi:
Arbiter & belli & pacis, cui nulla tulere
Sæcla parem. Vos O Sæcula magna voco !
Sors bona, sors felix, vitæ in te cuncta beatæ
Clausit, & imperii munera cuncta boni.*

*Auget opes thalâmis, patriam sua ope. Omnia felix,
Prole, thoro, imperio, relligione, fide.
Omnia quum superet, quid restat ? Vincere semet ;
Vincit, se magnis æquiparatque Diis.*

The LIFE of
ALEXANDER II.

The Ninety fourth King of *Scotland*.

THE Scots Nation has been blest'd with three Kings of the Name of *Alexander* ; allso resolutely tenacious of their own Rights, and of those of the Church and State, by Providence committed to their Care ; that I was, for a long Time, dubious, which of the Lives I should write apart. Each of them deserves to be propos'd as a Pattern for Princes to imitate. But I make haste to come down to later Ages ; and my design'd Brevity does not allow me to enlarge upon the Actions but of a few (a). This Monarch was the Son of King *William*, surnam'd the *Lyon*, and of *Emergarda*, a Daughter of the Earl of *Beaumont*, and a near Relation of the King of *Eng-*

K. Alexander II. his Birth. A. D. 1199.

land. He was born in 1199, the same Year, in which *Richard*, the King of *England*, died, and King *John* succeeded. (b) He went by his

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(a) Buchan. Boet. Lelly, my L. Ormond, John Maj. MSS. of Icolmkill, in vit. Alex. II. (b) Tyrrel ad Ann. 1212.

He goes to
the Court of
England, and
is Knighted.
A. D. 1212.

Fathers Orders to the Court of this last, when as yet but fourteen Years of Age, and was Knighted by him, in a very solemn Manner, at *Clarken-well*. King *John* lay then under the Sentence of Excommunication; and all that would dare to treat or converse with him, were by the Pope threaten'd with the same Thunder. King *William* was a very religious Prince: He had a great Respect for the Church; nay, and for the See of *Rome* in particular, as is plain from the Pope's Bulls, directed to him, and his Letters to the Pope; of which afterwards: And no doubt he believ'd, that even Sovereigns were liable as others to Ecclesiastick Censures; but he knew that these Censures could only affect such as are not only guilty of notorious Crimes, but are also incorrigibly impenitent. Perhaps he thought that King *John* was such; yet was not perswaded, that he or his Son was therefore oblig'd to neglect their own Affairs, or to for-go their lawful and just Rights, by giving up all Correspondence with him. He had but lately concluded a Treaty with that Prince, and had already perform'd his Part of the Contract, and now sent the Young Prince his Son, to press him to do the like. Besides, (a) says Mr. *Tyrrel*, after *Walter* of *Coventry*, he was now pretty well in Years, and the Remoter Parts of his Kingdom being much disturb'd with intestine Seditions, he implor'd the Assistance of the King of *England*, and sent to him his only Son, and committed him to his Care intirely. If he did so, at this Time of the Day, when he very well knew that the King of *England* stood himself in need of Assistance, and could give it to no Body, he was old indeed, I mean his Intellectual Faculties must have fail'd him, and he knew little of the Affairs of the World: Which yet cannot be alledg'd, since, at the same Time, or very soon after, 'tis own'd, that he advis'd the same King *John* of a Conspiracy, form'd by his own Subjects against him. The Truth is, he hop'd by this Shew of Confidence, and his other good Officers, to win that faithless Monarch over to the Performance of the late Treaty: But he was mistaken; King *John* would never be brought, either to repay the Money receiv'd, or to marry the two Princesses of *Scotland* to his two Sons, as he had promis'd; or to grant Possession to the King of *Scots*, of the Northern Counties. 'Tis true, he treated Prince *Alexander* very nobly, and that Youth was deservedly admir'd and caress'd by him and his Subjects: But these were Compliments that pass of Course; and, it seems, *Alexander* consider'd them only as such. For,

A. D. 1214.

He joins
with the Ba-
rons of Eng-
land against
King *John*.

Upon his very first Accession to the Throne, when as yet but sixteen Years old, he resolv'd to recover by Force, what the Misfortune of his Father had lost, and the Injustice of King *John* detain'd. He wanted but a fair Opportunity of commencing a War, and such an one soon offer'd it self, as luckily for him as he could have wish'd. The Barons of *England* had taken Arms against their King, for the Reasons I have elsewhere related at large: Whether just on their Side or no, as I do not determine, so King *Alexander* was not concern'd

(a) *Tyrrel* *ibid.*

cern'd to enquire. The Articles of the Treaty, I mention'd but now, and have elfewhere given a full Account of, had not yet been made good by King *John*; and *Alexander*, as a Sovereign Prince, had Reason to compel him to Justice; and as a Subject of *England*, his Interest might be the same with that of the Barons. These, as well as the Citizens of *London*, courted his Favour, by the most pressing and obsequious Addresses imaginable. They begg'd he would defend his own and their Rights, and offer'd him all the Encouragement, in their Power to give. Accordingly, they (a) recogniz'd his Title to the Provinces in Dispute, by a great many most solemn and Authentick Writs. They had Reason; never was any Party of Men so hard put to it, nor was Assistance given so very much *a propos*.

King *John*, upon the Head of his Mercenary foreign Souldiers, was like a foreign Enemy, bearing down all before him with irresistible Force and merciless Rage: (b) He divided his Army into several Bodies; these rang'd through all Parts; and, if we may credit *Matthew Paris* and others, neither spar'd Sex nor Age. The Priests they took from the very Altars, with the consecrated Hosts in their Hands; then wounded, tortur'd and rob'd them. The Castles and Houses of the Barons they demolish'd or burnt; and to extort Money from Persons of all Conditions, they hang'd some by the Privities, others by the Legs and Feet, some by their Arms, Hands or Thumbs, injecting Salt and Vinegar into their Eyes; and others they laid upon Trivets and Grid-irons over burning Coals, and then put their parch'd Bodies under Ice to cool them: Inso-much that all Commerce ceas'd, and no Markets were held but in Cemeteries or Church-yards. King *Alexander* could not hear of these inhumane Barbarities without Horror and Detestation: He pitied his unhappy Neighbours; and in Pursuance of the Agreement he had made, he rais'd an Army, (c) enter'd *England*, took *Norham-Castle* which yielded to him upon certain Conditions; and then, continuing his March, he maul'd the King's Party, wherever he found any of them, and reduc'd all *Northumberland* to his Obedience. The Inhabitants of that Country repair'd with Joy to the Standard of their Deliverer, and all the Barons paid Homage to him, as to their Righteous Lord. Nay, even those of *York-Shire* did the like: They came to him from all Parts, to implore his Protection, and, says Mr. *Tyrel*, did him Homage (I rather believe, that these last only swore to the Performance of the Treaty agreed to) at the *Abbay of Melros*.

While *Alexander* was thus busied, King *John* and his Mercenaries were not idle. They could not get the Persons of those Barons, that had fled for Refuge to the *Scots* Army, into their Hands; but they spent their Fury upon the Towns and Lands these had abandon'd, all which they destroy'd with Fire and Sword; tho some of the Barons had prevented them, and set Fire to their own Houses and Corns before hand: So that almost all the North of *England* was de-

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popu-

Invasés
England.

Conquers
all Northumb-
berland.

(a) Append. to Mr. Anderf. *Historic. Essay* Num. 26. (b) *Echard ad Ann.* 1216. p. 255. *Tyrel, &c. ad eund* Ann. (c) *Tyrel* *ibid.* *Buchan. in vit. Alex. II. Chron Melros, MSS. of Icolmkill.*

populated and laid waste. Nor did the South of *Scotland* fare much better; for King *John* pass'd the Borders, and penetrated into the Country as far as *Haddington*. He set Fire to that Place, as he had done to *Dumbar*, and wasted all *Lothian* and the adjacent Country. But King *Alexander* put a Stop to his Fury: By this Time he had got more Forces together; and, having encamp'd between the *Lowland-Hills* and River of *Esk* (towards which Place; he had Intelligence that the Enemy design'd to march) he at once guarded the Neighbouring Country from Devastation, and provok'd the invaders to a decisive Battle. But they durst not venture upon it: They therefore retreated by another Way, but left behind them indelible Marks of Infernal Rage. The Writer of the *Chronicle of Metros*, who then liv'd, (says Mr. *Tyrrel*) gives a large Account of the Barbarities they committed; and lest it should be thought, that King *John* himself rather conniv'd at, than commanded them, the Manuscript of *Icolmkill*, as well as other Authors, tells us; That forgetful of his Royal Dignity; and of all Decency, he set Fire with his own Hands to the Abbey of *Coldingham*, in which he had been lodg'd and entertain'd. He also took, burnt, and then deserted the Towns of *Roxburgh* and *Berwick*; and so leaving *Scotland*, he return'd to *England*, where again he repeated, or rather continu'd, the same Acts of Depredation and Horror. The Towns of *Werk*, *Alnwick*, *Mydsford*, and *Morpeth* were reduc'd into Ashes; and those that favour'd the Barons, wherever found, were put to the Sword. Those that adher'd to him were us'd much in the same Manner by the King of *Scotland*: That Prince, extremely desirous to put an end to this more than Civil War, (if I may use the Expression of *Lucan*) made all the Hast he could to pursue and engage the retreating Enemy. With this View, he re-enter'd *England*, and led his Army quite through *Northumberland*, as far as *Richmond*; but King *John* (as backward to fight, as forward to plunder and destroy) by long Marches made out of his Way; and he unable to overtake that Prince, return'd through *Westmorland*, and in his Turn ravag'd the Country adjoining to *Carlisle*, took that important Place, and having order'd it to be fortified, dismiss'd his Army, and so ended the Campaign.

Defends
Scotland.

Offers Battle
to K. *John*.

A.D. 1216.

The next Year brought along with it a new Face of Affairs in the Island. The Barons, thus miserably oppress'd, by an unnatural King, themselves had unwarrantably elected; by his Cowardice subjected to the Pope, who having at first encourag'd them to withstand their excommunicated Sovereign, had now excommunicated them, for pursuing the Measures himself had put them upon; and over-run by foreign Souldiers, who, had it not been for the Diversion made by the *Scots*, had in one Year depopulated and laid waste the whole Kingdom of *England*; The Barons, I say, irritated upon so many Accounts, came to an unanimous, but desperate Resolution, to shake off that Yoke they did not think themselves oblig'd to bear. With this View, they sent and invited Prince *Lewis*, the Eldest Son of *Philip* King of *France*, over to *England*, and made him an Offer of the

the Crown. He accepted of it, notwithstanding all the Efforts made by the Pope, to deterr him and his Father from the Enterprife. His, or rather his Wife's, Title to the Kingdom of *England*; I have elsewhere given an Account of, as also of the Reasons add'd by all Parties, in Vindication of their respective Behaviours; I shall only add in this Place, That upon his first Arrival with a mighty Fleet, and a considerable Land Army into *England*; he asserted his own Right, by publishing to the World; "That King *John* was never a lawful King; First, because convict of Treason against his Brother *Richard*. Secondly, because his attaining to the Crown, was by pure Election. Thirdly, because he was solemnly condemn'd by the *French* Peers, for the Murther of Duke *Arthur*, the righteous Heir. Fourthly, because, altho he had been King, yet he was no more such, since he had subjected himself and enthral'd his Kingdom to the Pope: And that, as the great Men of *France* had already declar'd, so he hop'd those of *England* would as unanimously assert and maintain this Point, even to Death, viz. *That no King or Potentate has Power to give away or transfer his Kingdom*: That therefore the Right of Succession was devolv'd to him (Prince *Lewis*) by Inheritance of his Wife, who was Niece to King *John*." And some *English* Authors (a) add also, *By the Election of the Nobility*; an improbable Suggestion; since, in this same Writ, he argues, that King *John* was no King of *England*, because he was such by pure Election. And Mr. *Tyrrel* (b) tells us, from the History of *William Thorn*, that he claim'd an *Hereditary Right to the Kingdom of England*, which (tho indeed by no means allowable, since his Wife was not the nearest in Blood) yet the Barons generally sustain'd, and, conform to their previous Agreement, flock'd to him from all Parts, and did Homage to him, as to their lawful Sovereign.

King *John* lay at *Dover* at the time, upon the Head of his Army; but it consisted of Strangers, and for the most part *Frenchmen*: For which Reason, he could no longer trust to their Fidelity, nor attempt any thing in Opposition to the Invaders, lest his Men should desert to *Lewis*. He therefore retir'd with his Army to *Winchester*; and *Lewis*, by this means, Master of the Field, march'd unmolested to *London*, where he was Proclaim'd, and Crown'd King of *England*, with all the usual Ceremonies, to the seeming Satisfaction of all Ranks of People; who, notwithstanding the Pope's Legate, Cardinal *Wallo*, Excommunicated him and all his Adherents, yet unanimously join'd and acknowledg'd him. King *Alexander* (c), among the Rest, after having march'd his whole Army through *England*, but in a peaceable Manner, and without doing the least Damage to any on the Road, came to the Capital, and did Homage to *Lewis*, for the Lands he held in *England*: And *Lewis*, on his Part, not only recogniz'd, (d) and by his Letters confirm'd King *Alexander's* Title to the Counties of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland* and *Westmoreland*:

Lewis of France Crown'd King of England.

King Alexander marches with his Army to London.

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(a) Echard ad Ann. 1216. p. 256. (b) Ad Ann. eund. p. 795. (c) Tyrrel, Echard, ubi sup. Buchan. Boeth. &c. etiam ubi sup. (d) Appendix to Mr. Anderson's Histor. Essay. N. 26.

land; but also took an Oath, as did all the Barons, that they would never make Peace with King *John*, without the Consent of King *Alexander*: But, says Mr. *Tyrrel*, To this Oath they were *Staves*.

Joins the
French and
English
Male-con-
tents.

Goes with
Prince *Lewis*
to *France*.

The *Scots* and *French* Forces, being thus join'd with the *English* Male-contents, were no longer to be withstood: They reduc'd, not without some Opposition, the Counties of *Kent*, *Sussex*, *Suffolk*, *Northfolk*, *Essex*, *York*, *Lincoln*, &c. and the unhappy King *John* was so desperately inrag'd by his repeated Malheurs, that he seem'd determin'd to bury himself under the Rubbish of Towns, and Ruines of the Country. *Lewis* and *Alexander* had thought fit to trust the Managment of the War, for some time, to the Conduct of their Lieutenants, and to go over to *France*, in Order to an Interview with King *Philip*. That Monarch met them at *Boloign*: With *Alexander* he renew'd the ancient League between *Scotland* and *France*, and advis'd *Lewis*, to make sure of the Castle of *Dover*, a very strong Place he had imprudently left behind him in the Hands of the Enemy. Both Princes therefore, upon their Return from beyond Sea, sat down before it, where (while they us'd incredible Toil and Expence, in a furious but ineffectual Siege,) King *John* upon the Head of a mighty Army of Robbers and Vagabonds, the Desire of Plunder had made Loyal, broke forth with a sudden Violence, and, like a furious Tempest, over-run many Counties, to the Ruin and Destruction of the Baron's Castles, Houses, Lands and Possessions in all Parts; insomuch, that after having lost all, one would have thought, that he scorn'd to have the Comfort of being regrated by any Man. Yet there were those that did regrate him; nay, would have return'd to their Allegiance, but that they dread'd his implacable Temper, and fear'd, as is ordinary, when the Offence is of a high Nature, that he would never Pardon them heartily. Several things concurr'd to this Change, in the Dispositions of most Men.

King *John* kept himself (as indeed he had Reason) in perpetual Motion and Action; and while he ravag'd and destroy'd their Estates on one Side, they thought not their Services sufficiently rewarded on the other. *Lewis* did not, it seems, trust them entirely: He thought the *English* Nation was generally fickle and mutable, and conferr'd upon his own *Frenchmen*, all the Territories and Castles he had subdu'd. Nay, 'twas talk'd, that a *Frenchman*, the Viscount *de Melun*, while on his Death-bed at *London*, declar'd, that the Prince had sworn, that when he had conquer'd *England*, he would for ever banish all those who fought for him against King *John*, as Traitors to the Realm, and destroy their Posterity. This Report, true or false, was industriously spread abroad; and it very much contributed to alienate the Affections of the People from Foreigners, they naturally did not like. It gaul'd them extreamly to think that the Prince they serv'd, had stigmatiz'd them with the Character of Traitors: And it added to their Grief, that they were Excommunicated,

nicated, and by Consequence reputed Rebels, both to God and the King, to the Church and State.

While Matters stood thus, it fell out luckily for the wavering Princes, that King *John* died, not of Poison (a) as was (but not till after) falsely reported, but of a Fever occasion'd or heightn'd, eating too many Peaches, and drinking new Ale or Bracket. Upon this the whole Kingdom almost unanimously revolted from *Lewis* to *Henry III.* King *John's* eldest Son, an *Englishman* born, and (since Prince *Eleanor* had at least virtually resign'd her Pretensions) their natural and lawful Sovereign. This young Prince was Proclaim'd and Crown'd King at *Glocester* eight Days after the Death of his Father: And in presence of Cardinal *Wallo*, several Earls, Bishops, Barons, &c. he took the usual Oath, did Homage to the Pope for the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and faithfully engag'd to pay the 1000 Merks yearly to the See of *Rome*, which his Father King *John* had granted to it. This endear'd the young King to the then Pope, by whose Legate, Prince *Lewis*, and all his Party, were every *Sunday* and Holy-day declar'd Excommunicated. Nay, his Successor, *Honorius III.* (by his Post preingag'd in the Defence of a Cause, the Court of *Rome* had thought good, when in the Hands of a very ill Man, and which was now bettered and made more plausible, by being Headed by a Child innocent and harmless) let both *Lewis* and King *Alexander* to know, that he would instantly confirm and ratify the Sentence of Excommunication, *Wallo* had already pronounc'd against them. He was as good as his Word, the two Princes were Excommunicated, and the Kingdom of *Scotland* was solemnly Interdicted, as that of *England* had formerly been. Yet *Lewis* did not give up his Pretensions, till he had lost two Battles, one at *Lincoln*, and another at Sea, and was himself besieged and pent up in the City of *London*. Being thus straitn'd, he was forc'd at length to capitulate, to renounce his Claim to the Crown, and forthwith to depart the Kingdom of *England*. King *Alexander* was conditionally comprehended in this Treaty, (b) that is, if he himself should please to accept of the Terms, which were, that he should restore all the Castles, Lands and Prisoners he had taken in *England*, since the beginning of the War, and that King *Henry* should do the like by him. This was not equal: For King *Henry* had taken nothing from him at all, and the Barons had sworn to see him get Justice, with Reference to his Pretensions to the Northern Counties; yet here they faithlesly abandon'd him, notwithstanding his just Right, themselves had so often and so solemnly recogniz'd, and the great, succesful and early Efforts he had made towards their Preservation; Efforts so necessary, that but for them, *England* had been not only wasted and subdu'd, but for the second time planted with those *French* Mercenaries, their own King had brought over.

Death of
John King
of *England*.

Henry III.
Succeeds to
King *John*.

King *Alexander*
Excommunicated by the
Pope.
A. D. 1217.

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Before

(a) Echard Book II. p. 258. Tyrrel vol. 2. p. 803, 804. (b) *Fœdera Angl.* Tom. I. p. 221.

Returns to
Scotland.

Before this time King *Alexander* had foreseen, and was aware of the ungrateful Returns he was like to meet with : For how soon he perceiv'd that the Humour of the Nation was alter'd, he thought to look homewards, and to secure at least those Territories he had gain'd. With this View, he march'd back upon the Head of his Army, as before, in a peaceable and friendly Manner, as if he were still been among Allies and Friends : But the *English* People let him know, that he was in the Midst of his Enemies, They gather'd together in great Numbers, fell upon his Rear, and cut off all the Straglers they met with. Upon this he alter'd his Measures, kept his Men as close together as was possible, march'd through, and encamp'd in the most fertile Countries, caus'd seize upon all the portable Wealth could be found on the Road, and so return'd to *Scotland*, enrich'd with the Spoils of a faithless People, that had invited him thither, and now endeavour'd to impede his Return. I do not say so, as if I meant to reflect upon the *English* Nation, because they prefer'd their own natural Sovereign, the young King *Henry*, to Foreigners, whether *Scots* or *French* : On the contrary, I cannot but commend both their Wisdom and Loyalty : They had certainly Reason to cut off all future Occasions of War, or Competition, with Reference to the Crown : And this they could not effect, but by giving it to the righteous Heir. But then they might have made their Conditions, and oblig'd him to make good their Agreement with the King of *Scots*; and the rather, because he ask'd nothing, but what not only they in their Distress, but even King *John* himself, when on the Throne, had thought just, and had accordingly treated about with King *William*. But now the *English* Barons had no more use for the good Offices of *Alexander* : They set *Henry* upon Means of recovering even those Countries themselves had yielded. The former had fortified *Carlisle* ; and as the Inhabitants, particularly the Clergy, had frankly submitted, so now they still continu'd to adhere to him, notwithstanding both he and they were for that very reason Excommunicated. But it seems their Consciences did not check them upon that Score ; for they continu'd to receive and administrate the Sacraments, to assist at Divine Worship, and to perform all Religious and Christian Duties as before ; nay, they chose one of the King's Chaplains to be their Bishop. (a) Of all this King *Henry* made grievous Complaints to the Pope ; and he, by his Bull, dated at *Avignon*, the Day of *July*, commanded his Legate to exert all his Rigour and Power, towards chastising or reducing the Chanon Regulars of *Carlisle* (who, he says, have nothing regular, but the Name,) and the King of *Scotland*, whom he calls an excommunicated Person, and an Enemy to the Church (he should have said to the Court) of *Rome*.

'Tis probable that Prince had started as little at this last Thunderbolt, as at the former. But the Case was alter'd, Prince *Lewis* had retir'd to *France*, given up his Pretensions, and the *English* were

were unanimous in their Allegiance to King *Henry*. Wherefore King *Alexander*, since he could make nothing by continuing the War, was at length wrought upon to make Peace. A Cessation of Arms was in the mean Time agreed to ; and the Pope, after having taken off the Interdict he had put on the Kingdom, and order'd the King and his Servants to be loos'd from the Sentence of Excommunication, was by both Princes made Umpire of their Differences.

Makes Peace with K. *Henry* III.

Refers Differences to the Pope. A. D. 1219.

Accordingly *Pandulf*, (a) who had succeeded, in Quality of Legate, to *Wallo*, was appointed to consider and determine them. He did consider them as he was order'd, but wav'd giving a definitive Sentence : For what Reason I know not ; probably, because if he had decided the Matter, he behov'd to have done it in Favour of King *Alexander* ; and this was, what neither himself nor his Master can be suppos'd to have inclin'd to. (b) He was at the Time Bishop elect of *Norwich*, consequently a Creature of King *Henry* : And as that Prince shamefully call'd (c) the Pope, in his Letters to him, *his peculiar or special Lord*, and himself, *by his Favour, next to that of God, King of England* ; so the Pope in his Bulls call'd King *Henry* *his Son in a peculiar Manner*, and acknowledg'd an Obligation upon himself, no doubt, as being his Sovereign Lord, to favour his Person, and support his Cause. This is evident from a great many Places of the Collection of Writs publish'd by Mr. *Rymer*. Nay, the Pope's Partiality in Favour of the King of *England*, was such, at this Time, that, to obtain the like Favours, other Princes, particularly *Reginald*, (d) *King of Man*, as he styles himself, *by Hereditary Succession*, courted the Honour of being also a Vassal of the See of *Rome* ; to which he willingly subjected his petty Kingdom, to hold it by an Annual Tribute of twelve Merks. King *Alexander* had nobler and juster Thoughts of his Royal Dignity and Imperial Crown : He scorn'd to hold it, but of God alone : And in his Letters to the same Pope, he always speaks the Language of an Independent Sovereign. 'Twas no Wonder then that the Pope or his Legate, or both, declin'd to give a Decision, which must be in his Favour, consequently to the Loss of so submissive a Son as King *Henry* ; and 'twas much, that the interested and covetous Legate (for such all Authors, especially the *Scots*, (e) say he was) was not by *English* Money or Influence wrought upon, not only to delay, but also to pervert Justice : But it seems, he was not so wicked, or durst not venture upon an Iniquity so staring and palpable. On the contrary, he, or some others about King *Henry*, advis'd him to give some seeming Satisfaction to the King of *Scots* ; and if he could not quite take away, at least, to palliate and stave off Differences. The Advice was seasonable, as Matters stood ; and accordingly a second Interview of the two Monarchs was propos'd and agreed to.

In Pursuance of this Agreement, (f) the next Year they met at *York* ; where, no doubt, King *Alexander*, as before and afterwards,

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(a) Foeder. Angl. p. 235. (b) Ibid. p. 228. (c) Ibid. p. 229. (d) Ibid. p. 234. (e) Boet. Buchan. in Vit. Alex. II. (f) Tyrrel ad Ann. 1220. p. 840.

urg'd that the Conditions of the Treaty made by his Father and King *John*, in the Year 1209, might instantly be ratified and executed by King *Henry*. This last, or his Council, made a Shift to put off the present Execution of some of them, but yielded to the Performance of others; I mean, to the stricter and nearer Affinity of both Families and Nations. With this View, King *William* of *Scotland* had deliver'd up his two Daughters, tho' as yet but Girls, unfit for Wedlock, in order to be educated at the *English* Court, and afterwards married to the two Sons of King *John*. This was ordinary in those Days; and King *John* did, in the same Manner, (a) deliver his own eldest Daughter, the Lady *Jean*, to *Hugh de Lezinan*, Earl of *March* and *Ingoleme*, in View of a Marriage between him and the Princess; but that Earl us'd her much after the same Manner the Daughters of *Scotland* were us'd in *England*; that is, he made no Haste to enjoy his Bride. Nay, he did worse; for upon the Death of King *John*, he married her Mother *Isabel*, the beloved Wife, now Widow of that Prince; and yet had the Confidence, for what Reasons I know not, unless it were to extort a Sum of Money from her Brother, to detain the Princess *Jean* somewhere in *France*. This was some Obstacle to the intended Alliances between the Royal Families of *Scotland* and *England*: For 'twas agreed, that King *Alexander* (b) should take to Wife the same Lady *Jean*, eldest Sister to King *Henry*, but because she was yet in the Custody of the Earl of *March*, her Father-in-Law, King *Henry* oblig'd himself to use all possible Endeavours towards her speedy Relief; and if this could not be effected within the appointed Time, in that Case King *Alexander* was to marry *Isabel*, the youngest Sister. As for the two Sisters of King *Alexander*, they were also by the King of *England*, (c) to be married in *England*, to the joynt Honour of both Kings. And accordingly Princess *Marjory* the eldest, was bestow'd upon the famous *Hubert de Burgh*, (d) Justiciary of *England*. *Isabel* the Younger, the King himself very much affected, (e) and would have married, but being, for I know not what Reasons of State, diverted from that Design, (f) he afterwards gave her to *Gilbert*, Earl *Mareschal*, one of the noble Predecessors of the still first *English* Peer in Being; I mean, his Grace the Duke of *Northfolk*: So that *Buchanan* is out, in asserting, that only one of the two Princesses was married in *England*. King *Henry* did also perform the Obligation he and his Barons had enter'd into, to procure his Eldest Sister for the Bed of the King of *Scots*: He wrote for her again and again; and by his Menaces, Intreaties, and Money, at length procur'd her Restoration; and the Ceremony of her Marriage was perform'd with a great deal of Magnificence in the following Year 1221.

This Match had the Effect intended by the Court of *England*: The Queen, they had given to *Scotland*, was lovely and good, and therefore deservedly belov'd by her Husband, who, upon her Account,

(a) Foeder. Angl. p. 242, 248, 253. (b) ibid. p. 240, 241. (c) p. 240. (d) Tyrrel ad Ann. 1221. p. 842. (e) Tyrrel, p. 872. (f) Tyrrel p. 894.

count, and that of his own Sisters, and Cousin, *John*, the Son of the now deceas'd *David* Earl of *Huntington*, who, (a) in Right of *Ranulph*, his Uncle by the Mother's Side, succeeded in the great and opulent Earldom of *Chester*; and, perhaps, upon some other more political Considerations, did not at all concern in, nor offer to take Advantage of the intestine Jarrs, that afterwards divided King *Henry* and his Barons. For that Prince, when he came to be Major, recall'd the Grants, he said, they had extorted from himself and his Father, and the Barons now grown stubborn, and imbolden'd by Success, kept fast their Advantages, and thought it no Sin to draw their Swords against their lawful Hereditary Sovereign, in Defence of those Priviledges, they had forc'd from an Usurper. But King *Alexander* was so far from countenancing their Associations or Insurrections, that on the contrary, for some Years, he kept a very close and friendly Correspondence with the King, his Brother-in-Law. They would sometimes meet together upon certain solemn Occasions, (b) as they did in the Year 1229 at *York*, where they kept their *Christmases* with great Magnificence and Joy. Some of their Missives sent to one another, are still extant, (c) particularly those occasion'd by the Marriage contracted between *Frederick*, Emperor of *Germany*, and *Isabel*, the youngest Daughter of King *John*. But 'tis plain, that all this was but Trick and Compliment on the Part of King *Henry*; a Prince even *English* Authors acknowledge, not to have been a nice Observer either of Oaths or Treaties.

King *Alexander* had not hitherto desisted from urging (tho he did it but gently) that Justice might be done him, with Reference both to the Northern Counties, and some other Articles of the Treaty agreed to by his Father and King *John*: But Justice had not been done; and to elude it, King *Henry* bethought himself of an Expedient, unworthy of a Christian, or Man of Honour. He could not but know, that neither he, nor any of his Predecessors had ever any Right or Title to the Superiority of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; or, if they had, that it had been extorted by his Grand-father *Henry* II. and as such given up, in the most solemn and Authentick Manner imaginable, by his Uncle *Richard* I. Neither could he be ignorant, that, but of late, and in his own Time, (as I shall afterwards evince) Pope *Honorius* III. a fair and lawful Judge of the Controversy, at least with Reference to him, and in his own Opinion (if we may believe his Letters above taken notice of;) had freed the Church of *Scotland*, as *having ever been the immediate Daughter of that of Rome* (for such are the Words of his Bull) from all Subjection or Dependency on any other Church whatever, and, in particular, on that of *England*. Nevertheless, (now *Honorius*, whom he could not go about to deceive, was dead, and succeeded by *Gregory*, who knew nothing of the Matter) he approv'd of an Appeal (d) which the Arch-bishop of *York* was to make, in order to hinder the King of Scots

Differences arise between King *Alexander* and King *Henry*.

A.D. 1233

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(a) Tyrrel, p. 879. (b) Tyrrel, p. 868. (c) Foeder, Angl. p. 356. (d) *ibid.* p. 328,

from being Crown'd, in Prejudice of the Royal Dignity of the King of England, and that of his own See. Nay (to give some Colour of Justice to this Appeal) he complain'd again and again to the Pope, that (a) the King of Scotland, notwithstanding he was, as such, a Vassal of the English Crown, and had sworn Fealty to himself, yet ceas'd not to affront his Superior, and attempt several Things (What they were, is not recorded) to the Prejudice and Diminution of his Honour! A heavy Charge, if true: But how makes he it good? Thus He recites the extorted Agreement of Subjection made by King William to King Henry II. and pretends that his Father King John was comprehended in that Agreement. Nay, falsely asserts, that, in Pursuance thereof, King William paid Homage to King John; and that the present King Alexander had done the like, both to King John and to himself; than which, nothing could be more unfair and disingenuous: And I'm sorry, that Crown'd Heads should ever have been found capable to descend so low beneath the Character of a Man of Honour; I may add, or of common Sense. For 'tis surprizing, that this Prince or his Council did not foresee, that he must prove the bold Assertion, or be cast in the Judgement, even of him he appeal'd to, when he knew he had no Proofs, nay, not so much as the extorted Deed of King William, to produce; and therefore could not hope to deceive the Pope. But perhaps he flatter'd himself, that the Pope would comply with the Cheat: And if he was not really, that at least he would seem to be deceiv'd; and the rather, because he might have gain'd by being impos'd upon: For, if Scotland had been acknowledg'd a Fee of England, Process of Time, and a second King John, would probably make it, as England, a Part of the Patrimony of St. Peter. Indeed by the first Steps Pope Gregory made, one would have been tempted to think, that he meant to be, as 'twas his Interest, partial: (b) For he wrote two Bulls to King Alexander, and in most pressing Terms exhorted him to stand to the Agreement, as represented by King Henry. He also sent another Bull to the Arch-bishop of York, and Bishop of Carlisle, to the same Purpose. But King Alexander was no Novice in these Matters: He did not believe that even St. Peter was by his Master impower'd to dispose of Kingdoms; and tho he had, he very well knew, that his Successors, altho own'd to be such, may be mis-inform'd, and that their single Decisions are not, even in Spiritual, much less in Temporal Matters, infallible. He had therefore no Regard to the Bulls: Nay, they had a quite contrary Effect upon him than what was expected; for they rather sharpen'd than soften'd him in his Demands and Claims against the King of England. This appear'd evidently from his Behaviour the following Year, (c) when, in an Assembly of the English Nobles at York, he charg'd their King, who was present, with Violation of Treaties, demanded the Restitution of the Northern Counties; and in Case of further Dilators threatn'd a War. Mr. Tyrel tells us, that several concurring Circumstances embolden'd the King of Scots

(a) Foeder. Angl. p. 334, 335, 371. (b) *ibid.* loc. citat. (c) Tyrel, p. 894. Matthew Paris, ad Ann. 1236;

Scots to make so high Demands; as, That he rely'd on his Affinity with the great Marshal of *England*; that he hop'd to win over *Leu-elyn*, Prince of *Wales*, to break the Truce he had lately concluded with *King Henry*; and that *England* and *France* were at the Time in no good Terms. It may be so: And he had Reason to Nick the Opportunities offer'd: However, it seems that his Reasons or Threats had no bad Effect. *King Henry* became willing to hearken to Terms of Accommodation, and in stead of challenging any Superiority over *Scotland*, offer'd a yearly Revenue, as an Equivalent for *King Alexander's* Pretensions to *Northumberland*, &c. The Sum was not accepted of at this Time; but another was condescended upon to terminate Matters; and *Otto*, the Pope's Legate, was again made Umpire, and, it seems, peremptorly order'd to give a final Sentence.

The two Kings met at *York*, as before, and their Differences were long and warmly debated. *King Henry* laid no Claim to *Scotland*, nor any Part of it. A plain Proof, that he could not; for he had a favourable Judge, who, he was sure, if Grains of Allowance had been to be given, would have plac'd them on his Side of the Ballance. *King Alexander*, on the contrary (a), demanded the Counties of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland* and *Westmorland*, as his Inheritance. He likewise desir'd Satisfaction for the Sum of 15000 Merks, paid by his Father *King William* to *King John*, in Consideration of some Conditions, this last had never perform'd; as also, for the Non-performance of the Contracts of Marriage, past at the same time, between *King John's* two Sons, *Henry* and *Richard*, and *King William's* two Daughters, *Marjory* and *Isabel*: A Demonstration, I humbly conceive, that these Princesses were not (as *Mr. Tyrrel* (b) and some others have written) deliver'd up as Hostages, but rather given up as Royal Brides, to the King of *England*; and that the 15000 Merks were given as Portions to them, and in View of the promis'd Marriages: But Reasons of State, or, the Inclinations of Parties had hinder'd the Consummation of these Marriages: And, by an After-Treaty, *King Alexander* had consented, that his Sisters might be bestow'd upon others: *King Henry* had accordingly given them to Husbands, in no Sense inferior, or to *William* great Marshal, the younger, or to *Simon Montfort* (c) both successively married with *Eleanor*, his own Sister. For this Reason 'tis; that, it seems, no Regard was had to the Complaint made, with Reference to that Article of the Agreement: Nor could *King Alexander* insist upon re-demanding the Portions, his Father had given to his Daughters: So that all his Claims were reduc'd to that, which was indeed the only valuable one, and related to the Northern Counties. They were plainly his, by ancient and modern Agreements: His Ancestors had, for some hundreds of Years, been in Possession of all, or most of them: But then the Kings of *England*, since the

An Inter-
view of the
two Kings
at *York*.
A. D. 1237.

Their Diffe-
rences exa-
min'd and
adjusted.

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(a) *Foeder. Angl.* p. 374, 375, 376. (b) *In the Life of King John.* p. 739. (c) *Tyrrel in the Life of King John.* p. 806. *Brady* *ibid.*

Conquest at least, had ever grudg'd their being dismember'd from the Crown they belong'd to. They were an Inlet to *England*; and, as the Peers of that Nation lik'd not to have an Equal, they must bow to; so the Sovereign did not love to have a Vassal, he could not at his Pleasure depress. What he chiefly complain'd of, was, That the King of *Scots*, a foreign Prince, and always in Amity with a yet more remote Foreigner, the King of *France*, should be possess'd of wall'd Towns and strong Castles, within the Kingdom of *England*; and crav'd, that at least these might remain in his own Hands. This was very hard upon the King of *Scotland*, who had equal Right to the Fortresses and Lands: And had the King of *France* demanded any such thing, with Reference to the Territories the King of *England* enjoy'd in that Kingdom, we should have heard of very loud Complaints. Yet such was the Partiality of the Legate; King *Alexander* must comply with the unreasonable Overture; and he was oblig'd to give up his Pretensions to all the fortified Places that lay within the three Counties of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland* and *Westmorland*, and to acquit and release King *Henry* and his Heirs, of this and all other Claims. But then in Lieu of these, and as an Equivalent for so great Concessions, King *Henry* gave to him, and his Heirs, Kings of *Scotland*, two hundred pound Lands, within the Counties above-mention'd. And, to shew that this was no inconsiderable Return, it was expressly provided, that if these Counties, without the Castles, should not be found sufficient to make good the yearly Revenue condescended upon, that what was deficient should be supplied in Places adjacent. These Lands were to hold of the King of *England*: And for them, King *Alexander* did Homage and swore Fealty to him; but this was all the Service he was bound to perform, save the yearly *Reddendo* of a Falcon at *Carlisle*: For henceforth all Law Suits were to be determin'd by Judges, nominated by King *Alexander*, who, if they should be ignorant of the *English* Law, or Customs of the Counties, then *English* Judges might be associated with them; but still the Process must be carried on, and the Sentence pronounc'd and executed within the Bounds of the Fees, and no where else: Nor was King *Alexander*, nor his Heirs, oblig'd, as before, to repair to, or answer in the Court of *England*, upon any Account whatever. This last Clause, if I mistake not, (for 'twere tedious to inlarge upon all the other Privileges and Immunities granted by the same Decreet) was what King *Alexander* consider'd as most valuable: For it made him really Sovereign over those Territories, and a Vassal but in Shew. This was a substantial Equivalent for the Loss of the Castles, but these (formerly their own Security, and that of the adjacent Countries) being now given up, he stood in need of a Guarrantee for the Performance of the remanent Articles; and the Pope was thought a very good one. To his Jurisdiction, *Alexander*, and with him his Barons, willingly submitted; but with a great deal of Caution and Prudence. They expressly declar'd, That they did it only with

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Reference to the Articles agreed on; which if they should go about to infringe, they consented, that he might coerce them Canonically, that is, by the Censures of the Church. King *Alexander* (a) wrote a Letter to this Purpose to the Pope, wherein he styles that Pontiff, *By the Grace of God, Chief Bishop*-----and himself, *By the same Grace, King of Scotland.* A Form of Writing truly Sovereign, and very different from that abject one, which, as I have already told, was us'd by King *Henry*: And this leads me naturally to another remarkable Passage, by *Matthew Paris*, a co-temporary Author, (b), subjoin'd to the Accounts he gives of this Agreement.

The Pope's Legate after he had thus terminated Differences between the two Kings, signified his Inclinations to go to *Scotland*, to treat upon Ecclesiastick Affairs there, as he had done in *England*: But King *Alexander* had no mind, either to subject his Kingdom to a foreign Power, or to see it impoverish'd by unreasonable Exactions. He therefore told the Legate, "That he never remember'd, that any of his Character had been sent into *Scotland*, and (he thank'd God) there was no need of any at this time: That as neither his Father, nor Ancestors, had suffer'd a Legate to enter their Dominions, so he, while he had the Exercise of his Reason, would never allow it. In fine, that the People was Fierce, and that he knew not if he should be able to restrain their Fury, if offended or incroach'd upon." Upon this the Legate alter'd his Thoughts of visiting *Scotland*, and kept close to the King of *England*, whom in all things he found obsequious. So great a Difference, says Mr. *Tyrrel* (c), there was between the Tempers of those two Princes; *The one did all he could to enslave his Kingdom to the Pope; the other to keep it free.* But of the Affairs of the Church, I shall have Occasion to speak afterwards.

The Agreement, concluded in the Terms I have related, was, it seems, thought not so advantageous to *England*, as at first View it would appear: For King *Henry* delay'd to give actual Possession and Investiture to the King of *Scotland*, of the Lands granted to him, till five Years thereafter, when (being, by what means, compell'd I cannot tell) (d), he commissioned the Bishop of *Durham* to assign Lands conform to Paſtion, and then granted a Charter (e); in which they are all enumerated. And now the very Seed of Division and Quarrels was eradicated; every Body thought that the Concord of the Kings, so solemnly sworn to, and by Consanguinity, and yet nearer Affinity cemented, should have been lasting; and the rather, because, much about the same time, (f) a new Alliance was agreed upon; and a Contract of Marriage drawn up between *Alexander*, Prince of *Scotland*, tho but an Infant, and *Margaret*, the Daughter of King *Henry*. Nay, such was the Confidence, King *Henry* put in the Honour and Integrity of *Alexander*, (I very much doubt if King *Alexander* durst have rely'd so far upon the Faith of

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King

(a) Foeder. Angl. p. 377. (b) Ad Ann. 1237. p. 898. (c) Foeder. Angl. p. 400. (d) Copia penes Jacob Anderf. Clause, Hen. III. N. 23. Dorf. dated Feb. 21. (f) Tyrrel, p. 918. Brady in the Reign of Hen. III. p. 583

King Henry) that, when about to go over to *France*, he committed that Part of *England*, which borders upon *Scotland*, to the Care of the King of *Scots*. Nevertheless they quarrel'd anew; the Reason I cannot well tell, nor is it easily to be discover'd. Dr. *Brady* (a) says, that 'twas because the King of *Scots* gave the King of *England* to understand, that he neither did, would, nor ought to hold the least Particle of the Kingdom of *Scotland* of him. If so, King *Alexander* had Reason: And it would seem, that King *Henry* (but a little before bass'd by *France*, and born down by his own Barons) was endeavouring to retrieve his Honour, or at least, to replenish his empty'd Coffers, by trumping up a Pretension, always plausible, tho' ever so bare-fac'dly unjust upon *Scotland*. Mr. *Tyrrel* (b) tells the Story otherwise: He says, that *Alexander* had publicly declar'd, *That he would not hold the least Piece of Earth of the Crown of England*: For, adds he, after *Matthew Paris*, (c), ever since the last Marriage of the *Scottish* King, with the Daughter of *Engelram de Cuscey*, a potent Nobleman in *France*, and mortal Enemy to King *Henry*, the good Intelligence between the two Crowns was abated. This is not probable; for since that Marriage, and but two Years before this Time, the Marriage between Prince *Alexander*, the Son of King *Alexander*, and his *French* Wife, and *Margaret* of *England*, was agreed on: Nay, the North Parts of *England* had been committed to the Care of the King of *Scots*; who, had he design'd to disclaim the Fealty he had sworn for his *English* Land, would certainly have done it, while the North Parts of *England* were in his own Hands. But be this as it will,

'Tis certain, that a War did break out, and was like to be very Bloody: Great Armies were brought to the Fields on both Sides: For King *Henry* (d) rais'd the whole Nobility and Gentry of *England*, as well Ecclesiastick as Laick, commanding them all, Earls, Bishops, Abbots, Barons, &c. to provide their Services ready at *Newcastle* upon *Tyne*, against the 15th of *August*; and they obey'd accordingly. On the other Hand, King *Alexander* was not wanting to himself: If we may believe *English* Authors (e) he had an Army of no less than 1000 Horsemen in Armour, and about 100000 Foot, all brave and resolute Men; who, being willing to die in Defence of their Liberties, had predispos'd themselves, by confessing their Sins, and receiving the Sacraments. This was a formidable Power; and, it seems, the King and Nobility of *England* thought so. These last, particularly Earl *Richard*, King *Henry's* Brother, mediated a Peace, which was concluded upon the following Terms. That the King of *Scots* and his Heirs, should keep perpetual Faith and Friendship, with his Liege Lord, King *Henry* and his Heirs. That he should not make any Leagues with his Enemies. That the late Treaty of *York*, made in presence of *Otto*, the Pope's Legate, should be punctually observ'd: As also, the Agreement

A Peace is concluded.

(a) Ibid. p. 590. (b) p. 929. (c) Ad Ann. 1244. (d) Tyrrel p. 920, Brady p. 591. (e) Matth. Par. and Westminster. ad Ann. 1244.

ment concerning the Marriage of Prince *Alexander*, and the Lady *Margaret*. To the Observation of all these Articles, King *Alexander* oblig'd himself by his Charter and Seal, says *Matthew Paris*, who, by the by, minces the Matter here, as every where else, as much as he can. The King of *England* took the like Engagements upon him, and promis'd faithfully, (a) That he should neither make War upon *Scotland*, nor confederate with its Enemies. For the Observation of which, his Brother, Earl *Richard* (b) gave his Oath in a solemn Manner: And 'tis observable, that to the Clause, whereby King *Alexander* obliges himself, *Never to enter into Leagues with the Enemies of King Henry, nor to procure or make War upon his Kingdoms of England and Ireland*; he adds expressly, *Unless the King of England oppress him*. A convincing Proof, tho' all others were lost, that the Engagements were mutual; and that, tho' *Alexander* own'd and call'd the King of *England* his Leige Lord, as indeed he was for the *English* Lands; yet in Case of an Injury receiv'd, he had full Freedom, as King of *Scotland* to retort it. This Appellation of Leige Lord, was ordinary in those Days. The Kings of *England* call'd those of *France*, their *Seigneurs*, as I have elsewhere shew'd; nor was it necessary to add upon what Account, since no Body could mistake their Meaning. Besides, even *Matthew Paris* (c) tells us, that the Homage perform'd in those Days by the King of *Scots*, was for the 200 Pound Lands; or, as he calls them, *the ten Knights Fees*; of which, 'tis plain, from all I have said, that he was actually possess'd, at least two Years before this Time: So that Mr. *Atwood*, who from this last, most equal and just Treaty of Peace, would draw an Argument for the Homage due to the Crown of *England*, by the Kings of *Scotland* as such, is altogether inexcusable, and, (which I heartily regrave) must needs stand convict of Cavil and Calumny, while even *English* Records shall last.

King *Alexander* took no less Care to preserve the Church of *Scotland* in a State of Independency, than to support his Royal Character, or to retrieve the Losses his Father had sustain'd. He very well knew the powerful Influences the designing Priest-craft, blind Bigotry, pious Tricks, or even, the forward Zeal of Church-men, have, in all Ages and Nations, had over the Consciences, and consequently the Judgments and Inclinations of most Part of People. He look'd back into bypast Transactions; and very soon discover'd that the *English* Mitre had been no less towering, than the *English* Crown. The Arch-bishops, both of *Canterbury* and *York*, had pretended to a Superiority over the Church of *Scotland*, for ought I can discover, before the Kings of *England* had offer'd to inroach upon the Kingdom. I have often confuted the Pretences of the latter; and I think this the proper Place for discussing those of the first. I shall do it with all the Brevity and Plainness of Style, the Matter allows, or I am capable of; and as the Subject cannot fail of being thought equally in-

King *Alexander* secures the Rights and Independency of the Church of *Scotland*.

O o o o o 2

structive,

structive, and entertaining to my Reader, so 'twill afterwards appear, that 'tis not foreign to the Life I write.

The Independence of the Church of Scotland prov'd.

That our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, was, while upon Earth, the sole Head and supreme Pastor of his Church, no Christian did ever deny: That he is still so, and will ever be, is as undoubtedly true; but with this Difference, that, while on Earth, he presided, both visibly by his external Directions, and invisibly by the internal Influence of his Grace; whereas, since his glorious Ascension to Heaven, he rules only in this last Manner, and so remains still the Sole, but invisible Head, even of the Church Militant; I mean, of all those that believe in him, and hope to be sav'd by his Merits. Whether he left behind him a visible Head to preside externally, and to represent him as his Vicegerent or Vicar upon Earth, is still a Question, and perhaps has been so in all Ages, since the first Establishment of Christianity in the World. Visible Pastors and Rulers he did certainly leave and appoint to teach, preach, and administer Sacraments, &c. but whether with an equal or subordinate Power, is again debated. If with an equal Power, then all Ministers, Presbyters, Bishops, Patriarchs, &c. whatever their various Denominations may be, are, by Divine Institution, equal; and unless by common Consent and Agreement, no one can challenge any Right to Superiority; consequently, no Church can depend upon another; but by its own Concessions: And I shall afterwards make it plain, that the Church of *Scotland* did never grant any Concessions of this Kind to that of *England*. Again, if our Saviour appointed, that there should be a Subordination among the Ministers of his Church; then Bishops are of Divine Institution. But if he appointed none of them to preside in their Assemblies, and in a more peculiar Manner to represent his Person; it follows, that by Divine Institution, the Government of the Church, is as before, Republican: But that 'tis a Republick, like that of *Venice* (if I dare use the Comparison) only of the better Sort, and that all Bishops are equal; unless, by their own Concessions, and for the sake of Order and Decency, they please to constitute a Superior: Consequently the Church, or Bishops of *Scotland* did never depend on those of *England*; since, as I have said but just now, I shall prove the Scots Bishops did never yield their Parity, nor submit to the Jurisdiction of the Bishops of *England*. Lastly, if our Saviour did appoint a Subordination, even among Bishops; or, which is the same Thing, if he did constitute a visible Head or supreme Pastor to preside over all the rest, whether Presbyters or Bishops; then indeed the Church Catholick, is by Divine Institution an Hierarchy, and consequently the Church of *Scotland*, as all others, ought to be subject, at least, so far as God has appointed, to the Head of that Hierarchy, whoever he is.

This last Opinion, tho by great Numbers rejected, yet was some time or other receiv'd, and strenuously propogated as Orthodox, all over the World. Christians generally believ'd (how warrantably

I pre-

I pretend not to determine) that *St. Peter* was, by our Saviour, constituted the visible Head of the Church, and his Vicar or Vicegerent upon Earth. The Scriptural Passages adduc'd to make good the Assertion every Body knows. These (for, as *St. Peter* says himself, *There are some Things hard to be understood, in the Scriptures, which they that are unlearn'd and unstable wrest, unto their own Destruction*) may have been mis-interpreted, by the Primitive, as well as latest Centuries; for that Doctrine, if not always establish'd, began very early to take. And, that *English* Papists may have all the Latitude in arguing they please; I shall suppose with them, that it is Orthodox: I say *English* Papists; for none but they can plead with any Colour of Reason, the Superiority of their *English* Church over that of *Scotland*; since 'tis plain, that if any such Superiority did ever obtain, 'twas only deriv'd from the Authority and Appointment of the Popes of *Rome*. Now, if it shall be granted (what is by all but Papists denied) that the Church is by Divine Institution, neither a Republick of Presbyters nor of Bishops, but a Hierarchy, properly so call'd; and that the Bishop of *Rome*, as Successor of *St. Peter*, is Head of it, and the Vicar of Christ upon Earth. What then? Does it presently follow from thence, that he is infallible, as Christ? That he has any Jurisdiction over Temporalities? That he can dispense with the Laws of God, Nature and Nations? That he can overturn or enslave Churches and States, at his Pleasure? That he cannot be mis-inform'd or mis-led? That he can neither err in Doctrine nor Practice? That he has all Power on Earth and in Heaven? That he can alter the very Essence and Nature of Things, make Right to be Wrong, and Wrong to be Right? By no Means, all he can pretend to (I argue still upon the Popish Hypothesis) is precisely this, and no more: He is, in their Sense, the Primate of the Christian Church, the Moderator of their General Assemblies, the first among Equals, and by Consequence, as *St. Iraneus* (who was almost Co-temporary with the Apostles) expresses himself (a): When Heresies arise, and Christian Churches come to be divided among themselves in Matters of Doctrine, the Faithful, wherever they are, ought to adhere to those, in Communion with the See of *Rome*, because of the more powerful Principality of that Church. But if the Church of *Rome* should, in Matters of Doctrine obstinately dissent from all other Churches: If the Pope should maintain a Doctrine condemn'd as Heretical by receiv'd Councils: Should he turn an *Arian* or *Manichean*: Why, then as an Heretick he must and ought to be depos'd. Again, if he should invade Principalities, dispose upon Kingdoms, dethrone Sovereigns, absolve Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance, enslave Churches, he's liable to Censure; he sins damnably, ought to be disobey'd, and his *Anathemas* can hurt none but himself. Nevertheless, several Popes blinded by Ambition, puffed up with Pride, and miserably deluded by Court Parasites and Mercenary Scriblers, (a Sort of Men always to be

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found

(a) Lib. 3. contra Hæres. Cap. 3.

found where Advantage is to be made) have run headlong upon Enormities of this Kind. Thus, to say nothing of other Incroachments, less memorable, tho highly criminal, *Innocent IV.* presum'd to depose *Frederick II.* an Emperor; and he was seconded by a Council, the first of *Lyons*: And, by the Council of *Lateran*, the Popes are plainly impower'd to depose Sovereigns, in case of obstinate Heresy and Rebellion to the Church. This was more than either Pope or Council, or both together could do: Their Power, if they have any, is only spiritual; and whatever they do, with Reference to Temporal Affairs, is of it self void and null. That judicial Sentence pronounc'd against *Frederick* by the Pope and Council (as that pronounc'd by the Pope alone against King *John of England*) and some others, was pronounc'd by Judges no ways competent. Nor does the Church of *Rome* her self any where oblige her Members to approve such Sentences; much less, to take them for Canons or Rules of Faith. And as for the *Lateran* Canon, which allows of the like Incroachments, 'tis thought spurious (a) by the Learn'd, both Papists and Protestants. Besides, that Canon has no Reference to Sovereigns, but to Feudataries, whose supreme Lords were by their Ambassadors present in the Council. And if any such Canon was made, 'twas imprudently consented to, as to a Canon of Discipline, fit for the then Juncture of Affairs, alterable at Pleasure, in Conscience not at all binding, wholly extrinseck to Matters of Faith, and which no Nation was, or is oblig'd to receive. However, ambitious and wicked Popes have, as I have said, laid hold on all these and the like Opportunities of enlarging their Power, to the Depression of others; and the Court has, by these scandalous Methods, almost undone the Church of *Rome*. Yet from time to time, even Popes have been moderate in their Pretensions: Witness *Pelagius* (b) and *Gregory* the great, (c) who, tho they both assert the Primacy of the See of *Rome*, and that to *Peter*, the Prince of the Apostles the Care of all Churches was committed, yet were so far from depressing other Churches and Church-men (much less States) that they declar'd (d) that for any one to take upon him the Title of Universal Priest, Bishop, or Patriarch, is to insinuate, that he only is such, and that this is to derogate from all his Brethren and Fellow-Bishops; and consequently blasphemous and Antichristian. After-Popes did nevertheless assume the lofty Title; but, say they, in a quite different Sense, for they only mean, that they are Universal Bishops in, and not of the Church. But they had better have foreborn the use of an Expression so plainly equivocal, and by themselves, in the Bishop of *Constantinople*, (who might have pleaded the same Excuse) thought impious. Indeed it seems, that *Aeneas Sylvius* (afterwards a Pope himself, and but a Modern one) was of this Opinion: He says (e) "That the Pope of *Rome* is sub-

ject,

a) Roffens. de potest. Pap. Lib. 1. Cap. 6. Bramhall's Schism guarded. (b) apud Gratian. Dist. 29. Cap. Nullus. (c) Lib. 6. Epist. 32. (d) Pelag. ibid. Gregor. Lib. 4. Epist. 32. ad Mauric. & Epist. 36. ad Eulog. & Lib. 7. Epist. 69. ad Euseb. (e) De gest. Concil. Basl. l. 1. edit. Basl. 1551. p. 11, 12, 15, 16, 19, 20.

“ ject, not only to the universal Church ; but that 'tis Heretical to
 “ exempt him from the Jurisdiction of the holy Council, that
 “ none but beggarly Expectants, and wretch'd Flatterers, say or
 “ write otherwise. That the Authority, even of the See of *Rome*,
 “ cannot establish or change any thing against the Decrees of the
 “ Fathers. That Appeals may be made from the Popes to the
 “ Church Universal, and their Decrees revers'd. That *St. Paul*
 “ resisted *St. Peter* to the Face. That the Pope may be depos'd by
 “ the universal Church : That the Pope is Head of the Church
 “ but Ministerially ; that is, to serve and assist the Body under
 “ Christ, the only Head, in a proper Sense. That he is more
 “ properly the Vicar of the Church, than of Christ. That he has
 “ no Power to dissolve a General Council, without their own Con-
 “ sent. That they may call themselves without him, if he con-
 “ sent not : And in fine, that because the Bishops dispers'd over
 “ the World, cannot make Canons, nor Judge, except eve-
 “ ry one his own Flock, the Pope, who oversees all, is in that
 “ Sense greater than they all, and that in this the Plenitude of his
 “ Power does consist.

For all these Assertions, he cites the Fathers, Councils, Scri-
 ptures, nay, and the Writings of a great many Popes : And
 that this is, and has ever been the Doctrine and Practice of the
 Church of *Rome* (let that Court pretend what they will) is evi-
 dent. All, or most Universities (the famous *Launoius* (a) reckons
 up twelve ;) an infinite Number of Writers, many of them Cardi-
 nals, Archbishops, Bishops, &c. and no less than one and thirty in
Italy alone ; several Councils, as those of *Pisa*, *Constance*, &c. and all
 National Churches, particularly that of *France*, have all taught the
 very same Things, and yet remain in Communion with the Church
 of *Rome* ; by which they were never upon that Score condemn'd ;
 and which never did in an Authentick manner decide the contrary.
 This is so true, that who ever knows the Constitution of the *Galli-
 can* Church, must own, what Archbishop *Bramhall* says (b), that the
 Pope cannot command any thing directly or indirectly, concern-
 ing any temporal Affairs, within the Dominions of *France* : He
 cannot free the *French* Clergy from their Obligation to obey the So-
 vereign : The Prelates of the *French* Church cannot, altho' comman-
 ded by the Pope, depart out off the Kingdom, without the King's
 Licence : The Pope's Bulls, Citations, Sentences, Excommunica-
 tions, &c. are not to be executed, nor the Pope's Legate admitted,
 without the King's Permission. Ecclesiastical Persons, may be
 judg'd by the Secular : The Courts of Parliament, in Case of
 Appeals, as from Abuse, may declare null and void the Pope's Bulls,
 Excommunications, &c. when found contrary to the sacred De-
 crees, the Liberties of the *French* Church, or the Prerogative Roy-
 al : *The Pope cannot erect Bishopricks into Archbishopricks, nor unite
 them, nor divide them, without the King's Licence ; nay all Bishops are*

Wherein
 the Primacy
 of the Pope
 consists ac-
 cording to
 Papists.

(a) 291. Epist. Tom. IV. (b) Ubi sup.

own'd and declar'd, to have their Power immediately from Christ, not from the Pope, and are, as he, Successors of St. Peter and the other Apostles, and the Vicars of Christ upon Earth.

The Church of Scotland never gave up its intrinsic Rights to the Pope.

The Kingdom and Church of *Sicily* is yet more Independent than those of *France*; insomuch, that, as the learn'd *Grotius* somewhere observes, the King of Great *Britain* enjoys no Power concerning Things and Persons Ecclesiastical, which the King of *Sicily* has not also. The Republick of *Venice* has its own Patriarch: And to be short, there's no State in Communion with the See of *Rome*, but is guarded against the Incroachments and Usurpations of its Bishop. And if at any time, Churches or States have suffer'd themselves to be either Excommunicated, or Trick'd into Slavery, they have themselves to blame. This I'm sure of, the Kings and Church of *Scotland*, did never subject themselves to the Pope's of *Rome*, but in so far as to own them, as all other Christian Nations did some time or other, the Successors of St. *Peter*, and as such the Primates of the Church Universal. To this indeed, (for ought I can see) they were very easily brought: For tho they struggl'd hard and long about the Observation of *Easter*, and some other Points of Discipline, (with which, Faith was no ways concern'd) yet I read not, that they disputed the Supremacy of St. *Peter*; but did not think, that his Successors (tho acknowledg'd to be such) had a Power to compel them into the Disuse of Observations and Rites, they had receiv'd from their learn'd and pious Ancestors: Nay, when they were brought to comply with the practical Decree of the Council of *Nice* about *Easter*; as also, with some other Ordinances of the *Roman* Church, which being in themselves Indifferent, 'twas not after all worth their while to contend so much about as they did; yet we find not, that they were over fond of an intimate Communication, or close Correspondence with *Rome*. They needed not: For as their Lives (I mean those of the Clergy) were exemplarily Good, so even, by the Church of *Rome*, their Doctrine was acknowledg'd to be Pure; so Pure, that it spread through all Nations, and *Scots* Bishops were in a most eminent Manner the Apostles of *England*, *Germany*, *Switzerland*, &c. I say, *Scots* Bishops, not that I design to enter into, or decide the Controversy about the first Conversion of *Scotland*, whether 'twas by Bishops or Presbyters. That, I humbly conceive, is no material Debate; for let it be as it will, no Party of Men can reap any Advantage by it: For if *Scotland* was first converted by Presbyters, what then? These, Men of Episcopal Principles will say, had been previously Ordain'd, as the Popish Missionaries in *China*, *Japan*, &c. still are, by Bishops. And if *Scotland* was first converted by Bishops, it does not from thence follow, will those of the Presbyterian Perswasion reply, that Episcopacy is Essential to the Church, and of Divine Institution. So that, waving this Point, which is extrinseck to my Purpose, I say, that there were Bishops, tho not confin'd to separate Districts, as afterwards, in the Church of *Scotland*; and those own'd by the Church

of *Rome* to be validly such, as early as we know any thing at all concerning the Being, or at least the Government of a Church in these Parts: Consequently, that, if it shall be granted, that Episcopal Ordination is necessary; yet since the Church of *Scotland* had Bishops of her own, she needed not to depend either on the Church of *England*, or on the See of *Rome*, upon the Account of Ordination. Now, that she had Bishops, is plain from this one Passage of the oldest *Scots* or *English* Historian extant in the World, I mean *Adamannus*: He was born in 624, about 100 Years before *Beda*, and in the Life of his Predecessor *Columba*, in the Monastery of *Hey*, he has left us this remarkable Story. "There came, says he, (a) to *Columba* " in *Hey*, one that demean'd himself with a great deal of Humility, " thinking thereby to conceal his Character of a Bishop, but could " not: For on the Lord's Day, as they were consecrating the Sa- " crament, on the sudden, *Columba*, inspir'd from above, look'd " him in the Face, and said to him, *Christ bless thee, my Brother: Since " thou art a Bishop, take the Bread and break it alone, as Bishops are " wont to do. Now we know that thou art a Bishop, why hast thou hi- " therto endeavour'd to conceal thy Character, and hinder'd us from pay- " ing thee due Veneration?"* The Story may be false, at least it looks like a Legend; and we are not bound to give Credit to Legends: Yet it evidently shews, that in *St. Columba's* time, (He was born in the Year 520,) and consequently before, the Character of a Bishop was distinct from that of a Presbyter, and held in peculiar Veneration in *Scotland*. Nay, the same *Adamannus* tells us, That *Columba* (b) had his Education under one *Findbarus*, a Bishop. And that these *Scottish* Bishops were properly such, is evident from this, that the *Romanists*, who found fault with Trifles, yet never offer'd to dispute their Character, nor to quarrel their Ordination. Since therefore the *Scots* had Ordination among themselves; it follows, that they needed not to depend, even on the Church of *Rome*, upon that Account, much less on that of *England*. But say the *English*,

The Church of Scotland never without Bishops of her own.

The *Scots* had no Archbishops, till of late, and therefore must of Necessity have been subject to the *English*, who had. 'Tis true, the *English* were before us in courting those Dignities, and in obtaining Palls and Titles from the Pope of *Rome*; but these are Dignities no ways Essential to the Constitution or Being of a Church: Whether they were introduc'd by Ambition, or for the sake of Order and Decency, I do not enquire: This is certain, we have no Divine Warrant for owning Archbishops above Bishops; nor even by the Canon Law, can any Archbishop pretend to Jurisdiction or Superiority, without the Bounds of his own Province; nor is the Consent or Authority of an Archbishop requir'd to the Consecration of a Bishop. Nay, Archbishops may be Consecrated by Bishops: And accordingly we find (c) that *Richard*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was Consecrated by *Henry*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, yet is not pre-

Why the English did pretend to Superiority over the Church of Scotland.

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(a) Ad vit. Sri. Columbe lib. I. Dr. Mackenzie's Life of St. Columba. p. 355. (b) Dr. Mackenzie ibid. (c) Craig concerning Homage. p. 319.

tended to have own'd him as his Superior. As for the *Scots* Bishops, they were for the most part Consecrated by one another, and sometimes by Foreigners; especially such as Fame gave out to excel in Learning and Piety. Thus *John*, Bishop of *Whithorn* was Consecrated at *Pipenel*, by *John*, Bishop of *Dublin*; *William Malbaise* Bishop of *Glasgow*, by the Bishop of *Lions* in *France*; and *Michael* of *Glasgow*, and *Turgot* of *St. Andrews*, by the Archbishops of *York*. Others may have done the like, and from thence did the Controversy arise: For the Archbishops of *York* (because, forsooth, dignified with that Title, the Bishops of *Scotland* did not sue for; yet, it seems, respected, for such was the Fashion, so far in others, as to be willing to receive Ordination at their Hands) laid hold on the Opportunity of claiming a Superiority over Men inferior to themselves in nothing, but because more Humble, and less Interested. But they very well knew this would never do: And therefore to strengthen their Pretensions, they endeavour'd to have the Pope on their Side; as if the Authority of the Pope had been sufficient to overturn Right, and to enslave a Nation. I may say so; for had the Church of *Scotland* submitted to the *English*, 'tis probable the State had been (by Church Influence ever prevalent over the Laity) catechis'd or perhaps excommunicated into the same Dependency.

How far they prevail'd with the Pope to Authorize their Usurpations, I do not inquire; nor is it material, since, as I have already evinc'd, the Pope himself, even in the Opinion of Papists, had no Power to subject one Church or Bishop to another, but with Consent of Parties: And this is certain, the *Scots* Kings or Bishops did never consent to Subjection, tho, it seems, they erroneously desir'd to be Consecrated by Archbishops, and those of *York*, for the most Part, because nearest to them. Thus *Turgot* (a), Bishop of *St. Andrew's*, was, during the Reign of King *Alexander I.* Consecrated by *Thomas*, Archbishop of *York*; but no Sort of Subjection was exacted, tho this last Prelate did much urge his pretended Superiority: Yet because the *Scots* denied, that, either by Custom or Right, any such thing was due, he was, by his own Master, *Henry I.* compell'd to desist from this Pretension. However, the Struggle he made so much irritated King *Alexander*, that he resolv'd none of his Bishops should henceforth apply to the See of *York* for Consecration. He complain'd of its Inroachments to his old Acquaintance and Friend, *Lanfrank*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whom he intreated to send a Monk of *Canterbury*, one *Eadmerus*, very much fam'd at the time for his Learning and Piety, to fill the vacant See of *St. Andrew's*. Accordingly *Eadmerus* came, and was elected Bishop: But he, as himself relates (b), out of a Desire to raise the See of *Canterbury* above all those in the Island, would be Consecrated by none but the Archbishop of that Place. This the King thought might be an ill Precedent, and give Occasion to the Archbishops of *Canterbury* to pretend to Superiority, as those of *York* had done for the same Reason before. He

(a) Sim. Dunelm. p. 207, 208. (b) Lib V. p. 132, 134, &c.

He therefore dismiss'd the Monk without Consecration; who, tho he afterwards offer'd to comply with the King's Pleasure in every Thing, yet was never suffer'd to return. *Robert*, Prior of *Sorn* was erected in his Room; who going upon the vulgar Mistake of those Times; thought it necessary to be consecrated by an Archbishop; and accordingly receiv'd the Benediction at the Hands of *Thurstan*, Arch-bishop of *York* (a); but with a Reservation of the Rights of both Churches; and with this express Clause, that no Submission or Obedience was exacted. Yet this same *Thurstan* is said to have procur'd several Bulls from the Popes *Calixtus II.* and *Innocent* also II. in which these Pontifs threaten and exclaim against the *Scots* Bishops, because, tho often requir'd, yet they still refus'd to submit. These Bulls are probably spurious, (b) and Sir *Robert Sibbald* has given very good Reasons why they should be consider'd as such: But if genuine, so much the better; for they evidently prove, what I have asserted, That the *Scottish* Church did neither submit to the *English*, nor think, that even the Pope could oblige them to it. Sir *Robert Sibbald* has also disprov'd another Bull of Pope *Adrian IV.* directed to the Bishops of *Scotland*, commanding them to submit and acknowledge *Roger*, Arch-bishop of *York*, as their Metropolitan, but to no Purpose: The *Scots* Bishops were so far from having any Regard to these Bulls, which they consider'd as surreptitious, that they conven'd (c); and by themselves consecrated *Richard*, a Chaplain of King *Malcolm IV.* Bishop of *St. Andrews*, who in his Turn afterwards ordain'd in his own Cathedral the Bishops of *Dunkeld*, *Murray* and *Aberdeen*. The Conduct of the *Scots* Clergy in these and the like Matters was very grating to the Pride of Arch-bishop *Roger*: He resolv'd upon Revenge, impos'd upon the Pope, *Alexander III.* by what Means I know not; and getting himself to be made Legate of *Scotland*, imperiously summon'd the *Scottish* Clergy to appear before him at *Norham*, whither he came in great Pomp to give an Account, why they thus presum'd to disobey, both himself and the reiterated Commands of the See of *Rome* (d). They thought not fit to comply with the peremptory Command; yet sent a few of their Number, particularly, *Ingelram*, *Salmon*, and *Walter*, all three Clergy-men of good Sense and Resolution, with Orders to appeal from the pretended Legate to the Pope himself. They did it accordingly, after having, with great Boldness, upbraided Arch-Bishop *Roger* to his Face, for his Arrogance & Presumption, in thus stealing out, rather than procuring, a Priviledge so derogatory to the Honour of the Church of *Scotland*. In Pursuance of this Appeal, *Ingelram* went to *Rome*, made the Pope to know how far he had been mis-inform'd; and obtain'd a Bull, depriving *Roger* of his pretended Legation, and declaring the Church of *Scotland* free from all Dependence or foreign Jurisdiction whatever, the Apostolick See only accepted: Nay, that

Q. q q q q 2

same

(a) Chart. Turstin. de consecrat. Reb. Episc. St. And. in Bibliot. Coton. Titus A. 19. (b) Sir Rob. Sibbald Book intit. the Independency of the Kingdom and Church of Scotland asserted. Edit. Edin. 1703. (c) Chron. Melros ad Ann. 1165. (d) vid. MS. entitl'd, Extract. e Chron. Scotiae in Bibliot. Jur. Edin. the Book of Passy ib. 8. cap. 15.

same Pope *Alexander III.* did himself, not only consecrate *Ingelram*, Bishop of *Glasgow*; but in *Anno 1172*, he also sent a Bull^(a) to the Dean and Chapter of *Glasgow*, asserting the Independency of that Church in particular upon any Bishop, but its own and the Pope. After this, no Body would have thought, that the same *Roger* would have again pretended to a Superiority over any of the *Scots* Churches, at least in this Pope's time: Yet he did it, upon a very unluckily Accident, that afterwards fell out, and had almost prov'd fatal to both Church and State. King *William* had the Misfortune to be made a Prisoner of War by the *English*; and, when such, had the Weakness to subject both the Kingdom and Church of *Scotland*; at least he promis'd, upon his being set at Liberty, to bring the *Scots* Bishops to a Conference with the Arch-bishop of *York*, and to compel them to do what should be found just. *English* Authors say, that he did more: (b) For they produce a Bull of Pope *Alexander*, directed to Arch-bishop *Roger*, his Legate, containing the Tenor of a Letter written by King *William* to him. In that Letter, the King owns the Subjection of the *Scottish* Church to that of *York*, to be ancient; but by the Hostility and Power of the Kings, his Predecessors, interrupted; adding, that, now he had made Peace with his Lord, the King of *England*, he was by Oath and Duty oblig'd to restore the Arch-bishop of *York* to his Right. This base and servile Letter, if genuine, as probably it is not, was, like the Grant of his own Vassalage, extorted by Force and Fraud; yet had not the Effect intended by the *English*. Both Kings, *Henry II.* of *England* and King *William* met, in Pursuance of their Agreement at *Norhampton*, together with most Part of the Clergy of both Kingdoms. (c) Those of *Scotland* were desir'd to profess Subjection to the Church of *England*, as their Predecessors had been wont to do. They answer'd that no Subjection was due; nor did ever the Church of *Scotland* own any Superior, the Bishop of *Rome*. Arch-Bishop *Roger* reply'd, and affirm'd, nay offer'd to prove from Bulls of Popes, that the Bishops of *Glasgow* and *Whitburn*, were in former Times subject to the See of *York*. But this again was as positively deny'd by *Joceline*, Bishop of *Glasgow*; who added, that if at any Time, the Arch-bishops of *York* did procure any such Concessions from the Popes, they were of no Force, because never yielded to, nor receiv'd by the *Scots* Bishops, and were now as fairly repeal'd, as unfairly obtain'd. He might very justly say so, from the Bull of Exemption, but lately sent to the Dean and Chapter of *Glasgow*: Nor is it to be imagin'd, as Sir *James Dalrymple* judiciously observes, what could be the Ground of this Claim over *Glasgow*, since its Bishops, *John*, *Herbert*, *Ingelram*, and this *Joceline*, had been all consecrated, or by the Popes themselves, or by the Primate of *Dacia*. But, adds the same Author, 'tis plain that the Arch-bishop of *York*, by insisting only against two *Scots* Bishops, did give up his Pretensions, as altogether untenible over the rest.

Bishop

^(a) In Excerpt. Reg. Glasg. ^(b) Dalrymple p. 223. ^(c) Hoveden. fol. 314. Polidor. Virg. lib. 3. p. 230. Chron. de Melhof. ad Ann. 1176. Sir Robert Sibbald, Sir James Dalrymple loc. citatis.

Bishop *Joceline* was not the only *Scotsman* that boldly asserted the Independency of the *Scottish Church*. One *Gilbert Murray*, then but a Chanon, and a very young Man (afterwards for his great Merits promoted to the Bishoprick of *Caithness*) distinguished himself eminently on this Occasion: He made a long and daring Speech in full Council (a) to this Purpose. “ That, did not the *English Nation* presume upon its Wealth and Strength, so far as to encroach upon Neighbours, if not in Numbers and Power, at least in Lineage and Antiquity, nobler than it self; it would be truly great, and deservedly reputed brave: That it ought rather to give Obedience to, than to claim it from the Church of *Scotland*: That this last had in all Times been Catholick and free: That by her, the *English*, as many others, when wandring in Darknes and overspread with Heathenism, were Reason’d into Light, and taught to believe in Christ: That by her, the People, Princes and Kings of *England*, were instructed in Faith and Manners; that she consecrated their first Bishops and Priests, gave them Books to read, maintain’d their Primacy and Episcopal Dignity, during the Space of above 30 Years; and therefore is, and ought to be reputed the Mother Church of *England*: That Ingratitude is the blackest of Sins, in the Opinion of Heathen Philosophers, as well, as the Prophets of old, and Fathers of the Primitive Church: That the Prelates of *England* are highly guilty of that enormous Sin; who, did they seek what is just, would have the Pleasure to obtain what they seek: That ’tis more honest to deny quickly what is demanded unjustly, than to put off Time by unseasonable Dilators; and that he’s less deceiv’d, who is refus’d betimes. He therefore concludes, That no Subjection can be granted; and that should all the Clergy in *Scotland* think otherwise, he alone must, and will dissent; nay, lay down his Life, rather than give up the Liberties of his Church.” This resolute Speech, even the *English* admir’d, and the *Scots* unanimously approv’d of. To be short, they appeal’d from the Legate, one *Hugo*, Cardinal de *Sancto Angelo*, whom they found partial in Favour of the *English*, to the Pope himself; and so the Assembly broke up.

After this King *William*, having as he thought, made good his Oath to King *Henry*, had a long and violent Quarrel with the Pope, about the Election of a Bishop to the See of *St. Andrews* (b). The King and severals of his Council were, for their pretended Obstinacy, excommunicated by Warrant from the Pope, and Arch-bishop *Roger* was for that Purpose again intrusted with a Legantine Power, yet pretended no more to Superiority, for ought I can see. On the other Hand, such as adher’d to the Pope in that Affair were banish’d by the King: Nay, even their Relations and Children; so high were Matters carried. Nor did they come to be entirely adjusted, till in the Year 1188; when *Clement III.* sent a Bull of Exemption to King *William*, to be seen at full Length in *Hoveden* (c): By which

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* Ford. Scot. Chron. lib. 8 cap. 26. MSS. in Bibl. Acad. Edin. Sir Robert Sibbald in Tract. tit. Dr. Mackenzie’s Life of Gilbert Murray. p. 390. (b) Sir James Dalrymple, p. 325, 326, 327. &c. (c) Fol. 37 i.

the *Scots* Church is not only declar'd to be, and to have always been an immediate Daughter of that of *Rome*; but a great many Priviledges are granted, or rather confirm'd to her, not inferiour to those enjoy'd by any National Church, then in Being. And this Bull unquestionably Authentick, is so much the more remarkable; A. D. 1188. that it was obtain'd at a Time, when the Monarchy of *England* was under *Henry II.* at the highest Pitch of Grandeur; and that of *Scotland* not yet freed from the extorted Subjection it lay under, till the Year 1190; when the same King *William* re-effected its Independency, as I have elsewhere related; and thereby made a glorious Amends for the inglorious Failings of his Captivity. So that, as Sir *James Dalrymple* very well observes, the Declaration of the Church's Independency, was not an Effect, but rather a Step to the Independency of the Kingdom. King *William* was so sensible of this, and he thought himself so singularly oblig'd to the Courage and Resolution of his undaunted Clergy, that, to ascertain their Liberties the more, (a) he afterwards obtain'd the like Bulls from the succeeding Popes, *Celestine III.* and *Innocent III.* I could enlarge upon a great many more granted by different Popes, cited, both by Sir *Robert Sibbald* and Sir *James Dalrymple*, in their respective Treatises upon this Subject: But to be short,

I conclude from all that I have said, That the Church of *Scotland*, whether consider'd as Presbyterian, as Sir *James Dalrymple* would make it to have been from its first Foundation, down almost to the latest Centuries; or Episcopal, or even Hierarchical, as is more generally believ'd, did at no Time depend on the Church of *England*: That by Divine Institution she could not; that by Consent she would not: That, as the Popes (altho they should be own'd the Successors of *St. Peter*) had no Power to depress her, so they did it not; or, if they did, that they were by interested Courtiers and *English* Influence mis-inform'd: That upon Application made to them, they acknowledg'd so much; and (in Defiance of the Power of the greatest Monarchs, *England* ever had) rectified, what in the Sense of those Times was amiss. Nevertheless, the Arch-Bishops of *York*, tho so often baff'd, by the then only competent Judge of that Controversy, could not find in their Hearts to stifle their injurious Pride: They continu'd, like the Apostles, when as yet carnal and imperfect, emulous of their Brethren's Favour, and were not, it seems, practically convinc'd, that, to be greatest in the Eyes of God, we must be lowest in those of Men.

King *Alexander*, from whose Actions I have digress'd, was satisfied, as his Father King *William* had been before, that Humility was not the Favourite Vertue of the *English* Prelates: And he foresaw, for all his Father had done to cut off their Claims, they would court all Opportunities of renewing them. He therefore, to put the Matter out of all doubt, made his Application to Pope *Honorius III.* and that Pontif, tho a mighty Friend of *Henry III.* King of *Eng.*

England, yet made no Difficulty to confirm the Grants of his Predecessors. (a) " He renew'd the Bull of Pope Clement to King William, and begins by complimenting King Alexander, upon his own and his Predecessors Respect and Deterence, for so many Ages bypast, to the See of Rome. " Then declares, that the Church of Scotland is, and ever was an immediate Daughter of that See, and subject to none but the Pope. For these Reasons, he forbids any, but the Pope and his Legate *a latere*, to lay an Interdict upon the Kingdom of Scotland, or to Excommunicate those within it. He also forbids any but Scotsmen to assume the Title of Legate of Scotland, unless by Orders from Rome; nor to draw Causes Ecclesiastical any where out of the Kingdom, unless by Appeal to Rome: And in fine, he ratifies and confirms, all Immunities and Priviledges granted, or due to the *Scottish Church*." The same Pope, by another Bull still extant in the Chartulary of Aberdeen, " Impowers and Commands the Bishops of Scotland, to hold General Assemblies every Year; and for that Effect to Elect a Conservator or Moderator, to preside in place of a Metropolitan Archbishop." Accordingly General Assemblies, or National Councils were held: And it appears by the Canons of some of them, still to be seen, that this National Church was in the Days of King Alexander and afterwards, as well regulated as any perhaps in Europe. Why that King, to prevent the reviving of the Claim of foreign Archbishops, did not procure a Primate or Metropolitan of the Church of Scotland, to be nam'd and dignified with the Title of Archbishop, as was afterwards done, I cannot tell; nor do I see any Reason for this Omiffion, save one; and 'tis this: The Church of Scotland gloried it seems in those Days, in her being by Popes in all their Bulls, design'd the immediate Daughter of Rome; and the Popes might have had their own Reasons for keeping up this Conceit, that made them the immediate Metropolitans of a National Church. I return now to the more private, or rather domestick Actions of King Alexander.

He was for his Bravery, so often express'd in the Wars of England, for his Resolution in the Pursuit of his Title to the Northern Counties; and for his Vigour in maintaining the Rights of his Crown, and the Liberties of the *Scottish Church*, universally Lov'd and Respected, both at home and abroad. (b) Yet his Reign was not quite free from Intestine Broils. One Gillespy, a leading Man in Ross, had the Boldness to take Arms, to Pillage the neighbouring Countries (an ordinary Practice of the more potent and wilder Highlanders) and to burn the Town of Inverness; but he met with the Punishment he deserv'd: For John Cumine, Earl of Buchan, was sent against him with sufficient Forces, drove him from his Places of Retirement, and having apprehended him and two of his Sons, whom he had thus train'd up in the Arts of Rapine, caus'd all their Heads to be cut off, and sent to the King. A barbarous Set of the

Intestine
Broils du-
ring the
Reign of
King Alex-
ander.

John Cumine
Earl of Bu-
chan, defeats
Gillespy a
Reb.l.

(a) Foeder. Angl. p. 227. (b) Hector. Less. Joan. Major. Buchan. my Lord Ormond, &c. in this King's Life.

Adam, Bi-
shop of
Caithness
Murder'd.

Rascality in *Caithness*, committed a Crime, yet more horrid, and were punish'd in a Manner more terrifying: Irritated by *Adam* the Bishop's Officers, who exacted the Revenues of that Bishoprick with more than ordinary Severity, they set upon him in his own Palace, beat him unmercifully, then dragg'd him to the Kitchen, and burnt him to Ashes. The King heard of the enormous Barbarity at *Jedburgh*, where he kept his Court at the time, from whence he immediately took Journey; and having put himself upon the Head of a few Troops, march'd in Person, seiz'd upon the Authors and Abettors of the Fact, caus'd them all, to the Number of 400 to be hang'd, and their Male Children to be emasculated. The then Earl of *Caithness* was shrewdly suspected to have set his Dependents upon committing the Sacrilegious Murder; for he deserted his House and absconded himself somewhere in the Mountains, till wearied with the Uneasiness of that Life, he resolv'd to throw himself upon the King's Mercy. He made his Application upon the Day of the *Epiphany*, when, conform to Custom, the Court was all in Mirth, and the King, with Wine and Musick, more than usually exhilarated. These Circumstances were favourable to the Earl, who attested his Innocence with Oaths, and was therefore pardon'd. But Heaven did not ratify the indulgent Sentence: For some Years afterwards, the Earl's own Servants, because us'd by him, as they thought, too roughly, murder'd him in the Night, and then to conceal the Fact, set Fire to the House; so that he died much after the same Manner, himself had caus'd or occasion'd the Bishop, *Adam*, to be cut off.

These were indeed very heinous Crimes, but they were perpetrated but by a few, and therefore gave but little Disturbance to the Government; which being Vigorous and Wise, soon crush'd the Authors of them. But some time after, *Alan de Galweya*, Lord of *Galloway*, and High Constable of *Scotland*, by his great Estate, eminent Post and numerous Vassalage, the most potent Man in the Nation, chanc'd to die, and his Death gave Rise to Commotions, that had the Air of a Civil War. He left three lawful Daughters behind him (a), *Helen*, Wife to *Roger de Quincy*, Earl of *Winchester*, *Dervogild*, married to *John Baliol*, *Seigneur de Chateau Bernard*, and *Christian*, married to *William de Fortibus*, Earl of *Albemarle*. Among these he had divided his vast Estate. He had also a Son, *Thomas Macdualan*; but this Son was a Bastard, yet would needs pretend to the Succession. His own aspiring Genius, the Sex and Youth of his Sisters, the Inclination of the Vassals of the Family, the Friendship he had contracted with some factious Neighbours, particularly, with *Olave* King of *Man* his Father-in-Law, and one *Gildroth*, a popular and active Fellow, encourag'd him to the illegal Attempt. I know not whether the injur'd Ladies were married at this time or no: If they were, as *Mr. Symson* seem to believe, *Thomas* would, no doubt, urge, That it was more reasonable, that the great

Lord-

A. D. 1235.

Thomas Mac-
dualan re-
volts.

(a) The Life of Walter Lord High Steward of Scotl. by Mr. David Symphon.

Lordship of *Galloway* should be conferr'd upon him a *Scotsman* born, and remain, as before, entire, than that it should be divided among three Females, whose Husbands were Foreigners, and consequently preingag'd in foreign Interests. But the King was of another Mind: He thought that Justice was a Debt equally due to Strangers and Subjects; and he would by no means allow of a Precedent prejudicial to rightful Heirs, of whatever Nation or Sex. In the mean time, *Thomas* seiz'd upon the Houses and Lands of his Father; and, being by the Tenants and Followers of the Family, serv'd and own'd as the undoubted Lord of *Galloway*, resolv'd to maintain by Rebellion, what he could not procure by Justice or Law.

The King march'd against him in Person, upon the Head of a good Army: The chief commanding Officers under him, were, *Walter*, Lord High Steward, *Mackinsagait* or *Ferchard*, Earl of *Ross*, and Sir *Archball Douglass*. They fought and found out the Rebels, who were gathered together, to the number of no less than 10000 Men, encourag'd by Alliances, strengthn'd by Obstinacy, well Arm'd, and advantageously Post'd. But, it seems, they were outnumber'd by the King's Forces: For while he charg'd their Front, the above-nam'd Generals made a Compass about, and fell on their Rear. By this means the one half of them was soon cut off; and the rest threw away their Arms, ty'd Ropes about their Necks, and hasted to the royal Camp, crying *Mercy, Mercy*, which they obtain'd. *Thomas* and *Gildroth* escap'd to *Ireland*, but with a Resolution to return upon the first Opportunity: They did it accordingly, (how soon they heard that *Walter Cumine*, Earl of *Menteith*, after resettling Matters, by the King's Appointment, had left the Country) and brought over with them considerable Reinforcements; among the rest, the Son of one of the *Irish* Kings (for the whole Island had not as yet submitted to the *English* Yoke) with his Followers: And all together, (in order to force Courage upon the most Cowardly) agreed to burn their Ships, and so to cut off all Hopes of Retreat. To prevent the Mischief they design'd, *Walter*, Lord High Steward, and *Patrick*, Earl of *Dumbar*, were sent with sufficient Forces to the West; and these two, by Arguments brought from the late and dear bought Experience, they had of their own Weakness, in Opposition to Royal Power, prevail'd with the most Part of the Country to keep at Home; and with those that had already join'd the Invaders, to desert and return to their Duty. *Thomas* and *Gildroth*, thus disappointed in their Hopes of an Insurrection in their Favour, and finding themselves narrowly watch'd and hem'd in on all Quarters, threw themselves upon the King's Mercy; and after a long Imprisonment, were graciously pardon'd. The poor *Irish* Straglers, abandon'd by their Leaders, were left to shift for themselves, and became an easy Prey to any that would be at the Trouble to knock them on the Head. In this helpless Condition, they wander'd through Fields, they had never seen,

Is defeated.

And pardon'd.

every where insulted, and at length cut off by the Citizens of *Glasgow*.

Sumerled, an hereditary Traitor, since the Son of a noted Rebel of the same Name, made also an Infurrection in this King's Reign; and some write (a), that he did it in Conjunction with, and to make a Diverfion in Favour of the Bastard of *Galloway*: But he was quickly reduc'd, some fay by the Earl of *Mar*, others by the Earl of *March*, and the King had also the Bounty to pardon him.

Sumerled of *Argyle* re-
volts.

And is de-
feated.

Patrick, Earl
of *Athole*,
burnt in his
Lodgings at
Hadington.

Historians take notice of another Accident that fell out: While the Court was at *Hadington*, the Lodgings of *Patrick*, Earl of *Athole*, chanc'd to take Fire, and that Earl, together with two Servants, were consum'd by the Flames. This was not generally thought to have been fortuitous: The Enmity the Earl had long entertain'd with *John*, the Chief of the Name of *Bisset*, was publickly known; wherefore this last, together with *Walter* his Uncle, was suspected and impeach'd of the Crime. They pleaded their having been absent, and at *Forfar*, about 50 Miles from *Hadington*, when the thing fell out: But some of their Servants had been seen at *Hadington*, that very Night, and therefore the *Bissets* were summon'd to appear before the Justice Court, upon a Day appointed; but durst not stand to their Tryal, by reason of the great Power of the *Cumines* their Enemies, who, 'twas thought, would over-rule the Bench. They offer'd to vindicate their Innocence by a single Combat, against any of their Accusers: But that was a Favour not to be granted; nor indeed was it thought equal, that the Innocent should run the same hazard with those suspected of a Crime that amounted to no less than Murder, and willful Fire-raising: Wherefore the *Bissets* fled into *Ireland*, and there, says *Buchanan*, settl'd a noble and lasting Family.

The *Bissets*
flee into *Ire-*
land.

Fewds, by
what Causes
occasion'd.

But for these Disturbances, occasion'd by the too great Power of the jarring Nobility (an unavoidable Consequence of the Feudal Law, as it was establish'd all over *Europe*) King *Alexander's* Reign was peaceable and happy: But he was, by the excessive Donations of his Predecessors, too Poor; consequently like most Part of his Successors, unable to depress certain Clans; as that of the *Cumines*, at that time exorbitantly Powerful by their Numbers and Wealth; or to eradicate the Fewds and Animofities, that divided both the Nobility and Gentry. Fewds, that often broke out into petty Wars, and these were carried on in Defiance of Royal Authority, to the Depression of the People, the Devastation of Woods, Parks, Houses and Towns; the Non-improvement of Arts and Sciences, the Corruption of Manners, and Decay of Piety. Hence 'tis, that the *Scots* Commonalty continue to this Day, so abject in the Low-lands, and in the High-lands so unpolish'd; that Agriculture is so little understood; that Manufactures and Trade have not been encourag'd; that Shipping has been neglected; that so much of the Soil lyes barren and uncultivated; that so few Enclosures, Or-
chards,

(a) Lord Ormond dans la vie d'Alex. II.

chards, Trees, &c. are to be seen; that Cities are so few and so irregular, that such Swarms of *Scotsmen*, unable to live up to their Inclinations at Home, toil, and fight, and die, for the Interest and Glory of all Nations, but their own: That, but seven small Provinces beyond Seas, by fishing up the native Treasure and Stock of *Scotland*, are enabled to vye with the Grandeur and Strength of *Britain*: And in fine, that the most hopeful Projects, and most noble Attempts towards enriching and aggrandizing *North-Britain*, have been defeated; and therefore made it seem necessary to unite with the South. From the Poverty of the Crown, and Wealth of the Nobles, have all these Effects proceeded in *Scotland*. The same Causes have had, tho' not the same, yet as fatal Consequences in *England* and elsewhere. The *Scots* Nobles, since the regular Succession of their Kings had been fairly establish'd, respected their sacred Character, they never enter'd into a National Rebellion; I say National, for I do not reckon the Sallies of a *Sumerled*, or Lord of *Galloway*, to have been such: They meant not to overturn the Government, but to revenge an Injury, depress a private Enemy, repossess themselves of what they thought their own; or perhaps to enrich their Families with the Spoils of Neighbours, they thought they had Reason to hate. Nor were these Fewds peculiar to the *Scottish* Clans, as barbarous as they have occasion'd the Nation to be thought. Where ever the Feudal Law took place, that is, where ever the Nobles were possess'd of the Wealth of the Land, (a) (and this was the Case of almost all *Europe*) the like Fewds were entertain'd: Infomuch, that each particular, attributing to himself a Right, due to none but Sovereigns (by their own Concessions disinabl'd from using their Authority) would, to redress a Wrong he conceiv'd done to him, take up Arms, and with Fire and Sword invade the Houses, Lands and Persons of his Enemies. To put at least some Stop to so horrid a Disorder, the Bishops, and better Sort of the Barons, first in *France*, and afterwards elsewhere, agreed, that Churches, Monasteries, the Clergy, the Religious, the Women, Merchants, Farmers, and Milns, should be free from all Manner of Violence: And these were said to be comprehended in the *Peace*, which was never to be broken. As for others, they were only forbidden to pursue their Quarrels from *Wednesday's Evening* to *Munday Morning*; out of Respect to those Days, which, 'twas believ'd, our Saviour had in some Measure consecrated by the last Mysteries of his Life; and this was call'd, the *Truce*. The Offenders against either the *Peace* or *Truce*, were declar'd excommunicated, and to be otherwise punish'd with Bannishment or Death, according to the Greatness of the Breach they should make. This Decreet or Resolution of the National Church was afterwards confirm'd (b) by four great Councils and as many Popes, with some Additions towards enlarging the *Peace* and *Truce*; so that, provided the *Truce* was Re-

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(a) L'Histoire des Croisades du Pere Maimbourg, Liv. I. (b) Concil. Cler. sub. Urb. II. Rom. sub. Pape II. Later. 2. & 3. Decret. Tit. de Treuga & Pace.

ligiously observ'd during the Days appointed, these petty Wars of private Families, were not only tolerated, but in some Measure licens'd : And this lasted, says *Pere Maimbourg*, in France, during the Space of about 200 Years. *St. Lewis*, who was Co-temporary with our Kings, *Alexander II.* and *III.* us'd all imaginable Endeavours to abolish the barbarous Custom ; but could not. *Philip IV.* had better Success ; He was more absolute, and the Edict he emitted at *Tholouse* in Anno 1303, had the desir'd Effect. The Scots Kings always endeavour'd, but, because of the exorbitant Wealth and Power of the Nobles, who kept up their Animosities against one another, could not, till of late, eradicate this Evil. The Nobles in *England* did yet worse : They had got all the Lands they were possess'd of from the Bounty or mistaken Policy of their *Norman Kings* ; and were so ungrateful as to employ their Revenues to the Depression of the Throne that had rais'd them. Hence the *Barons Wars* and those between the two *Roses*, and hence the numerous and amazing Revolutions of that Kingdom ; Revolutions that have been attended or follow'd with such Slaughter, so much Expense of Money, such Devastation of the Country, and Depopulation of Cities, that 'tis a Wonder *South-Britain* should be what it is, one of the best cultivated, and in every Respect most flourishing Parts of the World : What had it not attain'd to, had not its industrious Inhabitants been, by these Calamities (the natural Consequences of weak Sovereignty) so often undone ?

King *Alexander* sends Auxiliaries to *St. Lewis* for the Holy War.

During the Reign of King *Alexander*, the miserable Condition of the Christians in the East, and the Zeal of some *European Potentates*, occasion'd the Holy War to be renew'd ; and he was to his Power as forward as any of them. *St. Lewis*, King of *France*, ask'd Auxiliaries from him, for that Purpose ; a Favour he very readily granted : He rais'd a considerable Body of hardy Men, and committed them to the Conduct of three valiant and wise Commanders, *Patrick Dunbar*, Earl of *March*, *Walter Stewart* of *Dundonald*, and *David Lindsay* of *Glenesk*. They did valuable Services to *St. Lewis* in *Ægypt* : But that Prince was unfortunate, as I have elsewhere related.

Endeavours the Recovery of the Western Isles.

Nor was King *Alexander* much more successful in an Expedition he intended, and actually commenc'd, say the *Annals of Norway*, (a) against *Haco*, the King of that Country, to whom he had sent Ambassadors, in Anno 1244, with Orders to desire the Restitution of the *Æbudæ* or Western Islands, unjustly possess'd by the *Norwegians*, since the Reign of *Malcolm Canmore*, about 151 Years. But *Haco* was not of Humour to part with them, notwithstanding Money was offer'd for their Redemption. Wherefore King *Alexander*, a haughty Prince, say the *Norwegians*, and, who was desirous to extend the Limits of his Empire, (to bring it to its ancient Bounds, they should have said) rais'd a great Army in 1249, and boasted that he would not lay down his Arms, till he had carried them as far East as *Thursaker*, or the *Giants Rocks* ; that is, he meant to reduce

not

a) Torff. Histor. rer. Orcad. edit. Hafniæ. 1697. p. 163.

not only the Islands call'd *Æbuda*, but also those of *Orkney* and *Shetland*. To effect this the more easily, he sent for *Jones*, then call'd King of the *Isles*, gave him four of his own Earls as Hostages for his Safety, while at the *Scottish Court*, and offer'd him large Possessions in *Scotland*, if he would but deliver up the Castle of *Biarnaburgh*, and three more, King *Haco* had intrusted him with: But his Fidelity to *Haco* was proof against the most tempting Offers of *Alexander*; who, thereupon pursuing his Resolution, invaded the Islands: But, while he lay on the Bay of *Kialarsund*, he had a very extraordinary Dream in the Night. He imagin'd, that three Men approach'd him; the one with Royal Garments, a red Face, squint Eyes, and a terrible Aspect; the other young, beautiful, and in a very fine and costly Dress; and the third both of a larger Stature and fiercer Countenance than the two former. This last ask'd him, as he thought, whether he meant to subdue the *Æbuda*? He answer'd, he did. You had better return home, said the angry Ghost. Upon which the King awaken'd, and was advis'd, by those about him, not to neglect the Warning he had receiv'd. But he was of another Opinion, and smarted for it: For not long after, he sickn'd and died in the Island *Kermary* or *Carnire*. So say even *Scots* Historians; which makes it probable, that this magnanimous Prince had actually undertaken the Expedition mention'd by the *Norwegians*: As for the Legendary Part of it (believe it who will) I am not apt to think, that either *St. Olave*, King of *Norway*, or *St. Magnus* Earl of *Orkney*, or *St. Columba* (for these are suppos'd to have been the three the King saw in his Sleep) were concern'd to hinder him from the Prosecution of what he thought, and his Son made appear to be justly his own. He was interr'd (as he himself had formerly appointed) in the Abbay Church of *Melross*, with an Inscription, which, tho, like the Times, unpolish'd, yet, as Arch-bishop *Sportiswood* observes, is such, as shews how accomplish'd a Prince he was, in the Opinion of his Subjects.

Ecclesie clypeus, pax plebis, dux miserorum;
Rex rectus, rigidus, sapiens, consultus, honestus;
Rex pius, Rex fortis, Rex optimus, Rex opulentus;
Nominis istius ipse secundus erat.
Annis ter denis & quinis Rex fuit ipse,
Insula, que Carnir dicitur, hunc rapuit.
Spiritus alta petit cœlestibus associatus,
Sed Melrossensis ossa sepulta tenet.

He had been excommunicated by the Pope; yet Church-men (for no doubt this Epitaph was made by them) call him, *The Buckler of the Church*: A Proof, I take it, that in the Opinion of those Times, the Popes were capable to do what was amiss. However, he certainly deserv'd the Epithet, since he so vigorously defended the Rights of the *Scottish Church*, in Oppolition to that of *England*. That he was valiant and brave, is evident from the successful Wars he carry'd on; and that he was wise, his Way of ma-

naging them, and his laying hold on fit Opportunities, is a Demonstration. But what ought to commend him chiefly to Posterity, is this: His Father, tho a very Martial Prince, had never been able to recover the Northern Counties, lost, partly by the Softness of *Malcolm the Maiden*, and partly by his own unlucky Captivity. The Kings of *England* had all the greatest Reluctancy imaginable to see those of *Scotland* possess'd of *English* Lands: Yet King *Alexander* forc'd King *Henry III.* to do him Justice upon that Score; and he may be said to have retriev'd the Misfortunes of his Father and Uncle. As for his Crown, he preserv'd it sacred, as indeed it was: To talk of subjecting it, was to touch him to the quick: He could not hear of the Infamy without Passion, and is reported to have sworn, That he would not hold an Inch, even of *English* Ground, of the King of *England*. Indeed the Lands he obtain'd by his eager Pursuit were so free from Servitude, that he was a Vassal for them but in Name; yet such as he was, he was thereby oblig'd to keep Peace with his Superior: That he could not in Reason decline; but then he added a very material Clause, which shews, that he was also Sovereign; and 'twas this, *Provided the King of England did him no Injustice.* A Prince that stood so much upon his Honour, with Reference to Kings, could not fail of being awful to his Subjects. The unquiet Disposition and exorbitant Power of some of them, gave him some Disturbance; but it would seem that he scorn'd to give himself the Trouble, to march against them in Person: For, notwithstanding he was always in Motion, and, like the Sun, continually travelling to enlighten and warm the World; yet we find that he suppress'd Rebellions for the most part by his Lieutenants. He was rigid and merciful at once, and knew very well when 'twas fit to punish, and when to forgive. Witness the Severity he exercis'd upon the Murderers of the Bishop of *Caithness*, and his Lenity in pardoning *Sumerled* of *Argyle*. This procur'd the Love of his Subjects, and that brought Thanks from *Rome*, and put the Pope and Church in his Interest. He lov'd *France*: Witness the League he renew'd with King *Philip*; the Assistance he gave to Prince *Lewis*, the Auxiliaries he sent to *St. Lewis*, and the *French* Lady he took to his Bed. Nor was he an Un-friend to *England*, whose Nobles he preserv'd from Destruction; and for whom he procur'd (I may say so, since the Kingdom had been subjugated by foreign Mercenaries, but for his early Appearance in its Defence) those great Priviledges, by which *England* at this Day thinks her self the freest and best constituted State in the World. He had afterwards many Opportunities of being reveng'd, both upon the King and Barons of *England*, for their Breach of Faith and Promise to him: For they quarrell'd with, and wag'd War upon one another: And no Body will doubt, but he could have cast the Balance towards that side he had thought fit to join; yet did not concern, but to reconcile them. In fine, I find him charg'd with no Sort of Vice whatever; on the contrary all Authors praise him, and Math-

then Paris (a) gives him the Character of a Good, Just, Pious, and Bountifull Prince, deservedly beloved by the English, as by his own People. His Reign was, for the most Part, peaceable; it lasted 35 Years, and he liv'd 51. Alexander III. his only Son, by Mary his second Wife, inherit'd all his Qualifications, as well as English Possessions and Scottish Crown.

T H E

Life of Alexander,

T H E

First of that NAME, Lord Great STEWARD of Scotland.

TH O I have not fail'd to make honourable Mention of all such brave Men of the Scots Nation, as have come in my Way; yet by reason of the Distance of Time, Negligence of Writers, Want of ancient Records, and Uncertainty of Tradition, I have not hitherto ventur'd to Write the Lives of any but Kings; nor of these neither, but when I had Vouchers, I thought sufficient; and Matter I conceiv'd both entertaining and instructive. And, now I draw nearer to our modern Times, and by Consequence to a clearer Light, and to more unerring Documents, I resolve, in as few Words as possible, to give an Account, if not of the Lives (which, to say the truth, is a Task not to be perform'd with any tolerable Exactness) at least of the most memorable Actions of private Worthies. And, I hope, no Body will take it ill, that I begin with One, who, tho not a King himself, was in Dignity next to Kings, and by his Birth, in some Measure equal to them; since, descended of many, and the Ancestor of more; in particular, of all the *Stewarts*; and in general, of all, or most Sovereigns in *Europe*, some way or other akin to his more direct and immediate Offspring: An Offspring, which, if we may judge of Futurities by by-past Instances of Providential Protection, will last and reign while *Britain* shall have Inhabitants. As this is the dutiful Wish of all honest Hearts, both of the North and South, so it must be the Aim of all generous and loyal Endeavours.

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(a) Ad Ann. 1244.

Had not the most exact and laborious Antiquary, Mr. *David Symson*, been by envious Fate cut off in the Flower of his Age, before he had time to compliment the World with the valuable Discoveries of his painful Searches; we should have had a compleat and Authentick History, not only of the Royal Root of the Surname of *Stewart*, but of all the Branches that have grown from it. The Commencement of the intended Work, his Father Mr. *Andrew Symson*, Minister of the Gospel, has since his Death been prevail'd with to publish: But it comes no farther down, than to *Walter*, the Father of *Robert II.* and first King of that Houë. So little have we left us of the great Performance, we had reason to expect: And, as what we have left us in this Manner, makes us the more sensible of what we have lost by the Author's Death; so his Friends, and indeed all learn'd Men, would retain a more vexatious Re grate, had not another Gentleman, Mr. *George Crawford*, in a great Measure, supply'd his Deficiency; and given us, if not a compleat History, at least an exact and distinct Genealogy of the same Family. With both I shall make bold so far, as to borrow what seems most proper for my Design. But, before I come to the Life of this *Alexander*, whom I have thought fit to single out from among so many Worthies that preceded him, it may not be amiss to entertain my Reader with a short Account of the first Rise and various Fortune of his Family.

Origine and
Descent of
the *Stewarts*.

All Authors agree, that the *Stewarts* are lineally descended of the famous *Bancho*, Thane of *Lochaber*; and that *Bancho* was himself a Prince of the Blood Royal; but in what Degree; is Matter of Debate. Dr. *Kennedy*, an *Irishman*, derives him from *Maineleauna*, who, says he, flourish'd before the Middle of the 5th Century, and was one of the seven Sons of *Corc*, King of *Munster*. Sir *George Mackenzie*, Mr. *Dunlop*, and others affirm, that he was the Son of *Ferchard*, Thane of *Lochaber*, second Son to King *Kenneth III.* who died Anno 994. Others again, and among these, Mr. *Symson* himself, following the Tradition of our *Scottish Highland Sheaniches*, are of Opinion, that one *Doir Mac-Eth*, the second Son of King *Eth*, Surnam'd *Swift-foot*, who reign'd in 870, was his great Grand-father. They say, that this *Doir*, was upon the Accession of his Brother *Constantine III.* to the Throne, created Thane of *Lochaber*; that he died in 936; and that he left Issue by his Wife *Osfleda* (a Daughter of *Egbert* or *Osbert*, King of *Northumberland*) *Murdoch*, Thane of *Lochaber*, and *Garede*, Thane of *Athole*: That *Murdoch* died in 959, which was the 16th and last of the Reign of *Malcolm I.* and left Issue by *Helen*, (others say *Dorvagil*) *Ferquhard*, who succeeded his Father in 959, and had the Misfortune to be the Brother of *Donald*, an ungrateful and perfidious Wretch, by whom the excellent King *Duff* was Murther'd; but had the good Luck to be a Favourite of *Kenneth III.* and that being kill'd at the Battle of *Loncarty*, about the Year 980, he left Issue by *Idua*, Daughter to *Eric* (descended of *Harold*, Earl of *Laden*, Protector of *Norway*) *Kenneth*, *Alexander*, and *Itine*.

Itinerant Bishop; *Alvilla*, married to *Constantine*, Ancestor of the *Grahams*; and *Gunora*, a Nun. That *Kenneth* the eldest, succeeded in 987 to his Father's Honours, and Sovereign's Favour, and that he died in the 26th Year of the Reign of *Malcolm II.* viz. 1030, leaving Issue by *Dunclina*, Daughter to *Kenneth III.* *Bancho*, *Alexander* (one of the first that took upon them the Cross, and travell'd to *Jerusalem*, and the Founder of the Castles of *Inchmoryn*, *Inchinnan*, and *Cruixton*) *Castisa*, the Wife of *Donald*, Thane of *Sutherland*, Ancestor to the ancient Earls of that Name and Designation; *Gunora*, married to *Malcolm*, Lord of *Bute*; *Marion*, married to *Angus*, Ancestor of the *Camerons*; and *Beatrix*, married to *Hugh* (alias *Aodh*) *Macecan*, Ancestor of the *Douglasses*. How far we may credit this Genealogical Account of *Bancho's* Progenitors, I do not determine: We are sure, that he himself was of the Blood Royal, whether by his Mother *Dunclina*, or his great Grand-father, *Doir Mac-Eib*, or *Macaodh*; or by both, I know not.

His great Actions and violent Death, I have elsewhere related: He was Assassinated about the Year 1043, which was the 3d or 4th of the Usurpation of *Macbeth*, together with his three Sons, *Malcolm*, *Ferquhard* and *Kenneth*, and his above-mention'd Brother-in-Law, *Aodh*, or *Hugh*. His fourth Son, *Fleanch*, made a Shift to escape by the Darkness of the Night; and afterwards understanding, that the Blow came from *Macbeth* himself, he left his two Sisters (*Beatrix*, married to the famous *Macduff* Thane of *Fife*, and *Castisa*, Wife to *Frederick*, the Ancestor of the *Urquharts*) behind him in *Scotland*, and fled, first to the Court of his rightful Sovereign, *Malcolm Canmore*, in *Cumberland*, and then retir'd to that of *Griffith Ap Lewellin*, Prince of *North Wales*; where, say some Authors, he debauch'd, others (particularly the great *Camden*, our MSS. of *Genealogies*, the *Highland Schanachies*, and, we hear, the *Welsh Bards*) that he married *Nesta*, the beautiful Daughter of *Griffith*. The Embraces of that Lady, and the consequential Preferments he had reason to expect, were, one should have thought, sufficient to make Amends for his own bypast Malheurs, as well as those of his Family: But his Marriage had at first been *Clandestine*; he was a *Stranger*, and, what yet more inflam'd the *Envy* of the *Welsh Lords*, he had Parts equal to his own Birth or his Wife's Grandeur: 'Twas fear'd he should soon ingross to himself, all the honourable or beneficial Employments of the State: And to prevent this, the ancient Courtiers made it their Business to draw upon him the Displeasure of his Father-in-Law, which how soon they had effected, they set upon him those *Ruffians* that cut him off, Anno 1045, two Years after the Death of his Father, and the 25th of his Age. He left his Lady big with Child of a Daughter, afterwards nam'd *Fleancha*, and brought up in a Nunnery with her disconsolate Mother.

Fleanch Son
of *Bancho*.

His only Son, *Walter*, was no sooner come to the Age of a Man, but he reveng'd his Father's Death upon the reputed Author of it, one *Owen*, a *Welsh Gentleman*. Notwithstanding the Fact was well enough

Walter, the
Son of *Fleanch*, and
first Great
Steward of
Scotland.

enough known, his Grand-father *Griffith* would never suffer him to be brought to his Trial; but *Griffith* was by Treason cut off in 1064, and *Walter* thereby constrain'd to seek his Safety at the Court of *Edward the Confessor*, where again he quarrell'd with, and kill'd one *Oddo*, a Favourite and Retainer of the powerful *Harold*, who afterwards usurp'd the Crown of *England*, and for the second time being oblig'd to flee from Punishment, he withdrew beyond Sea, to the Court of *Alan*, surnam'd the *Red*, Earl of *Britany*, a remote Relation of his Mother, and was one of his Retinue, at the never to be forgotten Battle of *Hastings*; a Battle by which the Fate of *England* was determin'd, and that Kingdom transferr'd from the *Saxon* to the *Norman* Sway.

On this, as on all other Occasions, *Walter* behav'd so well, that he was thought worthy of a Princely Match, and was married accordingly to *Christian*, the Earl of *Britany's* Daughter. But his Prosperity was short-liv'd at the *English*, or rather *Norman* Court: He was a secret Favourer of *Edgar Etheling's* Title to the Crown, and an open Admirer of *Malcolm Canmore's* unparallel'd Generosity towards the injur'd Prince; insomuch that he was brow-beaten by the Conqueror and his Creatures, and therefore thought fit to withdraw to *Scotland*, his Paternal Country. King *Malcolm* receiv'd him, as his Merit and Quality deserv'd, and in Lieu of his Pretensions to *Lochaber*, the Inheritance of his Ancestors, gave him a Grant of the Lands of *Kyle* and *Strathgrief*, the ancient Denomination of the Barony of *Renfrew*. His After-Services done to the Crown, I have elsewhere related; Services so great, that the King rewarded him with the Isle of *Bute*, and the Lands of *Cowal* in the Countrey of *Argyle*, all at his Disposal, by reason of the late Insurrection made by the *Islanders* and *Galwegians*: Besides, he made him Hereditary Great Steward or Seneschal of *Scotland*, in *Latin Senescallus* and *Dapifer*: Words very extensive, by which several Employments are signified; as, that of chief Administrator of the Revenues of the Crown and Exchequer, and that of *Grand Maistre du Palais*, or *Major Domo*. The first Office made all inferior Chamberlains, Forresters, &c. subservient and accountable to him; and by virtue of the second, he presid'd in a distinct Council appointed for ordering the Affairs of the Household, and determining all Matters relative to Provisions, Differences, Punishments, Servants Fees, &c. Nor did he make a Figure less considerable in War, than in Peace: For he had not only the leading of his own numerous *Vassals*, but also of the King's military Tenants, together, say some, with the Priviledge of bearing a Royal Banner display'd on the Day of Battle, before that Part of the Army under his Command. He died in 1093, and left

Dies.
A. D. 1093.

six lawful Sons, and three Daughters behind him. His eldest Daughter *Margaret* was married to *Simon*, Ancestor of the *Frasers*; *Emma*, the second, to *Griffin*, a great Lord in *South Wales*; and *Helen*, the youngest, to *Alexander*, Ancestor of the *Abernethys*. The Memories of his Sons, *William*, *Edgar*, *Malcolm*, *Fleanch* and

Walter;

Walter, who did not assume their Designations or Names from their Father's Office, are swallowed up in distinct Families. But,

Alan the Eldest of them, did succeed to his Father, tho not till he had first signaliz'd himself in the Holy Wars, where he serv'd several Campaigns, together with the Great Godfrey of Buloign, and the first Heroick Pilgrims, that conquer'd, or rather reliev'd Jerusalem, from the Hands of the Infidels, and return'd in the Reign of King Edgar, with great Reputation, and some Share of the Spoils of the East. That after this, he was great Steward of Scotland, is evident from three Charters, granted towards the Close of the Reign of David I. by Cospatrick third of that Name, and second Earl of Dunbar; one to the Church of Durham, and the other two to that of Melross: In all which he is a Witness, and design'd *Aldan Dapifer*. He died about the Year 1153, leaving Issue by his Wife Margaret, (Daughter to Fergus de Galweia Senior, Lord of Galloway) Walter, Adam, and Simon. His second Son, Adam, in the Charters of Coldingham, Melross, and Caldstream, is design'd *Adam, filius Aldani Dapiferi*; and the third, Simon, is in the Chartulary of Paisly, call'd *Frater to Walter, filius Alani Dapiferi*, and was Father to Robert, Ancestor of the Boyds, who in the same Register, is design'd *Nepos* to the above Walter.---A plain proof of the Antiquity of that noble Family, whereof the present Earl of Kilmarnock is Chief.

Alan Great Steward of Scotland.

Dies. A. D. 1153

Origine of the Boyds.

Walter the II. Great Steward of Scotland.

The Eldest Son Walter, the II. of that Name, and third Hereditary Great Steward of Scotland, succeeded his Father, in the first Year of the Reign of Malcolm IV. in the earliest of whose Charters he is design'd, *Filius Alani Dapifer meus*. He had the good Fortune to defeat the rebellious Attempt, made by Sumerled upon his Barony of Renfrew, and, for his eminent Services, obtain'd from King Malcolm a Confirmation, (a) both of the Heretable Office of Great Steward, and of the many Lands, his Ancestors had by the Grants of former Kings, particularly of King David, enjoy'd. But if the King was liberal to him, he was no less so to the Church. He founded the noble and magnificent Abbacy of Paisly, (b) and was an eminent Benefactor to the Monasteries of Dumfermling, (c) Kelso, (d) Aberbroth, Couper, Melross, &c. (e). All which shew, not only the Extent and Greatness of his Estate, but also his Piety: For in those Days Works of Charity were thought meritorious: And it seems, the Scots Monks had not yet degenerated from the Rigour of their first Institution; else, to say the Truth, to feed them, had been to nourish Idling, Falshood, and Luxury. However, the Intention of the Donators must needs be thought good; and, no doubt, Heaven has Regard to Intentions. Besides his Piety with Respect to God, his Loyalty (I mean his Zeal for the Welfare of his Sovereign, which, by the most Learn'd, both Heathens and Christians, is also, and most properly call'd Piety) is demonstrable from the same Donations; in all which, all the

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Royal

(a) Hist. of the Stewarts by Geo. Crawford, p. 2 & 3. (b) Regist. of the Abbay of Paisly, penes Joan. Com. de Dundonald. (c) Regist. Monast. de Dumferm, in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. (d) Regist. Monast. de Kelso in Bibl. Jurid. (e) Vid. Mr. Symson.

Royal Family, dead and alive, are commemorated with a singular
 Tenderness and Respect. He died in 1177, the 13th of the Reign
 of King William; and left Issue by his Lady *Eschina de Molla*, two
 Sons and a Daughter.

Dies.
 A.D. 1177.

Alan II.
 Great Stew-
 ard of Scot-
 land.

Alan, the second of that Name, his Eldest Son, in a great many
 Charters, anterior to his Father's Death, is design'd, *Alanus, filius*
Walteri Dapiferi; and afterwards in the Grants of King William, (a)
Alanus filius Walteri Dapifer meus; and in his own, *Alanus*. --- *Dapi-*
fer Regis Scotorum: Notwithstanding of which Evidences, he is most
 unaccountably pass'd over in Silence, and left out of the Line by
Boethius. He imitated the Piety of his Father, in his Liberality to
 the Church, and that of his Grand-father, in his Zeal towards the
 Support of the Eastern Christians: For he was one of those Religi-
 ous Worthies, that attended *Philip*, King of France, *Richard* King
 of England, and *David* Earl of *Huntington* and *Garioch*, in their
 Expedition against the Infidels; and, together with them, had at
 length the Pleasure to see the long, bloody and Heroick Siege of *Pto-*
lemais brought to an End. After his Return to Scotland, he signa-
 liz'd himself in the Suppression of the *Moravian* Rebels, whose Gene-
 ral, *Roderick*, the Son of *Harald*, Earl of *Caithness*, *Orkney* and *Shet-*
land, he is said to have kill'd with his own Hand, in a bloody
 Conflict near *Inverness*. He died in 1204, the 40th of the Regn of
 King William, and left Issue by *Alesta*, the Daughter of *Morgund*
 Earl of *Mar*.

Dies.
 A.D. 1204.

Walter III.
 Great Stew-
 ard of Scot-
 land.

Walter, the third of that Name, and fifth Hereditary Lord Great
 Steward of Scotland. This is that *Walter Stewart*, whom our Histo-
 rians design, of *Dundonald*; and who, laying aside the Word *Dapi-*
fer, usual to his Ancestors, and for sometime to himself, takes only
 the Appellation in his Charters, of *Senescallus Domini Regis Scotiae*,
 that is of *Stewart*; an Appellation formerly restricted to the Office, but
 henceforth extended to even the younger Children; and so became
 the Sirname of the Family. This *Walter* was not behind his Ance-
 stors in Works of Piety. He gave many Donations to Religious
 Houses; and, in all his Charters yet extant, express'd a particular Con-
 cern and Tenderness for the Soul of his Sovereign King *William*, his
 own, that of his Wife *Beatrix*, and those of all his Ancestors and
 Successors, Relations and Friends, whether alive or dead. For in
 those Days, 'twas believ'd, that there was such a Thing as Purga-
 tory, or a third Place destin'd to receive and purify even repenting
 Sinners, before they could enter those Mansions of the Blessed,
 where 'tis certain, that no Manner of Uncleanness, Corruption, or
 Self-love can dwell. That in this third Place, the Souls of such as
 had repented of their Sins, from Motives more interest'd than
 that precisely of the Love of God, were detain'd, till they,
 by satisfying the Divine Justice for those Failures the Just
 are liable to, should be made perfect: But that Works of Charity,
 such as Alms, Fasting, the Prayers of the Faithful, &c. did very
 much.

much contribute to atone for Defects of this Kind; and consequently to the more speedy Relief of Persons so stated. This Belief is now reckon'd among the Errors of the Church of *Rome*, and the consequential Practice superstitious and vain. But be this as it will, Posterity must needs do Justice to the Memory of their liberal and charitable Ancestors, and own that they did well, were it but because they meant so. This *Walter* was no less brave than pious: I have already told, how happily he reduc'd the Rebels, *Thomas Macdualan* and *Gildorth*; nor was he less fitted for State Negotiations, than Feats of War. Of this *Alexander II.* was so much satisfied, that, when a Widower by the Death of Queen *Jean*, and (for the Preservation of the Royal Line) importun'd by the joynt Addresses of all his Subjects, to re-enter the married State, he sent him his Ambassador to *France*, to sue for that beautiful and vertuous Lady, *Mary*, the Daughter of *Ingerlam Seigneur de Coucy*; and he manag'd that important Affair, with that Prudence, Dispatch, and Success, that within two Months after the Death of the late Queen, he made the King a Bridegroom, and the Kingdom happy, by securing the Succession. Besides his Hereditary Office of Great Steward, he was also, for his great and often try'd Abilities, in the sixteenth Year of *Alexander II.*'s Reign, made Lord Justiciary of *Scotland*: In which honourable and weighty Post, he continu'd till 1241, when he died, and was succeeded by his Eldest Son, *Alexander*; on whose memorable Life and glorious Actions, I more particularly incline to enlarge. His second Son *John* was sign'd with the Cross; and whether kill'd in *Ægypt* in 1249, or in *Africk*, in 1270, is uncertain. His third Son *Walter* was also sign'd with the Cross, in 1240, recogniz'd Earl of *Menteith*, in Right of his Lady at *Scoon*, in 1285, made one of the Auditors in the Competition between the *Bruce* and *Baliol*, in 1291; and, tho seventy five Years old, was in 1296 taken after the Battle of *Dumbar*, and inhumanely put to Death by *Edward Langshanks*. His Successors assum'd the Sirname of *Menteith*, and were about the Year 1340, succeeded in that Earldom by Sir *John Graham*, probably of *Abercorn*. His fourth Son was nam'd *William*; and his three Daughters, *Beatrix*, *Christian* and *Margaret* were all nobly married.

Dies.
A. D. 1241

Alexander, the first of that Name, his Eldest Son and Heir, and the sixth of his Family in a direct Line Lord Great Steward of *Scotland* was born in 1214, in the first of King *Alexander II.*'s Reign at whose Court he was educated, and by whom for his Father's Worth, and his own early Appearances, he was, no doubt, very much careis'd. How he was employ'd till 1248, we know not; but 'tis certain, that in this Year (together with his Brother *Walter*, Earl of *Menteith*, the Earl of *Dumbar*, Sir *William Douglas*, Sir *David Lindsay* of *Crawfurd*, &c.) he attended St. *Lewis*, King of *France* in the Holy War, and that upon the Death of the Earl of *Dumbar*, he was appointed chief Commander of the *Scottish* Pilgrims.

Alexander I.
Great Stew-
ard of *Scott-*
land his
Birth.

Pere Maimbourg is not so just, as to mention the great Assistance the Scots Nation gave to the French upon this Occasion, nor to express but very overly the Shares we had in those Wars or Croisades, whereof he pretends to give a compleat History. Perhaps he did not read, or gave but little Credit to our Historians; the rather because, to say the Truth, the Accounts they give of their Ancestor's Share in those Wars, are but lame and vague. For this, they're inexcusable: For had they but consulted the Chartularies of their Monasteries, and the original Rights of the Templar Lands, to which they had easy Access, they had found, that the Scots Nation was as zealously bent upon relieving *Jerusalem*, as any other whatever; and they had been able to have condescended, if not upon the Actions, at least on the Names of the more eminent Pilgrims. As for this *Alexander Stewart*, that he was one of them, is evident (a) from his Ratification of his Ancestors Donations to the Abbacy of *Paisly*; wherein 'tis provided, That in Case he shall lose his Life in that Expedition, his Successors shall be oblig'd at the Peril of their Souls, to ratify the pious Deed. But, 'twas his own, and his Country's good Luck, that he surviv'd the infinite Dangers and Malheurs that attended that unfortunate Enterprize: For afterwards, in 1255, we find, that he was one of the Council of *Alexander III.* and, that he faithfully oppos'd the disloyal Practices of the *Cumins*, who dar'd to seise on the Persons of the young King and Queen, and to ingross the Management of all Affairs to themselves and their Adherents. By this, and the like Proofs of his invincible Attachment to the Royal Family, he merited to be intrusted with its most important Concerns. Thus, in 1260, he was among those undoubted Patriots, to whom (in Case King *Alexander* had died in *England*, and the Queen *Margaret* been at the same Time brought to Bed of a Son or Daughter) the Royal Infant was by King *Henry III.* of *England*, and his Brother *Richard*, the King of the *Romans*, to be deliver'd; than which, a greater Trust could not be given to a Subject: A large Testimony, that he was consider'd as Proof against Domestick Faction or foreign Influence. How well he lov'd his Country, and what he both durst and could do for it, appear'd sufficiently in 1263, when at the Battle of *Largis*, he commanded the Right Wing of the Scots Army. That glorious Victory the King of *Scotland* obtain'd over the King of *Norway*, by which a final Period was put to Northern Invasions, was undoubtedly owing to his great Valour, and greater Conduct: For after he had broken the Left Wing of the Enemy, he did not (what a great many brave, but rash Commanders have done on the like Occasions) pertinaciously insist upon the Pursuit. He could be sedate and prudent in the very Heat of Action and Height of Revenge: He therefore wheel'd about in Time, and, falling opportunely upon the Rear of the Main Body, commanded by the King of *Norway* in Person, he had the Honour to dis-engage his own Sovereign, and, in Conjunction with him, to drive the flying

His Valour
and Con-
duct at the
Battle of
Largis.

Inva-

(a) Chartulary of Paisly penes Joan. Comit. de Dunonald.

Invaders out of the Continent: Nay, he afterwards, by his Master's Orders, follow'd them to their Recesses the Western Islands, all which, together with the Isle of *Man*, he was a principal Instrument in reducing, and re-annexing to that Crown, his Posterity was destin'd to wear.

Fame, Riches and Honours, are, or should be the lasting Rewards of Valour, justly and wisely exerted. Greater Honours than *Alexander* enjoy'd by his Royal Origine, and Hereditary Office of Lord High Steward, he could not get: History has given him Fame, and Poetry has not been deficient; Witness the ingenious Verses, Mr. *Johnston* has made in his Praise: He supposes himself to have spoken to *Haco*, the *Norwegian* King, as follows;

*Tu quamvis, tecumque fremat Septentrio in armis,
Innumeræque premant littora nostra trabes:
Te tamen hac sistam dextra, quæque horrida tecum
Terra sub Arctoo miscuit arma polo;
Obstiteram innumeris, excussi tela Tyranno,
Atque gravis populi vincla metumque jugi.
Nec mihi Regna paro, si quid tamen auguror, olim
Debentur generi forsitan illa meo.
Quid mihi namque tecum Macedo, qui viceris orbem
Vix tibi, nec natis Regna futura tuis?*

As for Riches he had abundance by his paternal Inheritance, yet his King would needs give more. This appears by King *Alexander's* Grant to him of the Barony of *Garleys*, in the Stewartry of *Kircudbright*, dated 30th of *November* 1263. But what he got from the Sovereign, in Imitation of his pious Ancestors, he return'd, or at least the Equivalent, as he thought, to God; for he was an eminent Benefactor to the Chanons of *Dryburgh*, the Abbey of *Passlay*, &c. From all which we may justly conclude, that he was the greatest, and probably, the best Subject of the *Scots* Nation in those Days; that he was highly esteem'd by his Prince, lov'd by his Country, zealous in the Religion then in Fashion, and consequently dear to his Family, Friends and Neighbours. He liv'd to be a Witness to the final Agreement of the Matrimonial Contract betwixt *Margaret* Daughter to *Alexander III.* and *Eric* King of *Norway*, by his Proxies, in 1281; when, on the 25th of *July* at *Roxburgh*, he, together with some other great Men of the Privy Council, swore on the Part of the King of *Scotland* to the Performance of the Articles agreed to; and, according to Mr. *Symson's* Calculation, died two Years afterwards, viz. in *Anno* 1283, which was the 69th of his Age, and 33d of the Reign of *Alexander III.* happy that he saw not the untimely Fate of that Monarch, nor the ensuing Desolation and Subjection of his Country. He left Issue by his Lady *Jean* Daughter and Heiress to *James* (Son of *Angus Macdriek*, Lord of the Isle of *Bute*, descended of his own Family) *James*,
Lord

His Issue.

Lord High Steward of Scotland, *John*, and *Elizabeth*: *Elizabeth* was married to Sir *William Douglass*, surnam'd the *Hardy*. I shall afterwards have Occasion of making frequent Mention of *James*, and perhaps may write his Life. As for *John*, he married *Margaret*, Daughter and Heiress to Sir *Alexander Bonkyl*, in whose Right he became possess'd of many Lands, and is thrice mention'd in that memorable Record, call'd *Rag-Man's Roll*; first, with respect to his Submission to King *Edward*, and afterwards, because an Heretor in two different Shires. Yet he thought not fit to keep his involuntary Oath to the Invader of his Country: For, on the contrary, renouncing his Fealty with the first and bravest of the Nation, he appear'd in the Fields, almost as soon as Sir *William Wallace* himself, with whom, at the Battle of *Falkirk*; he contended about the Place of Honour, and had the Misfortune or rather Honour to die on the Spot; but of these things afterwards. He is by some Historians design'd Lord of *Bute*, but erroneously; for that Island belong'd at the time to *James*, his eldest Brother, as Mr. *Symson* has from ancient Records evinc'd: As also that, contrary to what is generally said of him, he left behind him a numerous Offspring, viz. 1. Sir *Alexander Stewart* of *Bonkyl*, Father to *John*, Earl of *Angus*, married to *Margaret*, Heiress of the ancient Barony of *Abernethy*. 2. Sir *Alan Stewart*, of whom that illustrious Branch of the *Stewarts* of *Darnly* or *Lennox*, and their Cadets are lineally descended. 3. Sir *Walter Stewart* of *Dalswinton* and *Garleys*, from whom the Earls of *Galloway*, by an Heiress. 4. Sir *James Stewart*, Ancestor to *Inermeth* and *Craighall*; from whom the *Stewarts* of *Inermeth*, *Lorn*, *Durisddeer* or *Rosyth*, *Arbole*, *Buchan*, *Tragubare*, *Garntully*, *Kynnaird*, *Appin*, *Innerduning*, &c. 5. Sir *John*, 6. Sir *Hugh*, 7. Sir *Robert*; of all whose Issue we have no Accounts. 8. *Isabel*, Wife to *Thomas Ranulph*, the famous Earl of *Murray*.

T H E

Martial Atchievements

O F T H E

SCOTS NATION.

B. O O K III.

F R O M

The Defection of the Male-Line of the Scots Kings, by the Death of Alexander III. to the Resettlement of the Succession, and Death of King Robert Bruce.

Containing the Space of 43 Years, 3 Months, and 20 Days.

IF that State must needs be thought Happy, whose Commons, free from domestick or foreign Oppression, live contented with the moderate Fruits of not immoderate Labour; whose Nobles share just as much, and no more in the Government, as is necessary to support it by their Advice in deliberating, and themselves by their Obedience in Executing; whose Clergy are plentifully nourish'd by the Liberality of the Rich, and do as charitably supply the Necessities of the Poor; whose Sovereign is at once a Saint and

Y y y y

a Heroe,

a Heroe, a Father and a King, a Statesman and Souldier, a great Prince and an honest Man, a fast Friend and a bountiful Master, equally incapable to do and to suffer Injuries; zealous for the Rights of his Crown, and Tender of the Liberties of his People; willing to cultivate Peace with his Neighbours, yet never unprepar'd for War: I say, if such a State must needs be thought happy, *Scotland* had been certainly so, for upwards of 200 Years by-past; I reckon from the Restoration of *Malcolm Canmore*, at least from that of his Son, King *Edgar*, to the Death of the deceas'd King *Alexander III.* During all this Time, we had no National Rebellions amongst us, no Competition for the Crown, no Schism in the Church, no great or lasting Divisions in the State; we beheld no usurping Tyrants, nor were over-power'd by incroaching Invaders. Our Kings were all (I say all; for I do not place the short-liv'd Usurpers, *Donald Bane*, and *Duncan*, in the glorious List) if not the very best in all Respects, at least among the best Men of their respective Ages. During their auspicious Reigns (and no less than Nine of them reign'd successively) our Free-born, yet never resisting Ancestors, (I speak of the Majority of the Nation) were bless'd with almost undisturb'd Prosperity, while, with Eyes of Compassion, they saw their neighbouring Countries, *England*, *Ireland* and *Wales*, all, after one another, entirely subdu'd, and consequently enslav'd by foreign Powers: And the first, tho by its innate Wealth, and the many accidental Additions that fell to its Share, always the most Potent of the *British States*, yet by the unsettl'd State of its Constitution, the unquiet Disposition of its People, the Intrigues of its Clergy, Rebellions of its Barons, and Usurpations of some of its Kings, more than once miserably wasted, defac'd, depopulated, and very near, to all Intents and Purposes, undone. And now, such is the Vicissitude of humane Affairs, *Scotland* must, in its Turn, undergo the very same Calamities, and be almost at the same time overwhelm'd by all the joint Malheurs that ever attended a sinful and deluded People, the Minority of a Sovereign, a Competition about the Crown, Divisions among the Subjects, disjointed Councils, dissonant Measures, contending Parties, faithless Patriots, deceitful Friends, Wars civil and foreign, Famine, Subjection, Conquest, Usurpation and Slavery. Yet shall not the Nation perish? On the contrary, from the very Rubbish of her Edifices, and Ruins of her best Families, She shall learn to extract, (if I may speak so) more Fame, Honour and Wealth, than ever She attain'd to before. Nay, from the *Ferguson* Stock, a Branch shall spring, which, being destin'd in Proceſs of Time to overspread all *Britain* and the depending Isles, shall very soon cover *Scotland*, and skreen it from Harm. By what Means these strange Revolutions were brought about, a great many Authors, *Scots*, *English*, *French*, &c. have pretended to relate; but no Body has yet done it either truly or fairly. Foreigners have been misled by the *Scots* and *English*, after whom they have copied; and these by

contrary

contrary Informations, and, which is worse, blind Partiality or wilful Passion. The *English* have been most able to preserve both their own and our ancient Records: For which Reason, as I have hitherto done, so shall I continue to extract this Part of the History principally from them; the rather because, had they but given a fair and ingenuous Turn, to what their Records attest, the *Scots* Valour, Honesty and Independency had stood in no Need of Defenders; nor the Disingenuity and unjust Inroachments of some *English* Kings, (particularly the two *Edwards*, I. and III.) of Accusers. This some Writers of that generous Nation, particularly Mr. *Daniel* (a), have been so just as to acknowledge, and Mr. *Tyrrel* of late, has, contrary to the common Strain of his Countrymen, shewn himself so judicious as not entirely to disown.

How soon the last Duty of the then most loyal People, had been paid to the Merits and Memory of their most excellent King *Alexander III.* the States of *Scotland*, says *Buchanan* (b), met at *Scoon* in Order to the Creation or Election of a new King. A Falshood none but this Author, (I beg pardon for using so harsh an Expression, with Reference to the learn'd, I wish I could say honest *Buchanan*) would have dar'd to suggest. For, by what Law or for what Reason, should they meet to chuse a King, when they had actually a Queen, *Margaret*, commonly call'd the *Maiden of Norway*, the Daughter of King *Eric*, and of *Margaret* of *Scotland*, consequently the Grandchild of the deceas'd King *Alexander*, and as such the undoubted Heireis of the Kingdom? The Kingdom of *Scotland* was never Elective, or if it was, even *Buchanan* owns, that it ceas'd to be so, by the known and long since establish'd Law of King *Kenneth III.* Besides, the Nobility of *Scotland* had two Years before this, (c) in a most solemn Manner, bound themselves by their Oaths, Subscriptions and Seals, in case their King *Alexander III.* should die without Heirs Male of his own Body, to receive and acknowledge Princess *Margaret*, as their Mistress and Queen; nay, by her Mother's Contract of Marriage (d), it had long ago been expressly provided, That in case the King of *Scots* should chance to die without lawful Sons, or the Issue of lawful Sons, his Daughter *Margaret*, and the Children of her Body, should succeed both in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and in all its Appurtenances. 'Tis plain then, that they did not meet to Elect, but to declare their Sovereign; nor did the Estates, properly so call'd, meet even for that Purpose: For hitherto there were no Estates nor Parliament known in *Scotland*, unless the King's Council or Convention of the Bishops and Nobles may be (as indeed they were very soon after) so call'd. This is also evident (as from a great many more, so in particular) from the Record I have just now cited; by which it appears, that there were no Commons, and but a few Nobles or Barons convey'd towards securing the most sacred Rights of the Crown and Kingdom. However,

A. D. 1286.

Margaret
Queen of
Scotland.Crown of
Scotland ne-
ver Ele-
ctive.

Y y y y

'Tis

(a) *Histor. of Engl.* p. 192. (b) *Ad injt. lib.* 8vi. (c) *Foeder. Angl.* Tom. II. p. 266, ad Ann. 1284. (d) *Ibid.* p. 1079, &c. Article 16.

Guardians
nam'd du-
ring the Ab-
sence and
Minority of
Queen Mar-
garet.

A. D. 1288.
Intestine
Wars.

'Tis true, that on the 11th of *April Anno 1286* (the 23d Day after the King's Death) the Nobility of *Scotland* assembl'd at *Scoon*; and that in Order to provide for the Security of the Government, and the Execution of Laws, they chose six Guardians or Regents, accountable to the Queen when at Home, and of lawful Age. These Guardians were, *William Fraser*, Bishop of *St. Andrew's*; *Robert Wishart*, Bishop of *Glasgow*; *Duncan Macduff*, Earl of *Fife*; *Alexander Cumine*, Earl of *Buchan*; *James*, Lord High Steward of *Scotland*; and Sir *John Cumine* of *Badenoch* senior: All Men of Experience, Honour and Probity, who pursu'd the Ends of their joint Commission, with that Vigour and Wisdom, that charm'd the Good, and aw'd the Bad into Submission and Peace. But this promising Aspect did not last: The Earl of *Buchan*, one of the Guardians died not long after, and with him the Concord of the great Ones, tho' for what Causes is not easy to tell at this Distance of Time; but we certainly know, by a great many of those Authentick Deeds, publish'd by Mr. *Rymer*, as also (a) by Charters still to be seen in the Chartularies of *Paisly*, &c. that the Confusion and Disorder of the Times were regrated at home, and much talk'd of abroad, particularly at the Courts of *England* and *Norway*. Nor did the jarring Factions carry on their Quarrels only by Intrigue and rough Words: From these they proceeded to Bonds of Association; and from these again, to Riots and Tumults; inso-much, that in 1288, *Duncan*, the powerful and valiant Earl of *Fife*, one of the Guardians, was Way-laid, and treacherously kill'd at *Petpollogh*, by two Knights, the one firnam'd *Abernethy*, the other *Percy*. Thus the Regency was weakn'd, and in some Measure broken, by the Loss of two of their Number: And the remaining four, either wanted Authority, or, what is most probable, did not entertain that mutual Correspondence and Amity, that was necessary to support their Character: For *James*, the Steward divided from the Rest, and join'd himself in a Bond of Association, not only with some *Scots* Lords of his Party, but also, with *Gilbert Clare*, Earl of *Glocester*, and *Richard Burg*, Earl of *Ulster*: Nay, he rais'd Men and took Arms, as he himself says, in a Charter granted to the Religious of *Melross*, in his own, and his Tenants Defence.

All this while, it seems, little Notice was taken of the young and absent Queen *Margaret*. Her Father *Eric* King of *Norway*, at whose Court she still continu'd, beheld the growing Distractions of her Subjects from afar; but being unable to remedy them by himself, had at length Recourse to a friendly Mediation of *Edward I.* King of *England*, whom, by Reason of his great Power, his Neighbourhood to *Scotland*, the long Friendship entertain'd between the two Nations, his Influence over the Guardians, and more particularly by Reason of his near Relation to the Queen (her Grandmother was a Daughter of *England*) he thought, and he was in the right,

(a) Symton's Life of James, High Steward.

right, the fittest Man in the World, to see that quick Justice should be done to her. In Hopes of this, he commissioned his Plenipotentiaries, (a) at *Bergen* on the 1st Day of *April* 1289, to go over to the King of *England*, and in his Presence to treat with the *Scots* about Affairs relating to the Honour and Interest of himself and his Daughter.

Eric King of *Norway* sends Ambassadors to *England*.
A. D. 1289.

A more welcome Embassy could not come to the *English* Court; and King *Edward* was too wise to miss of an Opportunity so suitable to all the Views and Designs of his Life. That Prince was, like many of his Ancestors, to admiration Provident, Fortunate and Brave: His high Spirit and great Abilities had appear'd in the very Beginning of his Actions under his Father, whose Crown he regain'd, when by every Body thought lost. The signal Overthrow he gave to the revolted Barons, at *Evesham*; his vigorous Prosecution of the disinherited Rebels; his single Combat with *Adam Gordon*, the valiant Out-law, and his noble Adventures and Exploits in the East, were early Prefages of his future Successes. Nor was the World disappointed in the Opinion they had conceiv'd of him: For he no sooner attain'd to the Crown of *England*, but he sought and found out Means, tho, to say the truth, not at all justifiable, to aggrandize it by the subjection of *Wales*. His interested and cruel Behaviour in that Affair, might have forwarn'd all his Neighbours, especially the *Scots*, to beware of a Prince, whose Conscience, they plainly saw, was no Check to his Ambition; and whose Ambition was (tho he was Master of *England*, *Ireland*, *Wales* and *Gascony*) as great as his Power. But with them he cultivated a close and amicable Correspondence: He had yet made no Attempts, or but very indirect ones, upon the Rights of their Crown, or Liberties of their People. He was, by his Aunt and Sister, the Nephew and Brother-in-law of the two *Alexanders*, their latest Kings: The last had help'd to make him, what he was born to be, a Sovereign, by the great Assistances afforded to himself and his Father, when reduc'd to the last Extremities; and by the like Succours, a Conqueror over the *Welsh*: And 'twas not to be thought, that one so nearly ally'd to, and so singularly oblig'd by the *Scots* Nation, should have attempted its Ruin. At least this was the Opinion of the *Scots* Nobility; and he found it to be so, when, upon the Death of his Brother-in-Law, King *Alexander* III. he sent to the Convention at *Scoon*, to condole with them for their great Loss, and to propose (b) a more firm and lasting Alliance, by Means of a Marriage between his Son, *Edward* of *Caernarvan*, afterwards call'd Prince of *Wales*, and their young Queen *Margaret*. His Ambassadors made an eloquent Speech to the Assembly upon that Occasion, and (say most Authors) were heard with Attention and Applause; tho others tell us, that as the Overture was but coldly entertain'd by the Convention, so it was but faintly pursu'd by King *Edward*. Pressing Affairs call'd him beyond Seas at the time; and, having secur'd

Edward I. King of *England* comes to be concern'd in the Affairs of *Scotland*, and upon what Accounts.

Z z z z z

a Party

(a) Foeder. Angl. Tom. II. p. 416. (b) Tynrel ad Ann. 1286.

a Party to his Interest in *Scotland*, he doubted not but a short time would produce such Alterations and Factions, as would open a Door to something more advantageous, than what at that time he could pretend to. He was not mistaken: For ere two Years past, he became so very necessary, that without his Mediation the King of *Norway* did not hope to see his Daughter seated with Honour and Safety upon the Throne that belong'd to her: He did not think fit to trust her into the Hands of a tumultuous People, and ambitious Nobility; a great many of whom, already Kings in Hope, wanted but to be rid of the only Impediment that hinder'd them from being effectually such. He therefore apply'd to King *Edward*, as I have already told; and King *Edward*, how soon the *Norwegian* Ambassadors came to him, sent to the Guardians of *Scotland*, and, as they say in their Answer to him (a) earnestly intreated, that they would, for the Welfare of their Queen, his Kinswoman, send Plenipotentiaries to treat with those of the King her Father. They could have no Reason to reject the decent and obliging Request: On the 3d of *October* they met at the Abbey of *Melross* (b), and appointed three of their own Number, viz. the Bishops of *St. Andrews* and *Glasgow*, and *John Cumine*, to whom they added *Robert Bruce*, the elder, Lord of *Annandale*, to discharge that Duty; but, as became Persons of their Prudence and Honour, inserted in the Bosom of their Commission, two Cautionary Clauses; by which it was expressly provided, *That the Liberty and Honour of the Kingdom of Scotland, should remain unviolated, and its Inhabitants suffer no manner of Prejudice.*

The King of *England*, as Grand-uncle, the King of *Norway* as Father, and the *Scots* Nation as Subjects of Queen *Margaret*, had all an Interest in, and Relation to her; but then they had their own separate Designs in the Treaty agreed to. The first had a Mind to unite the two Crowns upon his own or his Son's Head, by fair Means, if practicable; if not, to get in his Hand, at least so far as to be able to Nick after-Opportunities to his own Advantage. King *Eric* sought, no doubt, the Honour and Safety of his Daughter in the first place, and in the second, the Charges he had been at towards her Education, and the Support of her Right and Royal Dignity: As also some Arrears as yet pretended due to him by his Father-in-Law, King *Alexander*. And the *Scots* perswaded of the Advantages of, and willing to comply with the propos'd Match, and consequential Union of the Crowns, were chiefly solicitous how, in case of unforeseen Accidents, the Interests and Independence of *Scotland* could be secur'd. These different Views occasion'd Delays; and the Treaty, tho' far advanced, was not fully concluded till the next Year (c): But in the mean time it was agreed at *Salisbury* on the 26th of *October*,

Agreement
between *Edward I.* King
of *England*,
Eric King of
Norway, and
the Guardians
of *Scotland*.

I. That

(a) Foeder. Angl. p. 431. (b) Ibid. (c) Ibid. p. 446, 447, 448. 4d Ann. 1289, and p. 482, 483, 489. ad Ann. 1290.

I. That the young Queen should be sent for to *Norway*, before the first of the ensuing Month, and be from thence convoy'd to *England* or *Scotland*, free from any Contract of Marriage or Espousal. For this the Commissioners of *Norway* did undertake.

II. If she came into *England*, King *Edward* engag'd, that when *Scotland* should be settl'd in Peace and Quiet, (a Proof of the Divisions I have hinted at) she should be sent thither, free from Marriage or any Engagement whatever; provided the *Scots* also oblig'd themselves not to give her a Husband, without the Advice and Consent of her Father the King of *Norway*, and her Grand-Uncle the King of *England*.

III. The *Scots* Commissioners promis'd for themselves and their Constituents, that they would take care to settle the Country before her Arrival, in such a Manner, as that she might come and remain in *Scotland*, as Lady, Queen and Heiress of it; and that, concerning the Premises, they would give all the Security the Commissioners of *Norway* could in Reason desire.

IV. That if any of the Guardians or Officers of *Scotland*, were suspected by, or disagreeable to the King of *Norway*, they should be remov'd, and others plac'd in their Rooms, by the joint Commissioners of *Scotland* and *Norway*; who, if they should chance to disagree in this, or any other Matter, their Differences should be refer'd to the Arbitrement of the King of *England*.

That Prince ratified (a) this Agreement on the 6th of *November*, and having very soon after procur'd a Dispensation (b) from the Pope, allowing Prince *Edward* and Queen *Margaret* to marry, notwithstanding they were within the Degrees of Consanguinity forbidden by the Canon Law, he sent to let both the *Scots* Nobility (c), and the King of *Norway* (d) to know so much; earnestly intreating the latter to send over his Daughter with all imaginable Expedition to *England*.

The *Scots*, at least that Party among them that were for the Match, (for all were not of the same Opinion, as will afterwards appear) express'd a great deal of Joy at the welcome News (e), and, ere the Year was elaps'd, wrote a pressing Letter to the King of *Norway* to the same Purpose with that of King *Edward's*: But these Gentlemen were, it seems, a little too forward; and as the King of *Norway* made no such Haste as was desir'd, so the wiser Part of the *Scots* Nobility thought fit to go on more leisurely, in a Business of so great Importance. They had a Mind to know what was doing, and sent such Restrictions and Limitations to the Power of their Commissioners in *England*, as oblig'd King *Edward* (f) to send Ambassadors to *Scotland*. Upon their Arrival a Convention was call'd, and on the 18th of *July* 1290 (g) they agreed to the Marriage, upon the following Conditions.

A. D. 1290
Queen *Margaret* granted in Marriage to *Edward* the Son of *Edward* I. King of *England*, and on what Terms

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I. That

(a) Ibid. p. 448. (b) Ibid. p. 450. (c) Ibid. p. 471. (d) Ibid. p. 474. (e) Ibid. p. 471, 472. (f) Ibid. p. 480. (g) Ibid. p. 482, 483, &c.

I. That the Rights, Laws, Liberties and Customs of *Scotland*, shall for ever remain entire and unalterable, and the Kingdom continue separated, divided and free in it self from the Kingdom of *England*, without any Subjection, by its true Bounds and Limits, as it had been before. *This was granted, says Mr. Tyrrel (a), yet with a saving of the King's Right, which he had before this!* He should have said, (b) *Saving the Right of the King of England, and of any other Person, which before this Agreement was, or shall afterwards in Justice be Competent, to any Lands upon the Borders or elsewhere.* Delusive Words indeed, and however disguis'd, yet so far plain, as to shew, that King *Edward* kept something in *petto*, as a Reserve for an After-Game.

II. That if *Edward* and *Margaret* shall die without Issue of the Body of *Margaret*, the Kingdom shall revert Entire, Free, Absolute and Independent, to the next immediate Heir. *To this and the subsequent Articles no Salvo's were added.*

III. That in case of the Death of Prince *Edward* without Issue of the Body of *Margaret*, her Majesty's Person shall be remitted in like Manner, free and independent to *Scotland*.

IV. That no Persons, either Ecclesiastick or Laick, shall be compell'd to go out of the Kingdom, to ask leave either to Elect, or to present their Elects, nor to do their Homage, Fealty and Services, nor to prosecute Law-Suits, nor in a Word, to perform ought usually perform'd in *Scotland*.

V. That the Kingdom of *Scotland* shall have its Chancellor, Officers of State, Courts of Judicature, &c. as before, and that a new Seal shall be made and kept by the Chancellor, but with the ordinary Arms of *Scotland*, and the Name of none but the Queen of *Scotland* engraven upon it.

VI. That all the Papers, Records, Priviledges, and other Documents of the Royal Dignity of the Crown and Kingdom of *Scotland*, shall be lodg'd in some secure Place within the Kingdom, at the Sight of the Nobility, whose Seals shall be appended to them, and there kept, till either the Queen shall return to her own Kingdom, or shall have Heirs to succeed her.

VII. That Parliaments, (and, by the by, *this is the first time, for ought I know, that that Word was us'd among us*) when call'd to treat of Matters concerning the State or Inhabitants of *Scotland*, shall be held within the Bounds of the Kingdom.

VIII. That no Duties, Taxes, Levies of Men, &c. shall be exacted in *Scotland*, but such, as being usual in former times, shall consist with the common Interest and Good of the Nation.

IX. That the King of *England* shall oblige himself and his Heirs, in a Bond of 100000 *l. sterl.* payable to the Church of *Rome*, in Aid of the Holy Land, to make Restitution of the Kingdom in the Cases aforesaid; and that he shall consent, that the Pope restrain him and his Heirs, by Excommunicating them, and Interdicting their

(a) Vol. II. p. 60. (b) The Record it self in Feder. Angl. p. 482, &c. and in Pryn. Edward. I. p. 366.

their Kingdom, both to the foresaid Restriction, and Payment of the said Sum of Money, if he or they do not stand to the Premises.

And, Lastly, That King *Edward*, at his own Charges, shall procure the Pope to confirm these Articles within a Year after the Consummation of the Marriage; and that within the same Time, the Bull of his Holiness, shall be delivered to the Community (that is, the *Barons and Prelates*) of the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

These Articles, which King *Edward* ratified (a) Word by Word, on the 28th of *August* 1290, do shew, as Mr. *Tyrrel* (b) observes, That the Scots were then very Cautious, and did as much as lay in their Power, to hinder their Country from being any way subjected to England. They also evince, that the Scots were not at all those rude, illiterate and unpolish'd People, they have been represented: That on the contrary, they very well knew both their private and publick Interest, and that the Ends and Arts of Government were by them perhaps better understood, in those earlier, and thought barbarous Ages, than at any time since. This was the first Scheme of an Union condescended upon between the two Kingdoms; and it was a Scheme so very reasonable, that had it taken effect, both Nations had been long ere now (what even the present Age can scarcely hope to see them) united in their joint Interests, mutual Inclinations, and uniform Religion. Yet, as honourable and advantageous as the then concluded Union appears to have been, 'tis certain that all those of the Nation were not pleas'd with it. Perhaps the Dissenters had By-Ends of their own, or they were loath to lose the Presence of their Sovereign, and the warm Influence of a Royal Court, or they did not entirely confide in the fair Promises of King *Edward*. They knew his deceitful Temper: And tho the *Salvo* added to the first Article, did not relate more to that King's Pretensions, than to those of any whoever; and tho by it no new Right could be acquir'd, and an old one, he, nor none else, they were very sure, could never instruct; nay, altho by that very *Salvo*, he in a great Measure disclaim'd all Title to the whole, and only suppos'd, that 'twas possible, he or some Body else might have some Claim to Lands upon the Borders or somewhere else in *Scotland*: Yet they lik'd not those insidious Reserves, and justly fear'd, that how soon he should by the Treaty (tho only in the Name of his Daughter-in-Law) be put in Possession of the Kingdom, he should find in the *Salvo* abundance of Reason and Justice to keep it. These, or such Considerations as these, added to the former Divisions of the Nation, occasion'd a formidable Party, headed by *Robert Bruce* Lord of *Annandale*, to declare themselves open Enemies to the Union or Contract of Marriage. We know this to be true by a Letter, the Bishop of *St. Andrew's* wrote to King *Edward*, not long after the Conclusion of the Treaty: He gives his Majesty (c) Thanks, in Name of a Convention of the Nobles at *Perth*, for the many good

Treaty of
Marriage
and Union;
disagreeable
to a great
Party in
Scotland.

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Offices

(a) *Fœder. Angl.* p. 489. (b) *Vol. 2.* p. 61. (c) *Fœder. Angl. Tom. II.* p. 1090, 1091. ad Ann. 1290.

Offices he had done them; then tells him, That they were just setting out, together with the *English* Ambassadors, in order to wait on and receive their Queen in *Orkney*; when to the inexpressible Terror and Grief of the Nation, an uncertain Report of her being dead was spread abroad: That upon this News, *Robert Bruce*, and those of his Party, had, contrary to Expectation, come to the Assembly; but what he meant to do, was not yet known: That the Earls of *Athole* and *Mar*, were drawing their Men together, and the whole Nobility was split in Factions; and that a War was inevitable, if not timeously prevented by the Goodness of God, and his Majesty's Endeavours. He therefore intreats, that if the Queen shall chance to die, he'll instantly come to the Borders, in order to awe the contending Parties by his Presence, to prevent the Effusion of Blood, and to enable Loyal Subjects to keep their Oaths to the rightful Heir, whoever he is; provided the Heir shall be willing to acquiesce in his Majesty's Determination. He had a little before recommended *John Baliol* to the King's Favour, and in the Beginning of his Letter design'd himself his Chaplain. 'Tis a pity that only this one Letter has been found upon Record, to guide us through the *Cimmerian* Darknes, which, by obscuring the mysterious Transactions, and hidden Contrivances of those times, has hitherto led all Authors into almost as many Mistakes, if not downright Falsties, as they have Periods, I may almost say Words, upon the Subject: But from it I do, and, I believe, every unbiass'd Reader will conclude;

I. That *Robert Bruce* and his Friends were against the Union, else why should not they have been present at an Assembly, design'd for nothing else but to welcome home, and to countenance the Marriage of their Queen.

II. That the Bishop of *St. Andrew's*, and *John Baliol*, were of a Party, and both in the Interest of King *Edward*; the first, because carress'd by him, and preferr'd to be one of his Chaplains; the second, because assur'd of, at least made to hope for more than ordinary Favour.

III. That in case the Treaty of Marriage and Union should, by the Death of the Queen, be render'd ineffectual, there was a previous Concert between King *Edward* and the *Scots* Unioners agreed upon, by virtue of which, the first was by his Power, to awe and bear down the opposite Faction; and these last, to give him the Power of nominating a Successor, and that *John Baliol* was pointed out as the Man.

IV. That upon the Certainty of the Rumour that was spread of the Queen's Death, the Animosities of Parties must needs be heighten'd, and the Nation be thereby necessitated, or to undergo all the Calamities of a Civil, and at the same time probably foreign War (for 'twas not to be suppos'd, that a Neighbour of the Character and Power of King *Edward* would stand by, an idle Spectator;) or to submit their Differences to the Determination of a Prince, who, had they

they declin'd his Arbitration, was, together with the Party he had among themselves, able to force it upon them.

These things fell out accordingly: The Rumour prov'd true, Queen Margaret dies. Queen Margaret died about Michaelmas in Orkney, whither she had been conducted. at the Charges of her own Subjects of Scotland, by two Scots Ambassadors, Sir Michael Scot and Sir David Weems. The Divisions of the Nation increas'd; first two, thereafter no less than twelve Competitors set up for the Crown: And King Edward, as he had been pre-advis'd by the Bishop of St. Andrew's, faild not to take Journey towards the Borders (a); but his very much belov'd Wife, Queen Eleanor died as he was on his Way, and he instantly return'd to London, in order, as was given out, to be present at her Obsequies. 'Tis probable he had other Reasons besides: No doubt he was perfectly well inform'd by his Party in Scotland, how Matters stood in that Kingdom, where perhaps they were not yet sufficiently ripe for his Purpose; nor had he as yet had time to take such Measures, and to bring along with him such a Force as would compel Obedience to whatever he should think fit to Command. He foresaw that he could lose nothing by a short Delay, and that in all probability he should gain a great deal: He had made sure of his Friends before hand, and they were always able to stave off the Settlement of Affairs, till he should be ready. Indeed 'twas not possible that the Scots could agree among themselves: For, besides the Bruce and Baliol, whose different Titles to the Crown, were by no precedent nor positive Law to be determin'd; and between whom, by Reason of their numerous Alliances, and vast Possessions, both at home and abroad, the whole Kingdom was divided: I say, besides these two irreconcilable Enemies, and justly contending Rivals, ten more, either acted by their own Ambition, or, as is most probable, wrought upon by the clandestine Practices of King Edward, did at the same time aspire, to what only one could obtain.

Florence, (b) Earl of Holland pretended to the Crown of Scotland, Competitors for the Crown of Scotland, who they were. in Right of his great Grand-mother Ada, the eldest lawful Sister of William sometime King; as did Robert de Pynkney, in Right also of his great Grand-mother Marjory, second Sister of the same King William; Patrick Galightly was the Son of Henry Galightly, a Bastard of King William; William de Ros was descended of Isabel; Patrick, Earl of March, of Ilda, or Ada; and William de Vesey, of Marjory; all three Daughters, tho unluckily for their Ofspring, only natural Daughters of King William; yet their Ofspring did pretend: Roger de Mandevil did the like, and had much the same Reason, being, as the former, descended of a bastard Daughter (her Name was Aufrick) of the same King William: Nicolas de Soules's Right, (if Bastardy could give Right) was nearer to the latest Kings; for his Grand-mother Marjory, the Wife of Alan de Huiser, was a natural Daughter of Alexander II. and by Consequence the Sister of Alexander III. John Cumine, Lord of Badenoch, deriv'd his Title from a

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remoter

(a) Tyrrel Vol. III. p. 61. (b) Pryn's Collect. Tom. III. p. 513, 514, &c.

remoter Source, *Donald Bane*, who had usurp'd the Crown about 200 Years before this time; but he was willing to lay by his Pretension in Favour of *John Baliol*; he might also have added, of *Robert Bruce* and *John Hastings*; for, to say the truth, none but these three had colourable Pretensions, nay, that of *Hastings* was scarcely such, when ballanc'd with that of *Bruce*. Both were the immediate Sons of the immediate lawful Daughters of Earl *David*, the Brother of *Malcolm the Maiden*, and of King *William*; but *Ada*, the Mother of *Hastings*, was the younger Sister, who must therefore yield to *Isabel* the Mother of *Bruce*: But then both *Isabel* and *Ada* were younger than *Margaret*, who was the Grand-mother of *John Baliol*: And this last did most justly urge (and had the Succession been then regulated, as it is now in all Hereditary Sovereignties, he had carried it without Dispute) That, since lineally descended of *Margaret*, the eldest Daughter of Earl *David*, with whom, had he been alive, none living could have contended, he was to be preferred to *Robert Bruce* and *John Hastings*, altho nearer by one Degree to the same Earl *David*. These two on the contrary pleaded, That they were preferable; not only to *John Baliol*, the Grand-child of *Margaret*, but also to *Dervegild*, her Daughter and his Mother: The Reason they gave was this; *Dervegild* and they were equally related to their Grand-father Earl *David*: She was indeed the Daughter of his eldest Daughter; but she was a Woman, they were Men: And, said they, the Male in the same Degree ought to succeed to Sovereignties, by their own Nature impartible, preferably to the Female. I shall afterwards set the Controversy in a clearer Light: In the mean time it suffices to tell, that both the *Baliol* and *Bruce* had Reason to lay Claim to the Crown of *Scotland*; and that whoever of the two (I say nothing of *Hastings*; for tho he might have contended with *Baliol*, yet he could not with *Bruce*) had win it by legal and honourable Means, might have worn it with Justice. The Barons or Freeholders of the Kingdom, were then, as 'twas afterwards declar'd they ought to be, the proper Judges of a Controversy, none was concern'd in but themselves and the Competitors: But, for the Reasons I have mention'd, the Barons could not agree among themselves, nor were the Competitors like to submit to their Determination. At length they unanimously resolv'd, say most Authors, to refer the whole Matter to the Arbitration of *Edward King of England*, a neighbouring Prince, a wise Man, and (upon the Account of his Relation to, and the innumerable Obligations, and those as yet fresh in his Memory, he had receiv'd from the *Sots Nation*) bound to be Just: And who could distrust him, since equally unconcern'd with all the Competitors? His Father *Henry III.* and the Barons of *England*, had, in the like manner, refer'd their Differences, to the Determination of a foreign Prince, *St. Lewis*, King of *France*: But *Edward* was not, as *Lewis*, a Saint: He had Views of his own, none, even of the great Party he had gain'd over to an entire Confidence in his Friendship, could penetrate. In their Fa-

King *Edward* made Arbitrator in the Competition about the Crown of *Scotland*.

your, I mean, in that of the principal Man among them, *John Babilol*, he promis'd, it seems, to decide the Debate; and they, in hopes of this, manag'd Matters so, as to let the *Brussian* Faction to understand, that they must either willingly acquiesce in what he should, after due Inquiry, determine, or be (by his mighty Power united with that of the Majority of *Scotland*) compell'd to submit. They chose (and what else could they do?) to acquiesce in his Determination; and he, to keep all Parties in the dark, with Reference to his private Designs, and to remove all manner of Jealousy concerning his after Intentions, invited and earnestly intreated, that the Prelates and great Men of *Scotland* would meet him at *Norham*, in the Confines of both Kingdoms; to which Place, he himself declares, (a) that they came at his earnest Request and Intreaty. So false 'tis, what by his publick Notary he afterwards asserted, as do still *Mr. Tyrrel*, (b) *Mr. Echard* (c), &c. viz. that, as Superior and direct Lord of *Scotland*, he had call'd a Parliament of the *Scots* Nation at *Norham*: For in no Record extant, is any such thing so much as insinuated: Nay, that one I have just now cited, to me is a plain Proof of the contrary: Nor did the *Scots* know that he design'd to take any such Title or Authority upon him, till he had, by the most plausible Pretences imaginable, decoy'd them, tho' not quite out of the Kingdom, yet to such a Place, in which he very well knew, they neither could nor durst withstand his Commands. (d) For, besides that they were unprepar'd and unarm'd, and, which was worse, incapable of Concert among themselves; he had all the Forces in *England* hard at hand (e), and just ready to fall upon and massacre every one of them, in case of a peremptory Refusal. Thus stated, on the 10th of *May*, he appointed his Justiciary, *Robert Brabancon*, to speak out, what he had hitherto so industriously conceal'd: And (f) the Justiciary told them, " That his Majesty did most sincerely commiserate the distemper'd State of the *Scots* Nation: That he had ever a singular Regard for *Scotland* and all its Inhabitants, whose Safety and Protection was well known to belong to him: That he had come and call'd them thither, in order to discharge his Duty: That he would do impartial Justice to the Competitors for the Crown, and would not at all usurp or inroach upon the Liberties of the Subject, but that, as he was Superior and direct Lord of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, so he hop'd they would willingly Recognize and acknowledge him to be such; and that if any of them scrupl'd the thing, he was willing to evidence his Title from undoubted Chronicles and Monuments, every where to be found in the Monasteries of *England*: That by this Means, a solid and lasting Peace would be establish'd between the two Nations; and he would not fail, in the Nomination of a King to *Scotland*, as in every thing else concerning that Kingdom, to ask the Advice of the present Assembly.

Lays Claim to the Superiority over and direct Dominion of *Scotland*.

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This

(a) Foeder. Angl. Tom. II. p. 528. (b) Vol. III. p. 62. (c) p. 209. (d) Tyrrel Vol. III. p. 65, 73. Chron. Abing. C. W. H. (e) Foeder. Angl. Tom. II. p. 525. (f) Pryn's Collect. Tom. III. p. 488, 489, &c. Tyrrel Vol. III. p. 62, 63, &c. Echard p. 310, &c.

This unexpected Harangue struck the *Scots* with Amazement, Indignation and Terror; and no Wonder, such another Piece of *Supercherie*, is, I believe, no where to be found in Story. An honest Heathen would have been ashamed to have ventur'd upon it; and 'tis surprizing, that Christian Authors should yet relate it, without stigmatizing the Memory of a Prince, that was capable to act a Part so derogatory to the Character of a Man of Honour. Had he ever before (and this was the 19th Year of his Reign) laid Claim to the Superiority of *Scotland*; nay, had he not so often disclaim'd it, as I have shew'd; or had he only fomented the Divisions of the Kingdom, and laid hold on the Opportunity to invade it openly, and appear'd, what he was, an Enemy above-board, he had done but what has been, by ungenerous Potentates, practis'd in all Ages: But, for one who in a great Measure ow'd his own Grandeur to the repeated Assistances he had receiv'd from *Scotland*; who had so often and so solemnly own'd its Independency; who had express'd so much Gratitude, such forward Zeal for its Honour and Welfare; thus to entrap its Nobles, upon the fairest and most plausible Pretences imaginable, and then, and never till then, to tell them (The Speech I have related, and all his After-Conduct imply'd no less;) That now he had them in his Hands, and they must resolve, or to lay down their Lives, or to give up their Liberties. As 'twas unprecedented before, so I know not if it has since been imitated; not but that Princes and their Councils may have been sufficiently dispos'd to re-act the scandalous Part; but all the Grandees of a Nation have never been so mad, as to afford the like Opportunity. The *Scots* Nobility saw their Error, when 'twas too late: And some write (a), that, as great as their Surprisal was, they couragiously asserted the Independency of their Country, and absolutely refus'd to acknowledge any Superior but God, above him that should be found to be the Heir of their Crown. *Robert Wishart*, Bishop of *Glasgow*, is said to have taken upon him to maintain that Argument, and to have done it, as indeed 'twas easy, beyond the Possibility of a Reply: Yet since *English* Authors and Records, (whom I more incline to follow than *Scots* or Foreigners) are silent upon the Matter, I shall also be so. This is certain, they seem'd hugely dissatisfied (b), and not at all inclinable to comply with the King's Demands; and he was thereby so far incens'd, that he swore by *St. Edward* (the greatest Oath he ever us'd) that he would lose his Life in the Prosecution of his just Right. His meaning could not be mis-understood; and the *Scots* finding themselves thus threaten'd, did what they durst: They told him (c) That they knew nothing of any Superiority belonging to him; that they could not answer such things without a Head and King, whose Business it was to enquire into these Matters; and that, as for their Part, they were bound by an Oath they had made to one another

(a) *Pere D'Orleans* p. 467. *Dr. Mackenzie's Life of John Blair* Vol. I. p. 250. (b) *Tytrel* Vol. III, p. 65. from *Chron. Abing.* (c) *Wallingham* p. 56.

another after the Death of King *Alexander*, to own no Sovereign but his legal Heir, and that they were to observe that Oath, under Pain of Excommunication. Upon this, the King said that he would give them Time to think on it, and so adjourn'd the Meeting till next Day the 11th of *May*; when, according to Appointment, they went over to the Parish Church of *Norham*, and intreated that a longer Time might be allow'd them to consult with their absent Countrymen concerning a Matter that was wholly new to them, and yet of such Importance as was not to be rashly determin'd. The King, for his own Interest, that is, to palliate in some Measure the Violence he had offer'd, and was determin'd to prosecute, thought fit to comply so far with the reasonable Demand, as to prorogue the Assembly till the second of *June* next coming. In so short a Time, he very well knew, they could neither meet, nor consult with their Friends; much less raise an Army, put the Country in a Posture of Defence, take up their Domestick Quarrels, and condescend upon a Head, capable to unite and protect them. By these Means they might yet have warded off the threaten'd Mischief. But such Means were impracticable: And King *Edward*, to divert their Thoughts from Attempts of that Kind, and to engage them to return to a second Conference, gave them a Charter, (a) by which he declar'd, That their coming over *Tweed* into *England*, should be of no prejudicial Consequence to the Nation, but that they might return with Honour and Safety: And to perswade them, that, after all, he meant not to invade their Liberties by Force, but only to assert his own Right, in case it should appear that he had any, he desir'd them (b) to make Search for any Writings, Evidences, or Antiquities, that might exclude him from the Right and Exercise of his Superiority and direct Dominion, and overthrow his Reasons and Arguments for it, professing that he was ready to grant, what Law and Justice had establish'd. And (that they might the better understand his Title, and make their Objections against it) he appointed the Bishop of *Durham* to set it forth to all present. The Prelate obey'd, and was himself, or some others for him, at the greatest Pains imaginable, to overturn his Master's Cause, by supporting it with Disingenuity, Fiction and Calumny. He begins with the exploded Fables of *Brutus*, *Albanactus*, *Camber*, and the like imaginary Founders of Old *Britain*, *Albany* and *Wales*; nor does he forget the equally ridiculous Legend of *St. John of Beverly*, nor the Pageantry of King *Edgar*, and his Royal Tars: The acknowledg'd Subjection of *William*, King of *Scotland*, to *Henry II.* of *England*, he tells pretty fair, but has not a Word of the Authentick Acquittance granted by King *Richard*; by which alone, it would have appear'd how vain and frivolous the Claim had ever been, and then was. To be short, (why should I enlarge upon a Subject so many have handl'd, and I my self have, I humbly conceive, sufficiently clear'd, in proper and convenient Places?) Mr. *Tyrrel* is, both elsewhere and on this Oc-

(a) Wallingham, ubi ſup. (b) Pryn, Tyrrel, Echard, ubi ſup.

casion, so judicious, as to own, " That, as that Declaration, which
 " is to be seen at length in *Prynne's Collections*, and the Histories of
 " *Matth. Westminster*, and *Thomas Walsingham*, is wholly Historical;
 " so the Arguments adduc'd, are no ways conclusive; and that tho'
 " the Matters of Fact, which are therein cited, are rightly enough
 " set down, yet there is no Mention made of any Homage or Fealty
 " done by the *Scottish Kings*, for the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*;
 " which, says he, (tho' I beg Pardon to tell him, and I have already e-
 " vinc'd it, erroneously) extended anciently no farther than the Bridge
 " of *Stirling*. He adds more truly, that what ever Authorities are
 " found in *English Historians* against the Homage claim'd by King *Ed-*
 " ward, there was no Notice taken of them in this Declaration;
 " and that there was very good Reason for it, because, had they
 " been mention'd, they might have serv'd to ruine the Kings Pre-
 " tences to any Superiority over that Kingdom." And who will
 not be of the same Opinion with Mr. *Tyrrel*, and frankly own, that,
 as King *Edward* had no Title to support his ungenerous Incroach-
 ments upon *Scotland*; so he could give no Reasons to support his
 Title? The *Scots* knew this very well: And how soon they got a
 Judge, who was not at the same Time a Party, they let the World
 to know, that they had not only Objections to make against the Ho-
 mage claim'd, but that they had such Demonstrations of their Inde-
 pendency to produce, as at once carried off the opprobrious Chara-
 cter of perjurd Rebels and Traitors, so often and so unjustly given
 them by *English Writers*, and fix'd that indelible one of a merciless
 Tyrant and deceitfull Usurper, upon the Memory of one of the
 greatest and bravest of *English Kings*. But of this afterwards, when
 I shall come to speak of Pope *Boniface*, his Monitory Letter to
 that Monarch.

In the mean time, what should the *Scots* do? Search their Records,
 as King *Edward* desir'd them, and produce such Documents, as
 might overthrow those adduc'd by him? And before whom should
 they produce them, or to what Purpose? They had but little
 Time, not above three Weeks to advise and resolve upon their own
 Fate, and that of a Kingdom; and they ought to have employ'd it
 better, than in looking over Papers and Parchments, when 'twas
 plain, they must either be cast in Judgment, or plead with their
 Swords in their Hands. But besides that, 'twas impossible they
 could come to understand one another: Had they by a Miracle (for
 nothing less could have done it,) turn'd in one Minute unanimously
 resolv'd to stand as one Man, to the Defence of their Country, yet
 they had stood in need of another, to disarm the whole *English Mi-*
litia just ready to pour down upon them, ere they could call but
 some hundreds to Arms. What did they then? What indeed
 was most cowardly; but at the same Time most prudent and
 safe: They return'd to the appointed Meeting on the second of
June; and, being assembl'd in a Green Plain over against *Norham-*
Castle, where King *Edward* resided, they all, one after another (I
 mean

mean the Competitors for; and Guardians of the Kingdom) together with a great many more Prelates and Barons, that call'd themselves the Community of *Scotland*, recogniz'd and acknowledg'd King *Edward* as their Superior and direct Lord. *Robert Bruce*, even *Robert Bruce*, the noble Lord of *Annandale*, contrary to what all *Scots* and most foreign Authors have asserted, is upon Record found to have been the very first Man; who being first interrogated, *Whether in claiming his Right to the Scots Crown, he would demand and receive Justice before the King of England, as Superior and direct Lord of the Kingdom of Scotland, publickly, expressly, and without Contradiction answer'd, That he would; and actually did.* To say the Truth, I cannot but own in this Place, that I'm heartily sorry to find my self oblig'd to score this *Robert de Bruce* out of the List of *Scots* Heroes, and that I cannot say of him, what all *Scots* Writers have hitherto tenaciously asserted, *viz.* That the King of *England* call'd him aside, closeted him, and offer'd to prefer him to the Crown of *Scotland*, if he would promise to hold it of that of *England*; but that the noble *Bruce* was proof against the glittering Temptation, and that with a scornful Disdain he reply'd, *No; I value the Dignity of King at a very high Rate, but my Honour I value yet more; nor will I betray my Country, tho' to Reign over it.* A noble Answer indeed; and I wish, he, or any of the Competitors had express'd such Greatness of Soul as to make it. But as much convinc'd as I am of the Disingenuity of King *Edward*, and the false Representations given to the World of this Transaction by him, his Council and Historiographers; nay, even by the publick Notary he commanded to draw up the Instrument, from whence we have these Accounts; yet I cannot offer to disprove a Deed so Authentick and so publick as this, which, if false, thousands of Witnesses had, during the Course of the ensuing War, attested the Calumny. Nor did the after-Conduct of this same *Robert Bruce*, the Grand-father of the afterwards most Heroick *Scots* King of that Name, prove contradictory to his inglorious Submission. 'Tis true, that from the Beginning he had been an obstinate Stickler in Opposition to the *English* Interest, and that he had been an Enemy to the Queen's Match, and Union of the Kingdoms: He very well knew, that *John Baliol* had more Interest at the Court of *England* than himself: And 'tis not improbable, but that at first he may (consequentially to his former Behaviour) have rejected such Terms as were derogatory to the Royal Dignity he aim'd at; but it seems that upon second Thoughts he alter'd his Measures, and finding it impossible to attain to what he judg'd his Right, without Submission, he resolv'd not to lose it for a Punctilio of Honour, the Possession of the Crown would enable him to retrieve. *William* the *Lyon* had made the like Submission before; and, as *William* the *Lyon* did, so he hop'd to fall upon Means of getting free of it. The rest of the Competitors, and indeed the whole Assembly had, as it afterwards appear'd, the same Designs: They resolv'd to stick at nothing towards hast-

Gets himself to be acknowledged Superior Lord of Scotland.

ning the Nomination of a King, who alone could deliver them from the Concussion they lay under, and, by reuniting their Minds, and heading their Forces, enable them to break a Yoke they were forc'd to take one, but determin'd to shake off. With this View they all submitted (as I have said) one after another; first the Competitors, and then the Guardians of the Kingdom.

Thus King *Edward*, without Stroak of Sword, or perhaps without so much as an Objection made, or a Protestation enter'd against his Title, had got himself acknowledg'd; and now began, in all his Writings, to take upon him the Designation of Superior, and direct Lord of the Kingdom of *Scotland*. But this was not enough: He could not always keep a standing Army upon the Borders; and therefore bethought himself by what other Means he could both get and keep the Possession of his new Acquisition. To effect this, he apply'd as before to the Competitors; and they (still jealous of one another, and made all to believe, that he who should first comply would be first prefer'd) did not at all grudge to subscribe a Paper, he presented to them on the 14th of *June*, importing; "That, in order to impower King *Edward* to put his Sentence in Execution, they had freely, and without Compulsion, given to him, as Sovereign Lord, the actual Possession or Seafine of all the Land and Strength of *Scotland*; upon Condition, that he should restore all Things as he had found them, within two Months after he had determin'd the Right of Succession, saving to the Crown of *England* the Homage of him that shall be King." This done, 'tis not to be doubted but that Detachments were immediately sent from the *English* Army that lay still in the Neighbourhood, to seize upon, and garrison all the Castles and Fortresses in *Scotland*. But it seems they got not an easy Access to all of them: Their own Governors or Proprietars were not at all willing to yeild their Places to Strangers: Among others, (a) *Gilbert de Umfraville*, Earl of *Angus*, made Difficulty to part with his Castles of *Dundee* and *Forfar*; because, said he, they were intrusted to him, not by the King, but by the Community of *Scotland*; and to the Community he was oblig'd to restore them: But his Plea was repell'd, in Regard that the Community, that is, the Convention of Barons had had no Power to give them, had there been a King in Being at the Time; and that now, altho there was no King, yet some one of the Competitors must needs be King in a short Time, consequently since he was warranted by all the Competitors to give up these Castles, he was warranted by the King.

King *Edward* now fairly, as he thought, acknowledg'd Superior of *Scotland*, and, as such, put in Possession of the Kingdom, concluded, that henceforth he should meet with no Manner of Opposition in the Prosecution of his further Designs: He therefore went boldly on, declar'd himself by a publick Deed, (b) (what he took himself to be) Sovereign Lord of *Scotland*; yet was graciously pleas'd to promise, that he would decide the Controversy in hand, within the Bounds

of

Gets possession of the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*.

(a) Foeder, Angl. p. 531. (b) Ibid, 532;

of the Kingdom contended for. *Berwick upon Tweed* was the Place, and the 2d of *August* the Day appointed for hearing the Petitions, and discussing the Rights of the several Demandants; till when he employ'd his time very busily: He receiv'd the Oaths and Fealties of the Competitors, Guardians, and indeed, of all *Scotsmen* about him, and appointed all the Bishops, Earls, Barons, &c. that were formerly bound to do Homage, and swear Fealty to the Crown of *Scotland*, and were not present, to swear the same Oath to him, by Commissioners in all Parts of the Kingdom. Which done, he caus'd his Peace or Protection to be proclaim'd in their Favour. The Guardians of the Kingdom, and Castellans or Constables of Castles, he caus'd deliver up their Guardianships and Bailliwicks to him; but then he return'd the Guardianship of the Kingdom to the same Persons, approv'd of the Election made of a *Scots* Bishop to the Place and Dignity of Chancellor, but adjoin'd *Walter of Agmundesham*, an *Englishman*, and his own Clerk, as an Associate to him. In a Word, he did with *Scotland* and *Scotsmen*, whatever he lik'd: And he lik'd to do every thing that could contribute to perpetuate his Title.

He met with some Interruption by the Death of his Mother Queen *Eleanor*; the News of which made him return into *England* to see her Interr'd. But his filial Duty did not detain him long from the greater Concerns of his Sovereignty; for he instantly came back, and made a Progress through most of the Low-Countries of *Scotland*, receiving every where the Acknowledgements and Oaths of the now plainly enslav'd Nobility, Clergy and Burghers. On the 8th of *July* he was at *Edinburgh*, on the 10th at *Stirling*, on the 17th at *Dumfermling*, on the 22d at *St. Andrew's*, on the 24th at *Perth*: From thence he took Journey back again to *Berwick*, where he arriv'd before the 1st of *August*; and was, conform to Appointment, attended by the Competitors, and those Auditors they had chosen to hear and report their different Claims. The first thing (a) he did upon his Arrival, was to emit a Proclamation, declaring, That under him, the King of *England*, and superior Lord of *Scotland*, both Kingdoms were united: And repenting, it seems, that he had condescended so far as to promise, that he would determine the grand Plea now before him, within the Kingdom of *Scotland*, he declar'd on the 4th of *August*, that he would not be henceforth bound to the like Condescension; nor did he ever thereby design to deprive himself or his Heirs of the Right he had, as Superior Lord of *Scotland*, to take Cognizance of *Scots* Causes and Affairs in *England* or elsewhere, as he or they should have a Mind. In this Manner did he gradually proceed to discover the whole Extent of his design'd Usurpation: And by this last Act alone, the Competitors might have seen, what a precarious servile King he must needs be, that should chance to be nam'd by such an Umpire. But lest the Person condescended upon, should afterwards pretend, that his

Takes a
Progress
through
Scotland.

(a) Feder. Angl. p. 539.

Incroachments were, becaule unprecedented, therefore not to be comply'd with, he, on the 12th of the same Month (a) when the Disputes among the Competitors were at the greatest Height, issu'd forth a Writ, "Impowering and Commanding the Abbots of *Dumfermling* and *Holy-rood-house*, together with three *Englishmen*, therein nam'd, to review and examine all the Records and Writings to be found within *Scotland*; especially such as related to the Rights of the Kingdom, or to the Kings of *England*, and to remove them from the Castle of *Edinburgh*, or from wherever they should be found, to such a Place as he should afterwards appoint; and lest the Scots Abbots should be remiss or backward in that Affair, he empower'd the *Englishmen* to proceed in it alone, and commanded that, at their Desire, all Houses, Castles, Chests, &c. should be made open to them." By this Writ we see from whence it comes, that the *Scots* History is in many Places so very lame as 'tis: As also, for what Reason our Ancestors could not producè those demonstrative Proofs of their Independency, which at this time were by King *Edward's* Orders destroy'd or carried off. Yet Mr. *Pryn* (a) (every where most passionately and injudiciously Partial) tells us, that this Writ, (the most really prejudicial that even King *Edward* did ever emit against us) is a Proof of the great Care he had of the *Scots* Records: And, which is yet more surprizing, Mr. *Tyrrel* (b), who decides the main Question in Favour of the *Scots*, yet inveighs against *Boethius* and others, for telling what this Writ evidences, viz. that King *Edward* destroy'd our Records.----- Indeed they were all as good as destroy'd, and a great many, not yet found out, may be thought so: But these extant, and now most generously publish'd by the learn'd and worthy Mr. *Rymer*, demonstrate the Fate of the Rest. Hard and lamentable Fate! by which we have been so long, and are still in a great Measure depriv'd of those unerring Lights that would have dispell'd the Darknes of by-past Ages, given us a clear View of our Ancestors, and detected the Ignorance, Prejudice and Malice of Party-Writers, whether *Scots* or *English*. I return to the History.

Carries off
the Scots Re-
cords.

King *Edward* had now done all that was possible, both to subject the Kingdom of *Scotland* to himself, and to secure it to his Posterity; and 'twas high time to display his unlimited Power, by making a King he had taken so secure Measures to continue, or un-make at his Pleasure. But the final Determination of an Affair of such Weight and Moment, was not, said he, to be hurry'd on with Precipitation. He had done his own Business, and, pleas'd with the Affiduity of his Royal Dependents, willing to keep them and the World in Suspence, and desirous to colour his Procedure with a Shew of Wariness and Caution, he put off that of the Competition, till the 2d Day of *June* in the following Year 1292.

A. D. 1292.

At the appointed time he met the Communities, I mean, the Prelates and Grandees of both Kingdoms at *Berwick*, as before: Where

since

since *John Baliol* Lord of *Galloway*, and *Robert Bruce* Lord of *Anandale*, were the principal Competitors, 'twas order'd by the Assent of the whole Assembly, that their Rights and Titles should be first examin'd and discuss'd, and that afterwards all others might prosecute their Claims if they thought fit. The Debate lasted long, and was manag'd with a great deal of Reason and seeming Justice by both; till at length this single Question (as if the Force of all their Arguments had been drawn into it) was stated thus; *Whether the more remote, by one Degree in Succession, coming from the eldest Sister, ought, according to the Laws of both Kingdoms, to exclude the nearer by one Degree, coming from the second Sister? Or, whether the nearer by one Degree, coming from the second Sister, ought to exclude the more remote by one Degree, coming from the eldest Sister?* By this King *Edward's* Partiality in Favour of *John Baliol*, was visible: For *Robert Bruce* did not only plead, that he was the nearer by one Degree, but also, that since the first Male descended of *Earl David*, he was preferable to any Female in the same Degree of Relation; that is, even to *Deruegild*, altho the Daughter of the eldest Sister; consequently to *John Baliol*, her Son: He added, that his Title was both thought and declar'd to be the best, by the late Kings of *Scotland* and their Councils, the proper Judges of the Controversy. But these and the like Arguments (of which afterwards) met with no Regard nor Consideration at this time; the Assembly was oblig'd to answer precisely to the Question as King *Edward* had stated it: And they answer'd as they knew he had a mind, viz. *That the more remote by one Degree, lineally descending from the eldest Sister, according to the Laws and Customs of both Kingdoms, was to be preferr'd to the nearer by one Degree coming from the second Sister, in every Hereditary Succession.*

Upon this Answer 'twas determin'd, that *Robert Bruce* should receive nothing by his Petition concerning the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and that the Sentence concerning *John Baliol* should be suspended till the other Competitors were heard. But these last (among whom *Eric*, King of *Norway*, had of late appear'd by his Procurators, and, as Heir to his Daughter Queen *Margaret*, put in his Claim for the Kingdom) did not think fit to insist upon those feeble Pretensions, they had probably never mention'd, had not King *Edward*, to entertain Division, set them upon the audacious Attempt. Only *John Hastings*, who, as I have said, was Son to the youngest of *Earl David's* three Daughters, pleaded, That the Kingdom of *Scotland*, since holden of the Crown of *England*, was like all other *English* Lands, Tenements, Fees, Liberties, &c. divisible; and that therefore it ought to be divided between *John Baliol*, *Robert Bruce*, and himself, as Heirs to the three Daughters. *Robert Bruce*, already disappointed of his Claim to the whole, struck in with *Hastings*, and, seemingly at least, content with his third Part, requested of King *Edward*, that Judgment might be given according to the Common Law of *England*. This Plea, tho mean in the Com-

Debate between the Bruce and Baliol, how manag'd in Presence of King Edward I. of England.

petitors (for here again I must own, that *Robert Bruce* did not shew himself to be that disinterested Heroe, *Scots* Authors have made him) was nevertheless as plausible as could be, upon the Supposition of *Scotland's* being but a Fee depending on the *English* Crown. For whatever the Law of *England* might have been at the time, I'm sure, that by the then Law of *Scotland*, Lands (I don't say Honours) held of the Crown, were partible: Witness the Lordship of *Galloway*, which, upon the Death of *Alan*, Great Constable of *Scotland*, was, in Spite of the Opposition made by the Bastard *Macdualan*, divided among his three Daughters. Nor does it appear, that the Law was then otherwise in *England*, as Mr. *Tyrrel* (a) would have us believe; because, says he, upon the Decease of *John Scot*, Earl of *Chester*, without Issue of his own Body, the Earldom, with the County, devolv'd to the Crown; and his Sisters had no Part of it allow'd them, 'tis true: But 'tis plain, that State Policy prevail'd in this Case over the Laws of the Land. The Earldom of *Chester* was a Palatinate, and the Earls of it were petty Sovereigns: The last in Possession was a *Scots* Prince, the Son of *David*, Earl of *Huntington* and *Garioch*; and, upon his Death, or his eldest Sister *Margaret's* (the same in whose Right *John Baliol* her Grand-child now claim'd the Crown of *Scotland*) should have succeeded, or the Lands should have been divided between that Lady; and her two Sisters, *Isabel* and *Ada*, the Mothers of the other two Competitors, *Robert Bruce* and *John Hastings*: But the Kings of *England* found it inconvenient to have little Sovereignities erected or continu'd in *England*, and therefore could never be easy, till they had prevail'd with the Kings of *Scotland*, to accept of an Equivalent for their Principality of *Cumberland*, Earldom of *Northumberland*, &c. And for the same Reason 'twas, that the Common Law did not take place, in the Case of the three Sisters above-mention'd: But then an Equivalent was likewise given to them, and *John Baliol*, the (b) Son-in-Law of *Margaret* the eldest Sister, had in her Right and that of her Daughter *Dervegild*, an Assignation of the Mannors of *Thorkesey*, *Gernemuth* and *Luddingland*, till the King should make them a reasonable Exchange of other Lands, in Satisfaction of her Part of the Earldom of *Chester*. The Earldom of *Chester* was then Partible by the *English* Law, and the Lordship of *Galloway* by the *Scots*; consequently the Kingdom of *Scotland*, if holden of the Crown of *England*, as then pretended, was also so by the Laws of both Nations. And I very much wonder, that King *Edward* did not assent to the favourable Overture, and lay hold, as he might have done, on the Opportunity to tear the *Scots* Monarchy into Pieces. He meant to Reign over the whole; and the Maxime is, *divide ut regnes*: 'Twas in all Probability an easier Task to keep three Lords, tho very great ones, under Subjection, than one King: But Providence order'd it otherwise: The Iniquity had been too visible; and he design'd to name such a King, as by his Birth had a very good Title to be

such,

such, and by his Nature was dispos'd to continue what he profess'd himself, a Subject. For this Reason twas, that at length the King of England, as Superior and direct Lord of Scotland, having repell'd all Objections to the contrary, decided, *That John Baliol should have Seisine and Possession of the Kingdom of Scotland, with all its Appurtenances, upon Condition, That he should rightly and justly govern the People subject to him, that none might have occasion to complain of Injustice, nor the King of England, as Superior Lord of the Kingdom, to interpose his Authority; always reserving the Right of the King of England and his Heirs, in such Cases, when he would make use of it.* On these conditional and servile Terms did *John Baliol* accept of the Oldest, the most Untainted, I mean, the freest from Bastardy, Usurpation or Conquest; and, as the most Absolute, so in all Respects the most Independent Crown in the Christian World.

John Baliol
nam'd King
of Scotland.

The next Day, which was the 20th of November 1292, he swore Fealty to King *Edward* at *Norham*; then went into *Scotland*, and there, in Pursuance of the Writs issued out by his acknowledg'd Lord, and directed to the several Castellans or Governors of Castles; was, on the Feast of *St. Andrew*, Patron of the Kingdom (a very unfit Day for the mortifying Show) plac'd on the Royal Throne at *Scoon*, and crown'd King. He had not Leisure to receive the Congratulations and Submissions of his Party, (I say of his Party (a); for as all should have done, so some, particularly the *Bruces*, Father, Son, and Grandchild, together with *John Earl of Caithness*, *William Douglas*, &c. positively refus'd to own him) when he must again return to *England*, in order to attend his Liege-Lord, who was pleas'd to keep his Christmas at *Newcastle*. There on *St. Stephen's Day* he again renew'd his Homage, and the Form of it was this. "My Lord

"*Edward King of England*, and Superior Lord of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, I *John King of Scotland* become your Liege-man, for the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, with its Appurtenances; which Kingdom, I claim and hold, and ought of right to hold for me and my Heirs Kings of *Scotland*, hereditarily of you and your Heirs Kings of *England*; and shall bear Faith to you and your Heirs Kings of *England* of Life and Limb and terrene Honour, against all Men that may live and die." A Form very different from those formerly us'd by the Kings of *Scotland*, when they did Homage for their *English Territories*, and such an one as plainly shews, that till then (I except the extorted Homage paid by King *William*) they had never done Homage for *Scotland*; else, to be sure, they had done it in Terms no less express than those I have transcrib'd.

King *John*
does Ho-
mage for
the Crown
of *Scotland*
to the King
of *England*.

"All these Transactions still remaining upon Record in the Tower of *London*, may (says *Mr. Tyrrel*) (b) serve as a sufficient Justification of the Sincerity of King *Edward's* Proceedings in this great Affair, and that all Things were transacted in the Face of the World; and by the common Consent of the major Part of the Auditors, --- and confirm'd by that of the Clergy, Nobility and

D d d d d 2

Com-

“ Commonalty of *Scotland* ; and therefore *Hector Boetius*, and
 “ those other Historians, are by no means to be credited, who re-
 “ late, that the King us'd Violence to obtain their Votes.--- He
 “ afterwards adds, That he will not justify all that the King did in
 “ the Beginning of this Affair, in so strictly insisting upon his su-
 “ preme Dominion over all *Scotland*, which the States of that King-
 “ dom, and the Competitors for the Crown, either could not, or
 “ durst not then contradict.” I wish Mr. *Tyrrel* (for whose Person
 and Parts I have a great deal of Respect, and to whom I am very
 much oblig'd, for the Detail he has given us of a great many impor-
 tant Matters concerning *Scotland*, all *Scots* Authors have been igno-
 rant of,) I wish, I say, that he had been a little more consistent with
 himself in the Observations he makes upon those Transactions that have
 been controverted by all *Scots* and *English* Writers ; and by most of
 them either ignorantly or maliciously misrepresented. He is indeed by
 far more candid and fair than even those, who, having his History
 before their Eyes, while they compos'd their own, are for their
 unrelenting Partiality inexcusable. He does Justice to the *Scots* on
 many Occasions, but he seems to do it with Regrate, and in some
 Measure divided between Prejudice and Truth ; he often falls into
 Observations contradictory to Matters of Fact, related by himself.
 Hence 'tis, that according to him, the Sincerity of King *Edward's*
 Proceedings is justifiable, because he acted in the Face of the World,
 yet not justifiable in the Beginning, because he so strictly insisted u-
 pon the supreme Dominion of an independent Kingdom. And a-
 gain, those Authors are not to be credited, who say that he us'd
 Violence ; yet he owns, that the Competitors and Estates of *Scotland*,
 (as he calls them) either could not or durst not contradict him. And the
 Reason is plain, he took Advantage of their implacable Divisions,
 cheated them out of their Country, and, having first, by an arm'd
 Force aw'd them into a Submission to his unjust Commands, continu'd
 to the last to pursue the same Measures, by seizing the whole For-
 tresses of *Scotland* into his Hands, filling the Kingdom with *English*
 Souldiers, cajolling and bribing some of the Nobles into a Surrender
 of their Rights, and obliging others, (a) (particularly the Chieftains
 of the Highlands, as *Alexander of Argyle*, Lord of *Lorn*, and *Alex-
 ander and Donald of the Isles*) to be answerable for the Compliance
 and Submission of their respective Vassals and Countries. If this
 was not to use Violence, and if it was not a continu'd Tract of Vio-
 lence, that lasted from the Beginning of the Controversy, till at
 least two Months after its Decision, when the *English* Forces evacua-
 ted the Castles they had garrison'd in *Scotland*, I know not what it
 is. Sure I am, no People were ever more shamefully trick'd, nor
 even by Conquest more irresistibly commanded.

King *Edward* might perhaps have preserv'd his extorted Superio-
 rity, had he us'd it with Moderation : For, tho he had to do with
 a Nation, whose fierce inflexible Spirits had never yet bow'd to a
 foreign

(a) Foeder. Angl. p. 540. 541.

foreign Yoke : Yet the King impos'd upon them, by Reason of his debatable Title to the Crown ; and yet more, because of his easy and unprincely Temper, was abundantly fitted, at least, for a gentle Servitude. He was by his Father descended (b) of *Guy de Baliol*, a Norman Lord, who, in the Reign of *William Rufus* the Conqueror's Son, came over to *England*, and was infeoffed of the Barony of *Birel* in *Northumberland* ; for which Lands his Son *Bernard de Baliol* did Homage to *David I.* King of *Scotland*, then in Possession of that Country ; but being, together with *Robert Bruce*, sent to that Prince, who had invaded *England*, and penetrated as far as the River *Tese*, to persuade him to retreat ; and his Overtures of Peace being rejected, he renounc'd his Fealty, return'd to the *English* Camp, and shar'd in the Glory of the Victory obtain'd over the *Scots* near *Northallertoun* : He was also one of those that afterwards surpriz'd King *William* at *Alnwick* ; and, having very much enlarg'd his Paternal Estate in the North of *England*, is said to have founded the strong Fortrefs, call'd from his Name *Bernard-Castle*, on the Bank of the *Tese*. He was succeeded by his Son *Eustace* ; and he again by *Hugh de Baliol*, whose eldest Son *John* married *Derwegild*, the Daughter of *Alan* Lord of *Galloway*, and of *Margaret*, the eldest Daughter of *David* Earl of *Huntington*, in whose Right he was seiz'd of *Galloway* in *Scotland*, and of *Thorkesey*, *Gernemuth* and *Luddingland* in *England* ; besides which, upon the Death of *Christian*, Countess of *Albemarle*, Sister to *Derwegild* his Wife, he was assign'd to her Part of *Christian's* Inheritance, in the Counties of *Northampton* and *Lincoln*. But if he was great by his Royal Match and vaste Estate, he was no less so by his personal Merit : He did most eminent Services to both his Sovereigns ; I mean *Alexander III.* of *Scotland*, and *Henry III.* of *England* : In Obedience to them, he bravely withstood the illegal Ordinances and prevailing Power of the Rebellious Barons, insomuch, that when all the rest of *England* ; nay, and King *Henry* himself, was made servient to the Arbitrary Usurpation of the Earl of *Leicester* ; he, by the Orders of King *Alexander*, kept the North fixt in its Allegiance to the captivated Sovereign. This great Man was the Father of *John Baliol* the Competitor, who had he not attain'd to the Kingdom, would have been however one of the greatest Subjects in the World ; and he was a Subject to no less than three different Sovereigns ; to the King of *France* for the great Estate that had been handed down to him by his *Norman* Ancestors in *Normandy* ; to that of *England*, upon the Account of the many Baronies he succeeded to in that Country ; and to the King of *Scotland*, by Reason of his Lordship of *Galloway*, from whence he was most commonly design'd : Happy, if he had continu'd in that elevated, tho private, State ; but 'twas his Misfortune, and that of *Scotland*, that he came to be King : His Head was not fitted to wear a Crown, nor had he Hands capable to sway a Scepter. King *Edward*, a penetrating and designing Prince, beyond any perhaps at that Time in the

Genealogy
of King John
Baliol.His private
Estate.

E e e e e

World,

(*) Baronage of Engl. Tom. II. p. 523, 524, &c.

World, easily discover'd his *foible*; and 'tis probable, that the preferable Merit he saw in him, was, that he had none at all: I say that this is probable, and I could give parallel Instances of the like Policy, and condescend upon Princes, who having Titles less justifiable than that of *John Baliol*, have nevertheless by inroaching Force, and interested Fore-cast, been rais'd to Thrones, precisely because of their own Demerits and Rival's Worth. Indeed, King *Edward* presum'd so very much on the Weakness of his Creature King *John*, that he seem'd to have quite forgotten that he was reputed a King, and only minded, that he had own'd himself a Vassal. In this Providence was very just; and may never a Betrayer of the Rights and Liberties of his Country, meet with better Usage at the Hands of those to whom he betrays them. But King *Edward* was not only unjust, but outragiously so; and his Outrages commenc'd as early as the Reign (if downright Servitude can be so called) of King *John*. For,

A. D. 1293.
He is abus'd
by King
Edward.

This last (a) had no sooner perform'd his Homage at *Newcastle*, in the Manner I have related, but one *Roger Bartholomew*, a Burgess of *Berwick* (then own'd a Town within and belonging to *Scotland*) had the unprecedented Impudence (no doubt he was purposely set on to throw down the leading Card) to offer a Complaint to King *Edward*, against some of the Officers or Judges appointed by King *John*, that is, against King *John* himself. He was favourably heard, and Justice was order'd to be done according to the Laws and Customs of *England*; than which, I hope 'twill be own'd, that a greater Affront could not be put upon the King and Kingdom of *Scotland*; nor could there be any Thing more unjust in it self, than thus to judge *Scotsmen* by *English* Laws they had never been liable to, nor acquainted with. Upon this, such of the Prelates and Nobility of *Scotland* as were there present remonstrated, in Behalf of their King, That the King of *England* had but lately promis'd, That the Laws and Customs of *Scotland* should remain intire, and that Pleas of Things done there, might not be drawn out of it. But in vain, they were told, both by King *Edward* himself, and *Roger Brabanson*, Chief Justice of his Bench; "That, if he had made any such temporary Promises when there was no King in *Scotland*, he had perform'd them; that, now they had a King (an admirable Reason indeed) he was to be bound by no such Obligations; that his Protestations (he should have said his Salvo's; for we know of no Protestation he made) remain'd in Force; that he would admit and hear all Complaints whatever, and all other Affairs relative to the Kingdom of *Scotland* and its Inhabitants, when and where he pleas'd; and that he would use and exercise his Superiority and direct Dominion which he had, and of Right ought to have, over the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as his Progenitors in their Times had (By the by, 'twas never alledg'd by any but himself, that any one of them, no, not even *Henry II.* to whom King *William* paid a forc'd Homage for *Scot-*

(a) Tyrrel, Vol. 3, p. 73, 74, &c. Pryn, Tom. 3, p. 532, 533, &c.

“ Scotland, ever offer'd to draw Law-suits out of Scotland to England
 “ or elsewhere) so far as to call the King of Scotland himself to appear
 “ before him in his Kingdom of England.” This was plain Lan-
 guage, and he could not be mis-understood; yet that none might be
 ignorant of his bare-fac'd Design to enslave the Nation, two Days
 after a Paper was presented to King *John*, importing, “ That
 “ *John*, King of Scotland; acquitted him King *Edward*, of all Promises,
 “ Bargains, Agreements and Obligations, he had made or enter'd
 “ into, to the Guardians and others of the Kingdom; while, by Rea-
 “ son of the Superiority of his Dominion, he held it in his Hands.”
 This Release or Acquittance was seal'd with the Seal of that un-
 happy Prince, and confirm'd with those of all his Subjects about
 him: But adds Mr. *Tyrrel*, whether the Scots did this freely, or because
 they durst not do otherwise, is very much to be doubted. For my part I
 see no Reason for doubting at all, and I humbly conceive, they
 gave a sufficient Proof of their Unwillingness, when in that place of
 the Island they dar'd but to petition against the thing.

King *John* was before this time in no great Esteem with his Sub-
 jects at home, a great many of them did not acquiesce in his Title,
 and all were satisfied, or ought to have been so, that tho his Title
 had been indisputable, he was not their King, while he own'd a
 Superior above him: But they were for the most Part willing to
 bear with him, in hopes that the Title of King, and Possession of
 the Kingdom, would inspire him with Sentiments becoming his Di-
 gnity; and the rather, because, after all, 'twas plain, that what he
 had hitherto done, was the Effect of Compulsion and Force, and
 that he could not avoid submitting in the Manner he did, without
 forfeiting, if not his Life, at least his Pretensions to the Crown:
 But now he was on the Throne, yet continu'd a Subject, People
 became more variously affected towards him, than they had former-
 ly been. The bravest and best set themselves to find out Means of
 freeing him and themselves from their Bondage; while others, ei-
 ther out of a Design to Affront him into Resentment, or, as is ordi-
 nary, to ingratiate themselves with the superior Powers, follow'd
 the Example, *Roger Bartholomew* had set them, that is, they Appeal'd
 from the Legal Sentences given by their own King, and his Judges
 in Scotland, to the King and Parliament of England. That a great
 many did so, and that they were always encourag'd in, and carress'd
 for their Insolence, we learn from several Places of Mr. *Rymet's*
 Collections: I shall instance but one.

Macduff, Earl of *Fife*, thinking himself injur'd in a Law-Suit, in-
 tented at the Instance of the *Abernethies*, the mortal Enemies of his
 Family, went to England, and complain'd that King *Edward* having
 at *Berwick* restor'd to him the Lands and Tenements in Debate,
 King *John* had notwithstanding dis-seiz'd him of the same, and
 caus'd an unjust Sentence to pass against him, to his great Dam-
 mage, and in Contempt of the King of England, and Superior
 Lord of Scotland. *Edward*, fond of all Opportunities of displaying
 his

his Grandeur, and manifesting his Authority over his new Feudatories, fail'd not to lay hold on this; He immediately directed his Writ to the King of *Scotland*, summoning him to appear at his Court, wherever he should be in *England*, on the Morrow after the Feast of the *Holy Trinity*, to answer to what *Macduff* had to say against him. King *John* did not at first think fit to obey, and was therefore commanded anew to appear before King *Edward* in his Parliament at *Westminster*, 15 Days after *Michaelmas*, to answer as before. The *Scots* still divided among themselves, terrified by the *English* Power, never greater than at that time, and miserably dispirited for Want of that Soul in their King, by which every particular should have been animated, had not yet concerted Measures towards Resisting: For which Reason, their un-princely Sovereign, must needs answer this last Summons: He did it, and had, at his first Entrance into the Parliament, the Honour the Kings of *Scotland* his Predecessors, (when they, as Princes of *Cumberland*, &c. appear'd at the *English* Court,) had ever receiv'd, to sit hard by the King of *England*, on an equal Elevation above the rest of the Assembly. But when his own Cause came to be try'd, he was neither allow'd Procurators, say all the *Scots* Historians, nor permitted to plead in his own Seat, but must rise and descend to the usual Place of Pleading. • A cruel Outrage, even *Baliol* could not put up: His Indignation appear'd by the Answers he made: For he said, That, as he was King of *Scotland*, he durst not answer to *Macduff's* Complaint, nor to any thing concerning his Kingdom, without the Advice of his Subjects. Upon this *Macduff* demanded Judgment against him; and King *Edward* told him plainly, That he was his Liege-Man and Homager, even for the Kingdom of *Scotland*; that, as such he had summon'd him thither to answer, and that he must answer accordingly, or shew Cause to the contrary. He reply'd as before: And being told, that he might require another Day, he said, That he would require none. Had he stood to this Resolution, he had acted like a King, and re-gain'd both the Love and Esteem of his Subjects: But then, besides that he knew not what Violences might have been done to his Person, he must needs involve them in a War, they were not prepar'd for: For 'twas instantly determined, that since he had made no Defence, nor would require a Day, nor shew Cause why he would not, three of his principal Castles should be feis'd into the Hands of King *Edward*, till he had given a full Satisfaction. But before the Sentence was pronounc'd, he submitted anew, re-acknowledg'd the Superiority of the King of *England*; and, upon Assurance given, that he would answer at King *Edward's* first Parliament after *Easter* next, and behave towards him as he ought to do, he was permitted to return and advise with his own Nation. So says the publick Instrument preserv'd in the Tower of *London*. But to tell the truth, I know not how far each Particular contain'd in those Instruments drawn up by King *Edward's* Notaries ought to be credited. That King *John* was advis'd to make Amends for his pretended Obstinacy, and to do it accordingly

to the Form set down in the Record, I do not at all doubt: But, if what an *English* Monk of *St. Alban's*, who liv'd at the time (a), has left us in Manuscript, be true, I am apt to think, that he adher'd to what he first said, *viz. That he durst not Answer to any thing concerning his Kingdom*; nor by consequence take any new Obligations upon him, without consulting his Subjects; and the Reason is, because, says that Author, just before he came to that Parliament at London, the *Scottish Nobility* had chosen 12 Peers to govern in his Absence. To them it seems he had promis'd to account for his after-Actions: And therefore not daring to do any thing without their Advice, he withdrew privately without taking his Leave of the King: Which, continues he, so incens'd King Edward, that he caus'd all the *Baliol's Estate* in England, to be seiz'd into his Hands. If so, King Edward was a great Gainer by his Retreat: For besides those ample Possessions King John inherited from the *Baliols* his Ancestors, he was also as King of *Scotland* (b) vested and seiz'd, not only in the Lands of *Penrith*, and others in the Northern Counties, amounting to the 200 pound Land, granted by *Henry III.* to *Alexander II.* as an Equivalent for his Pretensions to *Northumberland, Cumberland, &c.* but also in the Honour of *Huntington*; and Lands of *Tyndale*. Whether all these were, precisely upon this Occasion lost to the Kings of *Scotland*, I shall not determine; 'tis certain, they afterwards were: Nor were the *Scots* Kings henceforth desirous to be repossess'd of an invidious, tho' rich, Vassalage; which had administer'd so many Occasions to *English* Writers, of cavilling about; and to their Kings, of pretending to the Superiority of *Scotland* it self. But to proceed in the History,

These were not the only Injuries done to King *John*, and indeed to the whole *Scots* Nation, in this Parliament: 'Twas further decreed, (c)

I. In case the King of *Scotland*, being cited to appear upon any Account whatever, before his Superior Lord the King of *England*, should fail to do it at the time appointed, that he shall be bound to come the next Day, and to purge himself of the Crime of Contumacy and Disobedience, which if he do not, he shall lose the Cognizance of the Cause in Debate, and be at the Mercy and Discretion of his Superior Lord.

II. If upon his Appearance it shall be found, that the Complainer, in case of an Appeal from him, shall be found to have been prejudg'd by the said King or the Judge Ordinary under him, that the said Complainer shall, by Sentence of the *English* Court, recover both his Rights and Expences, and that the said King shall, for his Injustice, be at the Mercy and Discretion of his Superior Lord.

III. That the said Complainer shall henceforth do the same Homage and Services to the Superior Lord for the Lands recover'd, as said is, which he was wont to do and perform to the King of *Scotland*, so that the said King shall never afterwards have any Authority,

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rity, Power or Jurisdiction over the said Complainer, his Person, Lands, Tenements, &c.

IV. That all such as shall bring their Complaints from the Judicatories of *Scotland* to those of *England*, shall, if they desire it, be allow'd a Guardian, during the Dependence of their Plea, to protect their Persons, Families, Lands, Tenements, Revenues, &c. and if any Hurt or Dammage shall in the mean time be done to the said Guardian, the said King of *Scotland* and his Heirs, shall forfeit all their Right and Title to the Homage, Fealty and Service of the said Complainers, who henceforth shall become and remain the immediate Vassals of the King of *England* and his Heirs for ever, and the King of *Scotland* shall be, as in the Cases before-mention'd, at the Mercy and Discretion of his Superior Lord.

This was certainly a most infallible, easy and compendious Way of doing Business; and at this Rate, 'tis plain, the King of *Scotland* was not so much a King in his Kingdom, as the meanest Baron is, and ever was in his own Court. Such a Piece of Tyranny (for 'tis impossible to make use of a softer Expression) I believe is no where to be match'd in Story. 'Tis true, that 'twas usual in those Days for Kings to summon other Kings (if upon any Account their Vassals) to appear in Judgment before them; and this King *Edward* (who had thus put himself in Possession of debasing the sacred Character) began by this time to experience in his Turn. He had large Territories in *France*, and was stil'd Duke of *Aquitain*; as such, *Philip*, the Fair King of *France*, summon'd him (a) "To appear before him at *Paris* at a certain Day prefix'd; there to answer the Injuries he had done, and the rebellious Practices he had pursu'd, with Certification, that whether the King of *England* appear'd on the Day appointed or no, he would proceed to give Sentence, according as the Quality of the Crimes and Excesses committed should require." The Occasion of this Quarrel is variously related by the *French* and *English*; these last tell us, that the Insults done by the *Normans* to the Merchants of their Nation, gave Rise to it, and those, that King *Edward* pretending to send a Fleet to the Relief of *Ptolemais*, at that time besieg'd by the *Saracens*, employ'd it against *Rochel*, which City he thought to have surpris'd. This is not at all probable: King *Edward* had enough to do at Home; he had not yet settl'd the Affairs of *Scotland* to his Mind: And if he made any Attempt upon *Rochel*, or did any thing else prejudicial to the Subjects of *France*, he did it only by way of Reprisal, and made so many submissive Excuses for what was done, and was at so much Pains to purchase Peace, that 'tis evident, he meant not at this time to engage in a War, which in all Probability would animate the irritated *Scots* to a Revolt. But what he by all means sought to avoid, King *Philip* was as earnestly desirous to bring about; and he had all the Reason in the World: For, besides that by virtue of the old, never broken, tho' at no

War between
England and
France.

time so necessary League with *Scotland*, he was at least in some Measure oblig'd to look to the Welfare and Independency of that Kingdom; He thought fit to give an early Check to the growing Power of a neighbouring Prince, whose boundless Ambition he very well knew, nothing but Force could restrain: He therefore disdainfully rejected all the most fair, plausible and satisfactory Overtures, King *Edward* could devise towards an Accommodation; and upon his failing to appear (which, to say the Truth, he durst not well do) at the Time appointed, King *Philip* came to his Parliament of *Paris*, or high Court of Justice; and there, sitting upon his Throne, did himself in Person, give Sentence against King *Edward*, as contumacious, and adjudg'd all his Territories in *France* to be seiz'd as forfeited to the Crown. Some time after this, *Edward*, irritated by these Affronts, renounc'd his Allegiance to the Crown of *France*, and resolv'd henceforth to hold the Dukedom of *Aquitain*, no more as a subject Vassalage, but as a Conquest acquir'd, or, which is the same Thing, maintain'd by the Sword: But he fail'd in that Project, and *Philip* was before-hand with him; for he had no sooner given Sentence against him, but he sent the Constable *de Nesle* upon the Head of a fine Army, to put it in Execution; and that General was by his own Activity, and the secret Correspondence he kept with those of *Bordeaux*, so successful, that in a short Time, he reduc'd to the Obedience of his Master almost all the Province of *Guienne*.

Edward heard of the *French* Successes with Trouble, but comforted himself upon the Hopes he conceiv'd of a speedy Revenge; towards which, he took such Measures as seem'd infallible: For, having first extorted a great deal of Money from the Merchants and Clergy, he afterwards call'd a great Council to meet at *London*, where it being resolv'd, that *These Countries the King of France had seiz'd by Treachery, should be recover'd by Force.* Great Sums were rais'd, and the King of *Scots* (a) as yet, outwardly at least, a dutiful Subject to his Superior Lord, is said to have been present; and to have granted the Revenue of all his Estate of *England* for three Years, towards carrying on the War with *France*. This seems contradictory to what I have before from *Walsingham* and other Vouchers related, concerning his Retreat from the last Parliament, and the consequential Forfeiture of his *English* Estate: But this might have fallen out at another Time; and be it as it will, 'tis certain, that King *John* did not yet act as an Independent Sovereign; and 'tis as true, that this Year King *Edward* obtain'd and extorted Subsidies from his Subjects of all Ranks, suitable to his present Occasions: Nor did he fail of using them to Purpose, for he levied great Armies, which were very successful, both in quelling an Insurrection of the oppress'd *Welsh*, and in recovering some of the lost Places in *Guienne*; and, says *Pere D'Orleans*, (b) bought Alliances capable to terrify a Nation, less accusom'd than the *French*, to resist the Efforts of foreign Confederacies. That form'd by King *Edward* on this Occa-

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tion, was made up of the Emperor *Adolphus* of *Nassau*, (to whom alone he sent over 60000 Merks; others write 100000 Pounds) the Duke of *Britany* his Nephew, his Son-in-Law the Earl of *Bar*, the Duke of *Austria*, the Earls of *Flanders*, *Savoy*, &c. As for the King and Kingdom of *Scotland*, it seems, he thought himself assur'd of all the Assistance they could give him, at least, he flatter'd himself so far, as to think they would not at once disobey his Commands, and baulk his Intreaty: For he made Use of both, and on the 29th of *June*, he sent from *Portsmouth*, no less than fifteen distinct Letters, but worded much in the same Manner, (a) To King *John*, to *Robert Bruce* Lord of *Annandale*, to *Robert Bruce* Earl of *Carrick*, to *Gilbert de Umfraville* Earl of *Angus*, to *John Cumin* Lord of *Badenoch*, to *Richard Seward*, *William Feverar*, *Patrick Dunbar* Earl of *March*, *Donald* Earl of *Mar*, *John* Earl of *Athole*, *William* Earl of *Ross*, *Malise* Earl of *Strathern*, *Walter* Earl of *Menteith*, *Malcolm* Earl of *Lennox*, *James* Lord High Steward of *Scotland*, *Galfrid Moubray*, *William Murray* of *Tullibardin*, *John Stirling*, *Patrick Graham*, *William Sinclair*, *John Soules*, *William Stirling*, *Thomas Norbam*, *Thomas Randolph* and *John Stewart*, all whom he requir'd upon their Allegiance, and intreated as his Friends to come in Person, if possibly they could, (of the King he only desir'd that he would send his Men) to *London*, with their Men, Horse, and Arms; and to be ready on the first Day of *September* next, to go over with him to *France*, in Order to assist him in the recovering of his Province of *Gascony*. A little before this, to prevent the ordinary Correspondence between *France* and *Scotland*, (b) he had laid an Embargo upon all the Ships in *Scotland*, and strictly prohibited the King to suffer any of his Men, Mariners, Ships, Vessels, &c. to go beyond Seas; But all in vain: The King, and most Part of his Nobility were meditating and concerting Measures very different from those he went upon: They were far from being inclinable to break with their ancient Ally: For not long after, (if we may believe *Mr. Pryn*, (c) one of the most injudiciously partial and passionate Writers I ever perus'd) "The French King, by his private Solicitations, Letters and Promises, procur'd *John Baliol*, King of Scots, with all the Prelates, Nobles and Commonalty (He should have said Community; for the Commonalty of *Scotland* was with this and all preceeding Transactions relative to the State, unconcern'd and unacquainted) to enter into a most perfidious clandestine League, and an offensive and defensive War with him against their Sovereign Lord--- contrary to their late solemn Oaths and Homages, under their respective Hands and Seals." The Truth is, none of those ungrateful, perfidious, rebellious Kings of *Scotland*, (d) nor the perfidious treacherous Scots, (e) under their Command (so he is pleas'd to mis-call them) did think themselves, nor were they bound to keep Oaths, or to perform Obligations violently extorted, or from a King, that was such only in Name; or from Subjects, first de-

(a) *Foeder. Angl. Tom. 2. p. 642, 643, &c.* (b) *Ibid. p. 636.* (c) *Tom. 3. p. 602.* (d) *Ibid. p. 487.* (e) *Ibid. p. 606.*

Indeed, then compell'd into a Surrender of Liberties and Rights, which being transmitted to them from their Independing Ancestors, belong'd more to their Posterity than to themselves. This they conscientiously (a) represented (tho, to say the Truth, they needed not) to the acknowledg'd Judge of the like Controversies in those Days, Pope *Celestin*; and he, misinform'd by *their false Suggestions*, (says *Mr. Echard*) by a particular Bull absolv'd them from their Oaths and Homage: His Successor *Boniface VIII.* did afterwards the same Thing: And how far either of these Pontifs, was by false Suggestions misinform'd, the Letter of this last, when I come to abridge or transcribe it, will let the Reader to know. To return from whence I have digress'd;

The King of *France* was, no doubt, for his own Interest, very desirous to counter-balance the Confederacy made against him, by another, in Opposition to King *Edward*; and he had Reason to think, that the *Scots*, staid as they then were, with Reference to *England*, could not be so far wanting to themselves, as to decline his Amity and Assistance if offer'd; yet I no where find that he made the first Advances: But, if we may credit *English* Historians, (b) "The
 " *Scots* were highly dissatisfied, that the King of *England* had im-
 " posed a King upon them (*I have given a great many more. Rea-*
 " *sons, besides this one, of their Dissatisfaction,*) some of them did in
 " some Measure reclaim, others privately murmur'd against the
 " Thing, and finding that the King they had got, was a simple
 " and easy Man, they despis'd his Authority. (*'Twas no wonder, for*
 " *in Reality he had none*) and having enter'd into a Combination to-
 " gether, they seiz'd his Person, (*This I believe is false, nor do I a-*
 " *ny where else read that Violence was used*) carried him to the Inland
 " Country, shut him up in a strong Castle on all Sides, environ'd
 " with Mountains almost inaccessible, and appointed Souldiers to
 " guard him. This done, a Parliament was call'd to meet at *Scoon*,
 " where, in Imitation of the Constitution of *France*, they ele-
 " cted twelve Peers, four Bishops (*The Ring-leaders of this Rebelli-*
 " *on and Perjury, adds Mr. Pryn (c) in a Parenthesis*) four Earls and
 " four Barons; by whose Advice the King was to govern. They
 " also caus'd a common or publick Seal to be made for the Com-
 " munity of *Scotland*, as they were call'd; and the Peers condescen-
 " ded upon (among whom the Abbot of *Melrofs* was most active)
 " prevail'd upon the King to consent to their intended Treason,
 " that is, to send Ambassadors to the King of *France*, with a Pro-
 " curatory Power and Letters, to which the King's Seal and that of
 " the Community were appended." The Ambassadors were *Willi-*
 " *am* Bishop of *St. Andrews*, (the same who formerly had been in Fa-
 " vour with King *Edward*) *Matthew* Bishop of *Dunkeld*, *Sir John Soules*,
 " and *Sir Ingeram Umfraville*. These Gentlemen, (d) having produc'd

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(a) Echard, Book II. p. 215. (b) Matth. Westm. Flor. Hist. p. 298, 299. Hen. Knighton de vent. Angl. l. 3. c. 2. Tho. Walsingh. Hist. Angl. p. 28, 29. Ypodigma Neustr. p. 81, 82. (c) Ubi sup. 646. (d) Pryn, Tom. III. p. 602, 603, &c. Forder, Angl. Tom. II. p. 680, 681, 695, 698.

A.D. 1265
League be-
tween Phi-
lip King of
France and
King John
Baliol.

their Letters of Credence, and plenipotentiary Powers, dated at *Stirling* the 5th Jul. 1295, were most honourably and kindly receiv'd at the Court of *France*; and they were so successful in their Negotiation, that on the 23d of *October*, the Treaty propos'd by King *John* was finally agreed to by King *Philip*; and the Import of it was,

I. That *Edward*, King *John's* Son, shall marry the Daughter of *Charles* of *Valois*, Earl of *Anjou*, the King of *France* his Brother.

II. That Prince *Edward* shall receive with the said Lady, the Sum of 25000 *Livers de Tournois* current Money, and that she shall be assign'd to a Dowry of 1500 *Pound Sterl.* of yearly Rent, of which, 1000 Pounds to be paid out of King *John's* Lands of *Baliol*, *Dampetr*, *Helicourt*, and *de Horney* in *France*, and 500 out of those of *Lanerk*, *Cadiou*, *Cunningham*, *Haddington*, and the Castellany of *Dundee* in *Scotland*.

III. That King *John* and his Successors shall, with all their Power by Sea and Land, be assisting to King *Philip* and his Successors, in the Prosecution of the present War, against the King of *England* and his Allies, as well the King of *Almain* as others; and that he shall at his own Charges invade *England*, in Order to make a powerful Diversion in Favour of *France*, when ever attack'd by the said King of *England* or his said Allies.

IV. That King *John* shall prevail with the Prelates, Earls, Barons, Noblemen, and the Communities of all the Cities in *Scotland*, so far, as of Right they may, to testify their Assent to this Agreement, by transmitting their Letters patents, under their Seals, to *France*.

V. That, in like Manner, if the King of *England* shall invade *Scotland*, the King of *France* shall make War upon him in other Parts, by Way of Diversion; and, if requir'd, shall send Auxiliary Forces at his own Charges, till they come thither.

VI. That they shall not make Peace on either Side, without the Consent of one another.

This League, tho in the Beginning unprosperous, had nevertheless, as will afterwards appear, great and happy Consequences, both for *Scotland* and *France*; and in the Authentick Writs we have concerning it, there are three Things observable: For, as King *John*, in his Letters to King *Philip*, begins thus, *To the most excellent Prince his Lord* (to be sure, because of the Lands he held of him in *Normandy*) *and Friend*, if he pleases *Philip*.-- So King *Philip*, in his Answer to King *John*, styles him, *His special Friend*; both which last Expressions, seem, in my Opinion, to retrospect to the Ancient (but by King *John's* late Submission to *England*, in some Measure) broken League or Friendship between the two Nations. But what puts the Matter out of all Doubt, is the Ratification of this same Treaty, made by King *John*, which plainly narrates their constant, sincere, and inviolable Attachment to one another; which, to shew how grating it ever was to the *English*, and how bitterly both the

the Scots and French have been, upon that Account, inveigh'd against by them, I shall here, from Mr. Pryn's Collections, (a) transcribe what Matthew Parker, an Archbishop of Canterbury, has been pleas'd to say upon the Head.----- "Neither are the Scots unlike to the French, in Cruelty, Perjury and Perfidy; Vices to which, if we may credit the Observations of Astrologers, they are by over-ruling Fate inclin'd; for their Country lyes under the deceitful and changeable Influences of the Scorpion, whose Manners are almost in all Scotsmen, as well as French conspicuous; they're Cruel, Proud, Intemperant and Luxurious, False and Cunning, and never to be bound to Peace, Truce or Treaties: Besides, their Natures are so fierce and unconquerable, that notwithstanding they have often been vanquish'd in War, and by their Oaths promis'd Subjection to the English; yet, contrary to their Faith, they always renew their Hostilities, and chuse rather to undergo all the Hazards of Death and War, than to yield to the Domination of any Foreigner whoever. Wherefore, as the Astrologers believe, that Mars is the Lord of Scorpion, over whom he presides; so they conclude, that by Reason of the Conjunction of these Stars, Scotland is ever liable to Devastations, Burnings, and bloody Conflicts. 'Tis this Consonancy of most wicked Manners, that always united the French and Scots: For such is the Perfidy, Brutality, and Inhumanity of both Nations, that by them not only the Christians, but Barbarians are out-done." By what Spirit the good Prelate has been mov'd, when he committed these judicious and healing Observations to Paper, I shall not enquire: In my Opinion he design'd a Satyr, but made a Panegyrick on the invincible Fortitude, and unconquerable Spirits of our Heroick Ancestors, who, if at sometimes they acted like Men, and to preserve their Lives and Fortunes, took Oaths to victorious usurping Foreigners, they always as Christians repented, made Amends for their Frailty, and (b) hasted to take off the Scandal, by disowning those illegal and forc'd Obligations, they thought it sinful to observe. This, English Authors have call'd Perfidy, Perjury, Rebellion and Treason. I heartily wish neither they nor we could ever have been charg'd with those Crimes, all Men of Conscience and Honour must ever detest: But were the Question right stated, or were it well understood what is meant by these odious Expressions, I dare say, they'll be found as little (I shall say no worse) applicable to the Scots, as to their Neighbours. For my part, I ever thought, and, (with submission to the more accurate Divines and Lawyers)

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(a) Ubi sup. p. 660. (b) Instit. Juris edit. Lugd. Bat. 1692. p. 271. ubi quaer. An, quando iurjurandum dolo est elicitorum, vel metu injusto extortum, iurans obligatur. Resp. negative. Seid. l. 6. c. 16. Puffen. l. 4. c. 2. ubi etiam asserunt p. 272. iidem Authores, ut & Grotius. l. 2. c. 13. iuramentum de re illicita aut naturaliter aut Divina interdictione vel etiam humana, vel si impediatur majus bonum morale, non obligare. Est contra officium nonnunquam solvere promissum, iuramentum custodire. Ambros. Si ad peccatum admittendum fides exhibeatur, mirum est si fides appellatur. August.

still do, that Perfidy is, to betray under Trust such as have Right to exact our Services; Perjury, to break Oaths we have willingly and lawfully taken; Rebellion, to resist or attack our natural and legal Sovereigns whoever they are; and Treason to attempt any thing their Laws have declar'd to be such. But to withdraw one's Services from Masters that have no Right to exact them; to disclaim Oaths, which, since both illegal, and either by Force or Fraud extorted, are in themselves not at all binding; to defend one's Country against Usurpers, whether domestick or foreign, and to break through Laws made for the Establishment and Support of Iniquity, I believe just, generous, honest and great: To be short, if the Scots were in those Days *Perfidious*, they were so, because they submitted the Rights of their King and Country to the Determination of a Judge they ought to have distrusted; if *Perjur'd*, because they suffer'd Oaths to be impos'd on them, their Consciences could not suffer them to keep; if *Rebellious*, because they fought sometimes for, and not always against King *Edward*; and if *Traitors*, for no other Reason, but because too obedient to new Laws, made only to overturn the old. These, and only these, were the Crimes of the Nation at that time; Crimes, which being in some Measure necessary, were the more excusable, yet never to be pardon'd, till by their incomparable Valour, and undaunted Resolution, they had made a most glorious Attonement, and nobly merited to be by their Enemies miscall'd *Perfidious*, *Perjur'd*, *Rebellious*, &c.

How soon the League concluded between the Scots and French, came to be known to King *Edward*, I cannot tell; but, as before he dreaded, and endeavour'd to hinder their Correspondence, so now, it seems, he had some Notice of it, and was confirm'd in his Suspicions, when King *John* (instead of appearing at his Parliament, which sat down at *St. Edmundsbury*, on the 11th of *November*, to answer for the pretended Injustices done to *Macduff*, and others) sent the Abbot of *Aberbrothock*, not so much to excuse his Absence, as to complain of, and ask Reparation for, a great many Injuries and Violences done to himself and his Subjects of *Scotland*. King *Edward* very well understood what was meant by this Procedure, but, dissembling his Dissatisfaction, he gave answer, that his Affairs call'd him to the North of *England*, and that he would meet his Parliament at *Newcastle upon Tyne* on the 1st Day of *March* next: Thither he desir'd the King of *Scotland* to come and answer to the Complaints made against him, which if he did, he should give legal Satisfaction for such Injuries, as he could prove to have been done to his Subjects. He set out accordingly for his Journey to *Newcastle* about the time prefix'd, and sent Messengers before him to the King of Scots, to give him Notice of the Adjournment of the Parliament, and to desire his Assistance towards carrying on the War against *France*: But, as before the Scots had declin'd giving positive Answers to that Demand, so now they were assur'd of the Success

King John
Baliol quarrels with
the King of
England.

of their Ambassadors in *France*, and absolv'd by the Pope of the unlawful and extorted Fealty they had sworn to King *Edward*, they plainly told, That they would not act against (but as yet conceal'd their Resolution of declaring themselves for) King *Philip*. Upon this the King of *England* urg'd, that they would at least by by, and desir'd that three Cautionary Castles, (a) *Berwick*, *Roxburgh* and *Jedburgh*, might be put in his Hands while the War should last, which when over, he oblig'd himself by his Letters of the 8th of *October*, to restore. But this was also refus'd; and the King of *Scotland*, to shew that he resolv'd to be no longer subservient to *English* Authority or Influence, banish'd all of that Nation, even the Ecclesiasticks, out of his Dominions, and would permit none of them to stay, but such as took an Oath to assist him against their own King and Countrymen. "This, says Mr. *Tyrrel*, (b) was "foolishly contriv'd; for how could a forc'd Oath oblige others, "when the *Scots* themselves had broke their Oath of Fealty to King "Edward, on Pretence that it was impos'd upon them against their "Consents?" I'm much of the same Opinion, and am very apt to think, that no Government ever was, or can be secur'd by imposition of Oaths. All Subjects are by the Laws of God and Nature oblig'd to be Loyal, and as a Man of Honour and Conscience will be so, whether he has sworn to it or no; so those of no Principles, that dare to be Rebels, will dare to be Perjur'd: Wherefore, since 'tis plain, that an unlawful Oath binds no Body, and lawful ones no ill Man, it follows, that no Body is bound by Oaths.

King *Edward* was yet more forward in his warlike Preparations than King *John*, and the War he had with *France* was so far from weakning his Forces, that on the contrary, it contributed to strengthen him: For in order to carry it on, he had rais'd immense Sums of Money, and, besides his Land-Forces, which were numerous and well equipp'd, he had a great Fleet just ready to sail for *France*, but laying that Design aside for the time, (which he could safely do, (c) by Reason of a Truce he had dexterously manag'd with *France*, before their Alliance with *Scotland* was made publick) he came attended, or, which is all one, follow'd by all the Power of *England*, *Ireland* and *Wales*, to *Newcastle*; where (while his Fleet sail'd forward to *Berwick*, in order to scour the Seas, and intercept the Convoys and Provisions necessary for the Defence of that important Place) he cited by Proclamation the King of *Scots*, to make his personal Appearance on the first of *March*. To be sure, he did not expect that his Summons would be obey'd; but was a little surpris'd, upon advice of a double Misfortune that attended his first Attempts: His Fleet was attack'd and worsted in the Road of *Berwick*, by that of *Scotland*, in those Days not altogether destitute (as by its own Fault it has since been) of Shipping and Naval Force: (d)

A. D. 1296.
War between
Edward I. King
of England,
and K. John
Balliol.

English
Fleet defeated
by the
Scots.

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Ei gh-

(a) Foeder. Angl. Tom. II. p. 699. (b) Vol. III. p. 92. (c) Pere D' Orleans livre 4. p. 474. (d) Buchanan lib. 8. in vit. Joan. Balliol. Boeth. ibid. Holinshed's Hist. of Scotl. p. 300.

Eighteen of the *English* Ships were sunk, and the rest put to Flight. Much about the same time (a), one Sir *Robert de Ros*, Lord of the Castle of *Werk* (enamour'd with a *Scots* Lady he had a Mind to marry, and whose Absence he was unable to bear,) to merit his Mistress's Favour, ingloriously deserted his Master, and went over to the *Scots*. His Brother *William* gave the King Notice of this Treachery, and desir'd a sufficient Force to Garrison his Castle: He was favourably heard, and 1000 Men were detach'd for that purpose; but as they lay at *Prestfen* on their March to the Place, they were, by Sir *Robert* and some *Scots* under his Command, surpris'd and cut off.

A Party of
English also
defeated.

These Losses did not at all discourage the resolute and haughty King *Edward*: He had advanc'd too far to retreat, and he had laid his Measures so well, that 'twas not to be thought he could fail of Success. He had a cowardly Prince, and a discontented Nation to deal with; and, instead of one *English* Gentleman that abandon'd him, several *Scots* Lords, and those the most powerful in the Nation, deserted King *John*. *Scots* Authors (b) positively assert, that he brib'd *Robert Bruce* the elder and younger, I mean, the Son and Grand-Son of *Robert* the Competitor, (for he himself died the Year before (c) and was buried at *Gisbourn* in *Yorkshire*, an Abbey founded by his Ancestors) with no less than the Hopes of being, in the Room of King *John*, put in Possession of the Crown they thought they had Right to. This is the more probable, because 'tis not easy to conjecture, what else could have prevail'd upon the high spirited *Bruces* to pardon King *Edward* the unjust Preference (for such they believ'd it to be) he had given to the *Baliol*. Sure his known Partiality in that Matter, must needs have made a deep Impression upon their angry Minds; and the Loss of a Crown is not to be digested, but by the Recovery of it. This they were promis'd by King *Edward*; and for this, those Heroes were hitherto so far from deserving the glorious Appellation, that were it not for the after-Actions of the Son, and some Reasons I shall elsewhere mention, I should be tempted to rank them, (as their Associates, *Patrick Dunbar* Earl of *March*, and *Gilbert Umfraville* Earl of *Angus*) among the number of Traitors. These four, and with them a great many more of their Faction, came over to King *Edward*, and swore Fealty to him: A pernicious Example almost the whole Nation afterwards imitated; insomuch that Oaths became Modish, and few or none, when at the Victor's Mercy, scrupl'd to subscribe and swear to such Terms of Submission as he pleas'd to dictate.

Robert Bruce
goes over to
King *Ed-*
ward.

The Earls of *Menteith*, *Strathern*, *Athole*, and *Mar* behav'd better in the Beginning of this calamitous War, scarcely any one then living did see an End of. While King *Edward* kept his *Easter* at the Castle of *Werk*, they gather'd an Army of 500 Horse and 4000 Foot, march'd out of *Annandale*, over the River *Salwarth*; and entering *Cumberland*, destroy'd the whole Country from *Artereth* to *Carlisle*.

The *Scots*
invade *Eng-*
land.

(a) Tyrrel Vol. III. p. 92. (b) Buchan, &c. ibid. (c) Tyrrel.

life (a): They burnt the Suburbs of that City, and made a vigorous Effort upon the Town it self; which, while they assaulted from without, one of their Spies, that had been taken and imprison'd within, found Means to break his Chains and to set the Prison on Fire; nay, he came to the Walls of the Town, and cried to the Scots, that, did they pursue their Advantages with Vigour, they could not fail of Success. Upon this, the Hurry and Consternation of the Besieg'd was incredible; They run tumultuously through the Streets, some to the Ports, but more to the Fire, and cry'd aloud, *The Town is taken*. Yet it was not taken; for what Reason Authors do not tell: They say in general, that the Women contributed chiefly to its Deliverance, by throwing Stones and scalding Water upon the Assailants; that the Spy was seiz'd and hang'd, and that the Fire being extinguish'd, all the Inhabitants together made a Sally, and beat off the Enemy, who, probably being either weary'd with Fatigue, or loaden with Spoil, or apprehensive of being hem'd in by Detachments from the Grand Army, thought fit to retreat.

In the mean time, King *Edward* was on his full March to *Scotland*; He sat down before, and summon'd the Town and Castle of *Berwick* to surrender on the 29th of *March*, which, say the *English*, he soon after took by Storm; by Stratagem, say the *Scots*: The Manner thus. King *Edward*, having been once and again repuls'd by the numerous Garrison (for the whole Strength and Flower of *Lothian* and *Fife* had been sent thither before) drew off his Army, as if he had meant to raise the Siege; and having provided such Banners and Ensigns, as several of the *Scots* Nobility then us'd, and having appointed all his Souldiers to wear, as the *Scots* were wont to do, a Cross of *St. Andrew* above their Harness, he return'd on a sudden, and sent before him those of the *Brussian* Faction, who told their Country-men within the Town, that King *John* was at hand, upon the Head of a brave Army, in Order to effect their Relief. The Lie was credited, and every one made haste to go out and meet their Sovereign; but they had not gone far when a Detachment of Horse from the *English* Army, that had made a Compass about, seiz'd on one of the Ports of the Town, and intercepted their Retreat; while, at the same Time, they were first saluted with a Shower of Arrows from the Grand Army, and then miserably trod down by the Horse. The Foot, where King *Edward* was in Person, follow'd close; and having enter'd the Town, put all within it to the Sword, Men, Women and Children; insomuch, that some *English* Writers say 15000, others 9000 *Scots* were, on that Day (the 30th of *March*) sacrific'd to the Resentment of their angry King: And *Boethius* tells us, that there was such an Effusion of Blood, as, being joyn'd with the low Water in the Mouth of the River (for the Tide was out at the Time) set some Mills a going, the Water alone could not have mov'd. How true this is, I do not inquire; 'tis certain, that the

King Edward takes Berwick.

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Slaugh-

(a) Henry Knighton, ad Ann. 1296. p. 2480.

Slaughter was incredibly great, and that not one of the *Scots* Nation was spar'd.

King *John* had, before this, been sufficiently provok'd; but now irritated to the highest Degree of Anger and Revenge, he sent the Guardian of the Friars Minors of *Roxburgh* (for none but a Churchman durst go on the dangerous Errand) to defy King *Edward*, and renounce the Homage he had done to him. The Instrument or Letter the Friar carried and delivered was conceiv'd in these Terms.

King *John* renounces the Fealty he had sworn to King *Edward*.

“ To the Magnificent Prince *Edward*, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *John* by the same Grace, King of *Scotland*: Whereas you, and others of your Kingdom, have, purposely and knowingly, notoriously and frequently done, by your violent Power, intolerable Injuries, grievous Contempts, and enormous Damages to us, and the Liberties of our Kingdom, against God and Justice; citing us at your Pleasure, upon every slight Suggestion, out of our Kingdom, unduely vexing us, seizing our Castles, Lands and Possessions unjustly; and, for no Fault of ours, taking the Goods of our Subjects, as well by Sea as by Land, and carrying them into your Kingdom; killing our Merchants, destroying their Trade, and taking away, and imprisoning our Subjects. For the Reformation of which Things, tho we sent our Messengers to you, yet they remain not only unredress'd, but there is every Day an Addition of worse: For now, you are come with a great Army upon our Borders to disinherit us, and the Inhabitants of our Kingdom, and proceeding forwards, have inhumanely committed many Slaughters, Burnings and Insults by Land and Sea. We therefore, unable to bear these Injuries, Grievances and Damages, or to remain in your Fealty and Homage, extorted by your violent Oppression, do hereby return them to you, for our self and all the Inhabitants of our Kingdom, as well for the Lands we held of you in your Kingdom, as for your pretended Government over us.

This Renunciation was extremely grating to the *English*: King *Edward* caus'd it to be recorded for Preservation; and those about him, insulted and abus'd the Bearer most scurrilously; inso-much, that, says *Buchanan*, he had much ado to get Home with his Life, and ow'd his Safety, more to the Contempt they shew'd to his Person, than to the Respect that was due to his Quality of a Messenger, or Character of a Priest. However, he got home, and the *Scots* seem'd resolv'd to make good the Defiance he had given. They prevail'd with the Countess of *March*, not to betray, as Mr. *Tyrrel* words it, but to give up, as 'twas her Duty, the Castle of *Dumbar*, the revolted Earl her Husband had betray'd, or promis'd to betray, to the *English*. King *Edward* sent a great Part of his Army from *Berwick*, in which Town he continu'd with the Remainder, till its Castle also surrender'd, to reduce that Fortrefs, and to make a

Diverſion. The Earl of *Caffils* and *Menteith* (a) march'd on the eight Day of *April*, with a confiderable Body of Men from *Fedburgh* into *Northumberland*, and at firſt beſieg'd the Caſtle of *Harbottle*; but, finding that it was not to be taken in a ſhort Time, they de-
The Scots again invade England.

camp'd, and marching by Eaſt the *Tyne*, ravag'd and waſted all *Cokeſdale* and *Redeſdale*, then burnt the Monaſteries of *Henham* and *Lanercroft*, with the Nunnery of *Lambefly*, and ſo return'd with a great Booty to *Scotland*, through the Forreſt of *Nicholay*.

Had the *Scots* continu'd to make War at that Rate, they had rais'd ſuch Clamours, and ſpread ſuch a Conſternation through the North of *England*, as had probably recall'd King *Edward's* Army to the Defence of his own People, but they were unfortunately bent upon a deciſive Battle, which being loſt ſo early in the Spring, afforded both Opportunity and Leiſure to the Victorious *Edward*, to effect, what he deſign'd, an intire Conqueſt of the divided and diſpirited Nation. The two Ar-
Battle of Dumbar gain'd by the Engliſh.

mies met near *Dumbar*, whither King *John* march'd in Perſon, with a Deſign to relieve the beſieg'd: But the Beſiegers upon his Approach decamp'd, met him, gave him Battle, gain'd the Day, and kill'd 10 (*Knigh-ton* ſays, 20000) of his Men upon the Spot, tho none of Quality or Note were miſ'd, but the Lord *Patrick Graham*, a Man of Reputation and Parts. The Earls of *Menteith* and *Athole*, *Boethius* ſays of *Montroſe*, the Lord *Rofs*, and one and thirty Barons fled from the Field of Battle to the Caſtle of *Dumbar*; but that Place was ſoon brought to ſurrender, whether by the Treachery of its Governour *Richard Sward*, or, that it had not Proviſions ſufficient for the Entertainment of ſo many Men, is uncertain: This we know, all the Gentry and Nobility within it were us'd with the greateſt Severity imaginable; but the common Souldiers, to the Number of 300, were (upon their promiſſory Oath, not to take up Arms any more againſt King *Edward*) by his Orders ſet at Liberty. All theſe Diſaſters were owing, ſay *Scots* Authors, to the Revolt of the *Bruces*: They not only acted above-Board in Conjunction with the Invaders, but had their private Friends every where over the Kingdom, eſpecially at Court, and in the Army; who, believing that the only Way to ſet the Crown upon the Head of the Earl of *Carrick*, was to ſerve King *Edward* and to betray King *John*, put this laſt and his Council upon wrong Meaſures, and when they came to Action, deſerted, or lay by idle and inglorious Spectators of their own Diſgrace and Country's Subjection. But Treason is ſeldom rewarded, but as it deſerves, with Scorn and Diſappointment: When, upon the repeated Overthrows of his Country-men, *Robert Bruce*, now ſure that King *Edward* would carry all before him, deſir'd he would pleaſe perform his Promiſe, and make him King, he receiv'd this mortifying Answer, by which, all his Hopes were defeated: *What, ſaid King Edward* in French, (the Language he beſt lik'd, and generally us'd) *Do you think, that I have nothing elſe to do, but to conquer Kingdoms for you?* There was
Who take the Caſtle of Dumbar.
Robert Bruce diſappointed of the Hopes given him by King Edward.

something in these Expressions so severely cutting, that neither of the *Bruces* could ever forget them; and the Time did come, when the Younger had the double Pleasure of satiated Revenge and satisfied Ambition; that is, he came to be, by fair and honourable Means, what Treason could not make him, a King, in Defiance of this same King *Edward*, his Son and Grand-son. In the mean time, the Earl was forc'd to dissemble, and the victorious Monarch went on, commanding and conquering wherever he came. The *Scots* Army not only fled before him, but disbanded and left the Field: The Castle of *Roxburgh*, tho commanded by the Great *Stewart*, yielded upon his Approach. That of *Edinburgh* held out but eight Days, by Reason that the Water of the Well within it fail'd on a sudden; and that of *Stirling* made no Defence, being by its Garrison deserted. To be short, such was the Confusion and Consternation, that seiz'd upon the Minds of all People, that King *Edward*, upon the Head of his Triumphant Army, which (by fresh Recruits (a) from *Wales* and *Ireland*, grew every Day more strong, and consequently more terrifying) had nothing to do, but to advance and receive the Submissions of those on his Road. The weak and cowardly King *John*, and the dispirited few that continu'd to attend him, retir'd immediately upon the Loss of the Battle of *Dumbar*, and left all the South and North (as far as the Country of *Angus*) open to the prevailing Power, they had neither Heads nor Hearts to oppose. Yet the Nobility and Gentry were not all cut off, as it appear'd by their frequent Meeting afterwards at *Berwick*, and there were still a great many strong Holds in the different Parts of the Kingdom, which, had they been Garrison'd, might have stopt the Enemy's Progress, and spun out the Campaign: Besides, had the fiery Cross but been set about, as 'twas ordinary in those Days, 'tis not to be suppos'd, but that in less than a Four-night, the Highlands alone, being as yet in the Hands of the Government, might have sent to the Fields an Army capable, if well commanded, to dispute Passes, dress Ambuscades, cut off Parties, fall upon Straglers, intercept Convoys, and by continually harassing the Grand Army, tho ever so numerous, to give them Work for more than one Summer: At least, they should have made some Attempts of this Kind; and when all Endeavours had fail'd, the King, had he deserv'd to be such, would have lurk'd in the Mountains, retreated beyond Seas, died, or done any Thing rather than what he did. He was perswaded, I know not whether by his own Fear, or by those about him, to be sure, as mean Spirited as himself; or, as *Boethius* says, "By the fair deluding Promises of King *Edward*, to come on the 7th of July, to that Prince, then at a Place call'd *Stromkatbrack*, without any State, only mounted upon a little Nag, with a white Rod in his Hand, according to the Custom of Surrenderers; and, as was previously agreed, to implore the Mercy of his Superior Lord, and to renounce the unlawful Confederacies (So he was oblig'd to express himself)

“ self) he had made with the King of France in his own Name, and in that of his Son and Subjects, against his due Homage, and the Fealty he had sworn to the King of England.” It seems he believ’d that this was all the Attonement to be requir’d of him; and that by submitting anew to the Yoke he had so unsuccessfully endeavour’d to cast off, he should be continu’d what he was before, a Vassal King. But he was mistaken, and in my Opinion deservedly; for three Days after, he was commanded to attend King Edward at Brechin, where, Death being threatn’d, says Boethius, or a total Surrender of his Crown and Dignity, he chose to do the last, (What else could be expected of his fervile Mind, so long accusom’d to truckle?) and on the 10th of July (a) made a solemn, and, as he was forc’d to call it, *A willing Resignation of himself, his whole Kingdom of Scotland, his Royal Dignity, with all Homages, Rights and Appurtenances thereto belonging; as also, of all his Lands, Possessions, and Goods moveable and immoveable, into the Hands of Anthony Bishop of Durham, who receiv’d them in the Room and Name of King Edward.* The Reasons adduc’d in the Paper (to which King John set his Seal) for this infamous Surrender, were, “ Because by evil Counsel and his own Simplicity, he had greatly offended and provok’d his Lord the King of England; had ally’d himself, contrary to his Faith and Homage, to the King of France; had assisted the latter by War and otherwise, defy’d the former, put himself out of his Faith and Homage, and sent any Army into England, to burn, spoil, plunder, kill, and commit other Mischiefs; fortifying the Kingdom of Scotland, King Edward’s own Fee or Seignior, against him, putting Garrisons into the Towns and Castles, &c. For all which Transgressions, his Lord the King of England, having enter’d Scotland by Force, as of Right he might, as Lord of the Fee, had conquer’d and taken it, notwithstanding all he [King John] could do against him.

King John surrenders himself and the Kingdom to King Edward.

To this Charter the Great Seal of Scotland was appended, which, being of no further Use, in the Opinion of the English, was forthwith broken, and a new Seal contriv’d for the Purposes in Hand. As for King John, he was now no more consider’d as, nor call’d King, at least by King Edward, who sent him and his Son Edward, (one of no greater Parts, nor of more generous Performances than his Father) to the Tower of London, where (notwithstanding the violent Struggles, and unexampl’d Efforts made afterwards in their Favour) they liv’d at the Discretion of the Conqueror, submissive to his Pleasure; and, for ought I can learn, unconcern’d, and perhaps unacquainted, with what was doing either for, or against them. Those about them, when at Brechin, submitted as they; and King Edward finding in the Low-Country nothing to withstand his Power, march’d by easy Journeys towards the Highlands: But when he came to Elgine in Murray, and was inform’d,

King John and his Son Edward, sent Prisoners to the Tower of London.

King Edward Master of all Scotland.

Receives the Submissions of the People.

Carries all the old Monuments of the Nation into England.

that those Parts were, as all others in the Kingdom, passively obedient, he sent Detachments of his Men to Garrison all Castles and Fortresses wherever situated, and issu'd out his Writs commanding all the Prelates, Earls, Barons, Freeholders, and Communities of *Scotland*, to meet him and his Parliament, on a set Day in the Month of *August* at *Berwick*. Thither he return'd himself, and, as on the Way he continu'd, to receive the Submissions of all Ranks of People, that either came out of Policy to win his Favour, or were by his Forces brought in to him so he fail'd not to carry along with him all the Monuments of Liberty and Sovereignty, (those in Writing he was Master of long before, as I have already narrated,) that were any where to be found. From the Abbey of *Scoon*, he took the famous Marble Chair, so much valu'd by the ancient *Scots*, who call'd it *Fatal*, and believ'd their Dominion fix'd where it should be kept. The no less valu'd Crosses, the one call'd the *Black-Rood* of *Scotland*, t'other the *Cross-Neynte*, he caus'd also to be taken away from the respective Monasteries they were kept in, together, say *English* Authors (a) with the Crown and Scepter, and all the *Regalia*: Nay, if we may believe the *Scots*, he proceeded to the burning of Charters, the Abrogation of the Laws, altering the Form of Divine Service, and transporting the most learn'd Men to his University of *Oxford*, who probably were entertain'd in the Colledge, call'd *Baliol*, from King *John's* Father who founded it.

Ragmans-Roll.

Never was any Assembly of the *Scots* more frequent than that, which in Obedience to King *Edward's* Commands attended him at *Berwick*: And never did any Set of Men in a Nation make a more Authentick and solemn Acknowledgment of their Subjection than they did. Most part, *English* Authors say, all the Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Parsons, Vicars, Abesses, Earls, Barons, Knights, Freeholders, and Communities of Cities and Burghs, within the Kingdom, did Homage, and swore Fealty to King *Edward*, as to their lawful and undoubted Sovereign. Their Names were drawn up, by *Andrew*, the Publick Notary there present, and are still to be seen, in four large Rolls, commonly call'd the *Ragmans-Roll*, in the Tower of *London*: A Roll, by length of Time, become Honourable, at least to private Families, there being but few Gentlemen in *Scotland* of unquestionable Antiquity, but may have the mortifying Pleasure to see the Surnames they bear express'd in this Monument of their Country's Disgrace, shall I say, or Glory? For, after all, *Scotland* is not the only Nation in the World, that has been, by their own Divisions, the Want of a Leader, and a prevailing Power, overcome: And I know none so staid, but have submitted and taken Oaths to the Conqueror. This the *Scots* did, as the *English* had done to more than one foreign Intruder before them; but 'tis their peculiar Glory and Honour, that they found Means, tho' under all the Disadvantages imaginable, to break their Chains; and if they swore, for which indeed (tho' 'tis usual in the like Cases) I can by

no

(a) Echard Book II. p. 315.

no means commend them) yet there was not one among them, but might have said with the Poet,

Jurata lingua est, mente juravi nihil.

They never meant to keep those forc'd Oaths, by which they were not bound; and there were those more resolute and conscientious Men among them, (witness *William Douglas, Wallace, &c.*) who chose any Punishment, Disgrace, or Extremity, rather than to swear. The Form prescrib'd to the Jurors was this. "To all those that shall see or hear these Letters, We----- send Greeting: Forso-
 "much as we agree to the Faith and Will of the most noble Prince
 "our dear Lord *Edward*, by the Grace of God, King of *England*,
 "Lord of *Ireland*, and Duke of *Aquitain*; We promise for us, and
 "our Heirs, under the Penalty of Life and Fortune, and what-
 "soever else we can forfeit, that we will assist and serve him well
 "and loyally, against all Persons that may live and die, at all times,
 "when requir'd or summon'd by our Lord the King of *England* or
 "his Heirs; and we shall not know of any Dammage done to him
 "or them, but we will hinder it the utmost of our Power, and
 "will discover it to them: And for the Performance of this, we
 "bind us and our Heirs and all our Goods. So help us God and
 "all his Saints.

Oath taken
by the Scots
to Edward I.
King of
England.

After this Manner did the Generality of the *Scottish* Nation submit and swear Allegiance to their Conqueror King *Edward I.* of *England*; nor is this any more, than *Boetbius, Buchanan, &c.* (a) have, in express Terms acknowledg'd; tho, says Mr. *Tyrrel* (b), This shows the Partiality of all Scots Historians, who, I suppose, (adds he) to conceal the Perjury of their Nobility and Gentry, pass by all these grand Transactions, (indeed they do not, nor could they inlarge upon them, for want of those Records they had no Access to) without taking the least Notice of them. As for the Imputation of Perjury, so often charg'd upon the Nation, (and so easily to be retorted, were it either prudent or civil to make Comparisons, for the most part odious, and never or but seldom useful) I have given my Thoughts concerning it already. It seems however, that, as the Scots, who took these Oaths, did not think them binding, so the King of *England*, who impos'd them, did not much rely on so feeble Assurances, as forc'd and involuntary Engagements of this kind ever were, and ever will be: For, tho he thought fit (c) to restore the Jurors to their Lands and Tenements in *Scotland*; nay, and to grant some new Priviledges to the Clergy, whose Favour he much courted, but never could win; yet he judg'd it at the same time convenient to secure the Persons of all the great Men in his Power, by causing them (d) to be convey'd, as well as their abdicated King, into *England*, and forbidding them to repass the *Trent*, under Forfeiture of their

Most part
of the Qua-
lity in Scot-
land sent
Prisoners to
England.

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Heads,

(a) In vit. John. Baliol. (b) Vol. III. p. 98. (c) Pryn ubi sup. p. 665, 666. (d) Tyrrel ubi sup.

Heads, till the War between him and the King of *France* should be ended.

The Names of these illustrious Captives, too numerous to be here inserted, are to be found (at least a great many of them) upon Record in Mr. *Rymer's* Collections (a); nor were they freed from their respective Confinements till the next Year, when they found, for the most part, *English* Bail, and oblig'd themselves, under the severest Penalties, to stay no longer at Home, than was necessary to put themselves in Equipage in order to return and to serve King *Edward* in the Army he design'd to employ against *France*. Upon these Terms, the two *Frasers*, *Simon* and *Richard*, were liberated at *Brembre*; *John Cumine* Earl of *Buchan* at *London*; *William Bisset* and *Richard Lovel*, at *Canterbury*; and afterwards in different Places of the Kingdom, *John* Earl of *Atbole*, *John Cumine* of *Badenoch*, *David Graham*, *John Grant*, *Alan* of *Atbole*, *William Marishal*, *William Ross*, *John Monteith*, *John Inchmartine*, *John Drummond*, *Sir William Oliphant*, *Sir William Murray*, *Sir Edmund Ramsay*, *Sir William Hay*, *Michael Scot*, &c. How far they kept their Promises, or what Regard they had to the Sums of Money their Sureties must pay upon their Account, and they refund, their after-Conduct will soon discover. 'Tis surprizing, that King *Edward*, who had thus enslav'd their Country, and harass'd their Persons, could trust them on any Terms whatever; and the rather, because even before this Time, there had appear'd a manifest Tendency to a Revolt in *Scotland*. He had committed the Government of it to *John Warren* Earl of *Surrey* and *Suffex*, and had made *Hugh de Cressingham* Treasurer, and *William Ormesby* Chief Justiciary: But the Air of the Country did not agree with the first, who therefore retir'd to, and resided in the North of *England*; and the two last shew'd themselves so Proud and Covetous, and withal so inexorably severe, especially in Fining and Outlawing the Non-jurors (b), (who, whatever *English* Authors do elsewhere tell us, of the universal Compliance and Subjection of the Nation) must needs to their eternal Glory have been very numerous; since here 'tis shewn, that they became really so, and that by their uniting together, that noble, and (since they had never submitted) unquestionably most lawful Resistance commenc'd, by which their own Honours and Consciences continu'd unstain'd; and those of their Kindred and Countrymen were at length freed from the Shame of Subjection, and Sin of Perjury, they may be thought to have incurr'd. That Prodigy of Fortitude, *Sir William Wallace*, commission'd at first by God and Nature (for every free Man has a Right to remain so, in Defiance of Usurpation, whether domestick or foreign) and afterwards by the joint Consent and Election of the Nobility and Gentry, assembl'd in Name of the only Person they could yet own as their natural Sovereign, *John Baliol*, appear'd on the Head of these Worthies; for so do all those, even the

A. D. 1297.
Are liberated,
and upon what
Terms.

The Scots
Non-jurors
join together,
and take Arms
against King
Edward.

(a) *Foeder. Angl. Tom. II. p. 769, 772, 773, 775, 776, 782, 790.* (b) *Tho. Walling. Henry Knight. Pryn p. 730. Tyrrel ubi sup. p. 111.*

the meanest of them, by Birth and Fortune, that joyn'd him, deserve to be call'd. The Life of this Heroe, as of the most noted Patriots that fought under and with him, I shall afterwards write at large, and only here tell, that upon the Approach of a powerful *English* Army, under the Conduct of the Lord *Henry Percy*, Nephew to the Governor the Earl of *Surrey*, they divided among themselves; and some, particularly *Robert Bruce*, who, tho' among the first to revolt had their own Reasons, which I shall afterwards relate, to lay down their Arms and submit, (a) (as they had done before) at *Irvine*, upon the 9th of *July*.

By this Means, King *Edward* thought himself secure of all the Persons of Quality in *Scotland*, and did not much fear the inferior Gentry and Populace: He believ'd, that the first, being freed from their Confinements, would, as they promis'd, influence the latter (who generally depended some Way or other on them) into Submission; and that (since oblig'd to follow him over into *France*, with Retinues suitable to the Rank and Fortunes they had in their Country) there would be few, or none left at home in a Condition to disturb the Government. Besides, he was so eagerly bent upon humbling the King of *France*, that he would delay no longer his so long intended Expedition against him. The Conquest he had made of *Scotland* made him hope that he would soon retrieve his Losses beyond Seas, where King *Philip*, in Pursuance of his own Interest and his League with the *Scots*, had not only possess'd himself, of all, or the greatest Part of *Gascony*, but had also in a great Measure defeated the strong Alliance of foreign Potentates, King *Edward* had oppos'd to his Power.

He no sooner heard, (b) that his Vassal the Earl of *Flanders* had enter'd into the Alliance, and had projected a Marriage between the Prince of *Wales*, (so was the apparent Heir of *England* henceforth call'd) and his own Daughter: But, having summon'd him, to appear before him (upon I know not what Appeal) at *Paris*, he put him under an Arrest, and did not liberate him, till he gave up his Daughter, to be detain'd as a Pledge of his good Behaviour. The Princess was us'd as became her Quality at the *French* Court, but she was a captive remote from her Father, promis'd to a great Prince she could not marry, and had been destin'd to wear a Crown, she could now no more hope for. To be short, she died, probably of Grief, and thereby left her Father at Liberty, to renew his Engagements with King *Edward*: He did it accordingly, and never ceas'd from pressing the King of *England* to come over in Person, and to take upon him the Command of the Confederate Army, as if that vast Body had only wanted such a Head as he was, to conquer and triumph.

Big with these Hopes, bent upon Revenge, and swell'd with by-past Successes, *Edward* would needs go to *Flanders*: But the former War against *Scotland*, and the immense Sums he had sent to the Confederates beyond Seas, had exhausted his Coffers, and im-

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(a) *Fœder. Angl. ubi. sup. p. 774.* (b) *Pere D' Orleans, liv. 4. p. 477.*

impoverish'd his Subjects, especially the Clergy, whom he put out (a) of his Protection, and seiz'd upon their Lay-Fees, were unwilling to part with their Money towards perpetuating a War; by which indeed, the Ambition of the Prince might be gratified, and his Courtiers enrich'd, but the Nation in general could not at all be benefited. The Laity was much of the same Opinion: He commanded some of them to go to *Gascony*, in Order to make a Diversion there, while he himself should go with others to *Flanders*; but they standing upon their pretended Priviledges, refus'd to go any where without him, which so much irritated his high Spirit, that speaking to the Earl of *Norfolk* the *Marshal*, he broke out into these angry Expressions, *By God, Sir Earl, you shall either go or hang*; and the Earl had the Impudence to reply, *By God, Sir King, I will neither go, nor will I hang*: So little Respect had the Barons, too successful in their Attempts against their weak Sovereigns, even for this one, the greatest perhaps of his Age, when they found him, as he then was, at a Pinch. He made them smart for it afterwards; but, in the mean time, carried away by the stronger Passion, he had to bear down the Power of *France*, he confirm'd, or promis'd to confirm the Priviledges extorted from his Father and Grand-father, ask'd Pardon for his illegal Exactions, recommended the Care and Government of the Kingdom to his Son, and his Son to the Loyalty and Affection of his Subjects; and so pass'd over to *Flanders*, towards the End of *August*, upon the Head of an Army, consisting of 15000 Horse, and 50000 Foot; of which Number, 30000 are said to have been *Welsh-men*, rais'd, no doubt, on Purpose to prevent that (but lately subdu'd and still disaffected Nation) from revolting in his Absence. 'Twas also with this View, that he oblig'd so many of the *Scots* Nobility to attend him: But, as these last undertook to serve him unwillingly, so they perform'd but faintly, or rather not at all: For the most Part of them, how soon they got Home, immediately joyn'd Sir *William Wallace* and his Party, who, notwithstanding their being deserted at *Irvine*, by those of the greatest Quality, still continu'd to keep the Fields; and the rest, who, in Pursuance of their Promises, waited upon him in *Flanders*, serv'd him, says Mr. *Pryn*, (a) *A perfidious Scottish Trick*; he means, that their prior lawful and equal Engagements with the *French* prevail'd over their later (and unfairly extorted Obligations) to King *Edward*: For how soon an Opportunity was offer'd, they deserted from him to King *Philip*, and went for the most Part to his Court at *Paris*.

Notwithstanding the Confidence express'd by these Gentlemen, in the Friendship of the King of *France*, and the earnest Sollicitations they no doubt made, towards obtaining Succours or Support to their Fiends in *Scotland*, yet at this Time they met with no great Encouragment. King *Edward* had done no great Feats against him; on the contrary, he had kept himself for the most Part shut up

with

K. Edward's
absence in
Flanders
strengthens
the *Scots* in
Arms a-
gainst him.

(a) Echard, Tyrrel, &c. in his Life. Knighton, Pryn. p. 730. (b) p. 733.

with the Earl his Ally, within the Gates of *Ghent*, more employ'd in allaying the Heats and Discords of the *English* and *Fleemings*; than in repairing the Losses the Allies had sustain'd. The *French* had routed the Enemy at *Furnes*, taken *Lisle*, enter'd *Bruges*, and reduc'd most Part of the Country. They had also worsted the Earl of *Bar* in *Champaign*, and made a Descent even upon *England*, and plunder'd *Dover*: Besides, the Earl of *Savoy* was win over to a Neutrality, and the Duke of *Austria* was not only become neuter, but, which was worse, had in a Manner chang'd Sides, and set up a Competition for the Empire, with *Adolphus de Nassau*, King *Edward's* principal Ally, who, in that Quarrel, lost a Battle, his Life and his Crown; insomuch, that the whole Confederacy was dissipated, and dwindl'd away to nothing. But still the Earl of *Flanders* was in Arms, and not be subdu'd, while thus powerfully protected by King *Edward*; and he being every Day, by Couriers and Letters from *England*, inform'd of the incredible Progresses of the *Scots* Patriots, was, that he might have Leisure to suppress them, desirous to make Peace, almost at any Rate, tho' to the after-Prejudice, and perhaps Ruin of the Earl his Friend. The Disposition of King *Philip* was just the same, with Reference to his Allies the *Scots*, and therefore, by the Mediation of Pope *Boniface VIII.* a Treaty was set on Foot, and a two Years Truce agreed to by the two Kings, wherein the *Scots* Nation was not expressly comprehended. I do not see what Excuse the *French* can offer for this Piece of Ingratitude, or at least Oversight: Nor is the Pope to be justified, since Mediator in the Treaty, and, as will afterwards appear, sufficiently inform'd of the Circumstances of Affairs, and Injustice done to the *Scots*: But both he and the King of *France*, endeavour'd, tho' not with that Vigour that was necessary, to make Amends for their Fault.

The Pope did, by several most moving, and at the same time most flattering Bulls, (particularly those (a) of the 18th of the *Kalends* of *February*, and 6th of the *Ides* of *July* following) exhort and press King *Edward*, to desist from the unjust War he carried on against the *Scots*. He told him, " That he had formerly written to him upon the same Subject; and he always was, and continu'd still extremly solicitous of his real Glory, and the Salvation of his Soul; that 'twas known to the World, by what unjust Means he had seiz'd the Kingdom of *Scotland* into his Hands; that, if he must keep it, Means may perhaps be found out, by which he might do it with Honour and without Sin: For otherwise, Added he, What will you answer in the Day of Judgment? Or what Excuse can you pretend, when in the Presence of that tremendous Judge, who searches the most secret Recesses of the Hearts of Men, and who remunerates every one according to his Works? He desir'd him, in fine, to beware of ill Counsels, by which, as was evident in the present Case, the Minds of Earthly Powers are so frequently seduc'd, and so miserably wrought upon, to perpetrate

Pope *Boniface VIII.* exhorts King *Edward I.* of *England*, to desist from his unjust Pretensions over, and War against the *Scots*.

“ the most scandalous Actions, and the greatest of Crimes.” Another Evidence of the Pope’s Sentiments in this Matter, and consequently of those of all Christendom at the Time, may be drawn from the Bull he wrote (a) on the 15th of the Kalends of July, To the Illustrious King of Scotland, (*John Baliol*, to be sure, tho a Prisoner in the Tower of London; for there was yet no King of Scotland but he) wherein he tells him, “ That the Chapter of St. Andrews had, in the Room of the deceas’d *William Fraser*, Bishop of that See, Canonically elected *William Lambert* that he had confirm’d the said Election, and therefore desire the King to receive and favour him.” By this it would seem, not only that the Pope own’d King *John*, notwithstanding his Imprisonment and Abdication, but also, that that Prince, as insensible as he was of Reputation and Honour, kept still some Correspondences abroad, and continu’d so far as he could to act as King. If so, what is confidently asserted by some may be true, viz. That Sir *William Wallace* was, by his Commission, as well as the Election of the Community of Scotland, made Regent or Guardian of the Kingdom under him. The King of France was no less forward to free the yet acknowledg’d King and Kingdom of Scotland from Subjection, than the Pope (b). His Ambassadors, the one a Friar of the Order of St. *Domnick*, t’other of the Order of St. *Francis*, on the last of March this same Year 1298, immediately upon the Conclusion of the Truce I have mention’d, desir’d that it might be understood, so as to comprehend the King, Prelates, Princes, Barons, Knights, and generally all the Inhabitants of Scotland, because Allies, and known to be such of the King their Master; and that, in Pursuance of the same Truce, the King of Scotland and all his Subjects, Prisoners in England, might be set at Liberty, upon the Terms agreed to. King *Edward* reply’d, “ That the Proposition was to him new and strange: That he had purposely nam’d his Allies in the Treaty, to obviate after-Debates; but that the King of France had on Purpose omitted to name the Scots in particular, that he might afterwards bring them in, under the Notion of Allies in general, foreseeing, that he would never have admitted or own’d them as such, had the Overture been made in express Terms: That, in Effect, they could not be consider’d as Allies of France, since, before the War commenc’d, they had done Homage, and sworn Fealty to him, as to their direct and superior Lord: That had it been otherwise, yet before this last Truce was agreed to, they had disown’d and abjur’d the French Alliance, and consequently could at this Time pretend to no Benefit by it: That no King nor Kingdom could be comprehended within the general Terms of a Treaty; and that this was so true, that the King of France himself had nam’d all his other Allies, tho of inferior Dignity: A proof, that he himself, at that Time, meant not to comprehend the Scots, else why did he not name them? To

Philip King of France owns the Scots in arms against K. Edward I. his Allies, and does several things in their Favour.

(a) Feeder. Angl. Tom. II. p. 816. (b) Recueil des Guerres & Traitez d’entre les Roys de France & d’Angleterre par Jean du Tillet Pronotaire & Secretaire du Roy, Imprim. a Paris: 1606. Tom. II. p. 188.

To all which the King of *France* (at least his Ambassadors in his Name, sent afterwards on purpose to *Scotland*, where they found King *Edward* with his Army before *Edinburgh*) made Answer, " That the Treaty of Alliance between *France* and *Scotland* was to be seen in Writing : That it had been made by Ambassadors commission'd for that Purpose, and afterwards ratified by the King and States of *Scotland* : That if the *Scots* did abjure and renounce it, they did it when made Prisoners by King *Edward* ; and by Consequence their Renunciation was forc'd and invalid : That the Earls of *Flanders* and *Bar* were Vassals of, and had done Homage to King *Philip*, yet were comprehended in the Truce ; consequently that were it true, that Homage had been done by the *Scots* to King *Edward*, they also ought to be comprehended : That 'twas not at all necessary to mention the King or Kingdom of *Scotland* in exprels Terms ; since, in such amicable Treaties, the general Clause ought to be favourably interpreted ; and the rather because 'twas positively said, That the Truce was to extend from Kingdoms to Kingdoms, and from Persons to Persons, of whatever Quality or Rank they might be : That the King of *Norway* and several other Princes, the Allies of *France*, were no more mention'd in the Treaty, than the King of *Scotland*, yet were understood to be comprehended in it : That 'twas an odd way of Reasoning in King *Edward* to disown *John Baliol's* being King of *Scotland*, and at the same time to pretend, that he ought to be excluded from the Benefit of the Truce, upon the Score of his Dignity Royal : And in fine, that if there were Persons of lesser Quality than he, mention'd in the Treaty, there were others, equal to, or above him (Witness the Emperor) that were nam'd in the former Truce." He meant that, under the Favour of which King *Edward* had first attack'd and worsted the *Scots*.

In this Manner did the Pope and King of *France* endeavour to compose Matters between the *British* States, while King *Edward*, deaf to the Exhortations of his spiritual Father, and assur'd, it seems, that King *Philip* either would not, or durst not, (for Reasons too foreign to my Purpose) defend his Allies, otherwise than by the smooth but useless Way of Negotiation, exerted all the Vigour of his mighty Power to ascertain his easy Conquest : But he now found that he had no more to do with interested Competitors, or a slavish King : The Face of Affairs was alter'd ; and those very Men, that had hitherto seem'd born for Servitude, were on a sudden become so many Heroes : One private Gentleman, Sir *William Wallace*, had diffus'd his unequal'd Courage through the whole Nation : Under his Conduct, thousands had been vanquish'd by hundreds, and regular Armies had been overthrown by a few raw undisciplin'd Men. They had courted all Opportunities of Fighting, and never fought but with Advantage : Garrisons, Castles and Cities had fallen upon their Approach ; All the *Englishmen* in the Kingdom, their

Success of
the Loyal
Scots.

Wives.

Wives, Children and Abettors had been driven to Death, Flight or Silence; *England* it self had been invaded, receiv'd Injuries repaid with Usury, and the *Scots* in their Turn enrich'd with the Spoils of their Enemy's Country. They were but too Successful, and their Victories were like to have prov'd their Bane: For the Nobility and great Men, who in the Beginning were content that *Sir William Wallace*, or any Body that had the Courage to undertake it, should Command in Chief, and attempt, what, it seems, they themselves durst not do, to break their Chains; but now he had done it, they envy'd his Glory, and would no longer obey one, they thought their higher Birth and numerous Vassalages and Clans intitl'd them to Command. Hence Divisions and Parties arose among them, and severals falling off, or lying by, (nay there were those who openly adher'd to the *English*) they became an easy Prey to King *Edward*, who on the 22d of *July*, routed their Forces at *Falkirk*, and, say *English* Authors, had probably made a second Conquest of the Kingdom, but for the want of Provisions; for the Country was intirely wasted, and his Fleet did not arrive as he expected.

Battle of
Falkirk.

Sir John Cumine younger of Badenoch, in Conjunction with some others made Guardian of Scotland in the Room of Sir William Wallace.

The Consequence of this Battle was as unlucky as the Battle it self: For *Sir William Wallace*, under whose Conduct the *Scots*, if united among themselves, had been unconquerable, laid down his Command, yet still kept up a Party of brave Men, who would never part with him, nor cease doing all the Mischief they could (and they did a great deal) both to the *English*, and such *Scots* as were acted by *English* Influence. Neither did the Generality of the Nation submit on this Occasion, as they had done before: On the contrary, they resolv'd upon Death or Liberty, modell'd themselves into a regular Government, and made *Sir John Cumine*, firmam'd the *Red*, Lord of *Badenoch*, their Governour, a Man of a great Estate, high Birth, and, tho not a Heroe like *Sir William Wallace*, yet a good Officer, and a brave Man. To him were adjoin'd then, or not long afterwards, as appears by their Letter (a) to King *Edward*, *William Lamberton* Bishop of *St. Andrew's*, and *Robert Bruce* Earl of *Carrick*. The *Scots* under their Conduct, took Heart (b), and once more drove the *English* out of all their Towns and Castles, except those of *Roxburgh*, *Berwick* and *Stirling*.

As this last Struggle must be very Honourable to the *Scots*, so it was of great Use to those of the *English*, who, in Pursuance of the Grants of King *Edward's* Father and Grand-father, set up for the Priviledges of the Nation: These King *Edward* had never confirm'd, but when straitn'd for want of Men and Money to carry on his ambitious Projects against his Neighbours; and that he might, when rid of these Wars, break in upon them with Safety, he added the Clause, *Salvo jure Coronæ nostræ*. Of this the Barons had often complain'd; and now since he again stood in need of their Assistance,

(a) Feeder. Angl. p. 839; (b) Tyrrel. Vol. III. p. 133.

France, he found himself necessitated to perform, (a) as he did at a Parliament held after *Easter*, what he had promis'd before his last Expedition into *Scotland*; that is, he confirm'd the Charters, and left out his favourite Clause, thereby depriving himself and his Successors, of what he conceiv'd to be the just Prerogative of the *English* Crown, to pursue an unjust War against *Scotland*, the Event of which was at best but uncertain. He had the Year before (b) on the 26th of *September* issu'd out his Writs to the Barons of *England*, commanding them, with their Arms, Horse and Men, to meet him at *Chelise* on the Vigil of *Pentecost*, in order to restrain the Malice and Disobedience of the Scots, to repossess his Faithful Subjects of the Lands he had, or might yet give them in *Scotland*, and to do what else God should direct: But upon Advice that the Pope's Nuncio was on his Road to *Monstreuille* in *Picardy*, to determine all Differences between him and the King of *France*, he put off his intended Expedition against *Scotland*, from *May* to *August*, and afterwards from thence to *November*. What occasion'd these Delays was this.

As the Pope was infinitely desirous to have the Honour of establishing a solid and lasting Peace, between the two most flourishing Kingdoms in *Christendom*, *France* and *England*; so both he, and the King of *France*, thought themselves in Honour and Conscience oblig'd not altogether to abandon the Person of *John Baliol*, and the Interest of *Scotland*: Wherefore a sort of a Peace was agreed to at *Monstreuille* in the Month of *June*; (c) and in Pursuance of it, the Lady *Margaret*, Sister to the King of *France*, was conducted to *England*, and married to King *Edward*, and King *John* was releas'd from his Confinement, and deliver'd to the Bishop of *Vicenza* the Pope's Nuncio, upon Condition, that the Pope (d) might direct and order what he pleas'd concerning his Person, and the Estate he had in *England*, saving, to King *Edward* and his Heirs, their Title to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, its Inhabitants, Appurtenances, &c. The Reason given for this *Salvo*, was, because he, *John Baliol*, (for King *Edward* would not give him the Title of King) had committed many inhumane Trepasses and Treasons against his sovereign Lord, contrary to his Homage and Fealty, and afterwards had abdicated and renounc'd all the Right and Title he ever had to the Kingdom: He might have added, that but the Year before, he had declar'd by a Writing under his Hand and Seal (and what is it one of his dastardly Temper would not, when a Prisoner, and in continual Apprehensions of Death, be perswaded to declare?) that (e) when upon the Throne, he had found such Malice, Fraud, Treason and Deceit in the Scots, who design'd to have made away with him by Poison, that he would never have any more to do with them, nor would he reign over such a People. If King *John* said so voluntarily of his own accord, and without the Privy of King *Edward*, as is ridiculously pretended, he was not only the most weak,

King *John*
Baliol freed
from his Im-
prisonment
in *England*.

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but

(a) Echard Book II. p. 318. (b) Fœder. Angl. p. 840. (c) Recueil des trait. d' entre les Roys. p. 190. (d) Fœder. Angl. Tom. II. p. 840, 847, &c. (e) Flyn Vol. III. p. 665. Tyrrel, Brady, &c.

but the most ungrateful Man in the World. To speak properly, he had never been King, because, as such, he own'd himself a Vassal; yet the Scots had receiv'd him, and done what they could to make him, by freeing him from Subjection, a King in earnest. He and they were defeated in the Attempt, probably by his Fault: Upon this, he had been trick'd into a Meeting with King *Edward*, when he should by all Means have kept out of the way, and either died or preserv'd himself free, till a more favourable Opportunity should offer. He had certainly found it in the Courage and Loyalty of his Subjects, who (tho he had proceeded to make a base Surrender of himself and them, and was actually a Prisoner in the Tower of *London*;) yet stood up for him, and acted in his Name, all those things their Posterity must needs be proud of, while their Posterity shall last:

The Relaxation of, and Freedom granted to King *John*, did not in the least alter or influence the Affairs of *Scotland*, or Business of the War. It would seem indeed that the King of *France* did still insist upon the Scots being, as his Allies, comprehended in the Truce: For I find, that the Guardians of *Scotland*, *William* Bishop of *St. Andrew's*, *Robert Bruce* Earl of *Carrick*, and *John Cumine* the younger, did this Year on the 13th of *November*, write a Letter (a) to King *Edward*, to whom they wish *Health*, and the Spirit of Charity towards his Neighbours, intimating, that by Letters both from the ever illustrious *Philip* King of *France*, and from *John* Duke of *Britany*, his Ambassador in *England* at the time, they are inform'd, That he (King *Edward*) had condescended to a Cessation of Arms for some time, and that, if he pleases to let them know so much by Letters under his own Hand and Seal, they are on their Part willing to forbear Hostilities till the Truce shall expire. But King *Edward* had not, it seems, that Spirit of Meekness and Charity they wish'd him; He was so far from returning a favourable Answer to their Letter, that on the 11th of the same Month (b), he held a Parliament at *York*, to advise how he might best carry on the *Scottish* War; and, how soon it was broken up, march'd with his Army to *Berwick*, and design'd to have penetrated into the very Bowels of *Scotland*, in Order to relieve the Castle of *Stirling*, then besieg'd by the Scots. But this was not practicable, or, because of the Season too far advanc'd for such an Attempt, or by Reason of the Discontents of the Nobility about him, who found Fault that their darling Charters, tho confirm'd by him, yet were not observ'd. He therefore alter'd his Resolution, and sent his Warrant to the besieged, to surrender the Fortress they could no longer keep, upon Condition that their Lives and Limbs should be safe.

Thus it appears, that the mighty King *Edward* was not always, Successful, even when he acted in Person against the Scots. All he did on this Occasion, was to keep his *Christmas*, and pass most part of the Winter at *Berwick*, one of their Towns; from whence, after having committed the Government of what he yet possess'd in *Scotland*,

Letters of
the Guardi-
ans of *Scot-*
land to King
Edward.

Castle of
Stirling ta-
ken by the
Scots.

King *Ed-*
ward I. un-
successful a-
gainst the
Scots, passes
the Winter
at *Berwick*.

(a) Foeder. Angl. Tom. II. p. 359. (b) Tyrrel ubi sup. p. 136.

land, to *John de St. John*, and others join'd in Commission with him, he return'd into *England* about *Candlemas* and, in order to get Money from his Subjects, towards pursuing his un-remitting Designs, restor'd the City of *London* to their Liberties, after he had kept them twelve Years in his Hands, and again renew'd the Confirmation of the Grand Charter, that of the Forrests, and the Statute of *Winchester*. So evidently have the *English*, ever since the Conquest, been oblig'd to the Courage of the *Scots*, for the so much valued Ascendant they got over their Kings.

A. D. 1300

When he had, by all the Concessions he could well grant, (and he was far from granting them willingly) compos'd the Spirits, and gain'd the Wills of his much harass'd and discontented People (who gain'd nothing but Blows by the War) into his Measures, he thought fit to open the Campaign; and about the Beginning of *July*, he came in View of the *Scots* Army, which, being by much outnumber'd by the *English*, wisely retreated: And King *Edward*, by this Means Master of the Fields, easily reduc'd the Castles of *Lochmabane* and *Carlaverock* in *Annandale*, then march'd into *Galloway*, where first the Bishop of that Diocess, and afterwards the Earl of *Buchan*, and the Lord *Cumine* of *Badenoch*, came and treated with him about a Peace. But, says Mr. *Tyrrel*, (a) *Their Demands were unreasonable*. They requir'd, that he would permit *John Baliol* and his Son to reign over them, and restore them to their own Estates, which he had already bestow'd on diverse *English* Noblemen; adding withall, that if he would not agree to this, that he would find, ere long, what Opinion the See of *Rome* had of his unjust Proceedings, and requested, that at least he would suffer them to live in Peace for some short Time, till they had taken Counsel of the King and Peers of *France*. Upon which (adds Mr. *Echard*) (b) the King, with a disdainful Smile, answer'd, *Have you done Homage to me, as the direct Lord of your Kingdom, and believe that I can be terrifed with Pretences? As if I, like one who has no Power to compel, would tamely give up my undoubted Right? Let me hear no more of this, for if I do, I swear by all that's sacred, I will destroy all Scotland from one Sea to the other*. On the other Side, the *Scots* are own'd to have fearlessly reply'd, *That they would spend the least Drop of their Blood, for the Defence of Justice and the Liberty of their Country*.

Invades Scotland next Summer.

A Parley between King Edward I. and some of the Scots Nobility.

After this ineffectual Interview, King *Edward* march'd forward to the River *Suynay*; and here again the *Scots* Army appear'd on the other Side of it, with a Design, as it seems, to dispute his Passage. Some Archers were detach'd with Orders to try their Resolutions; but they retreated so speedily, that the King fearing some Ambush, sent over the Earl of *Warren* to recall his Men: But they imagining that the Earl had come to support them, renew'd the Charge, and during their Engagement, another Part of the *English* Army likewise pass'd the River, and were follow'd by Prince *Edward* with his shining Battalion, and the King his Father (now the Danger of an Ambush was over) order'd a Charge to be sounded, and pass'd the

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River

(a) Ubi sup. p. 139. (b) Ubi sup. p. 318.

Edward I.
gets over a
River in
fight of the
Scots.

River himself with the rest of his Forces. Upon this the Scots fled; and that Day, in *Walsingham's* Opinion (upon which I beg Pardon if I don't entirely rely) had been irrecoverably fatal to the *Scottish* Name and Nation, if the *English* had been able to have follow'd them, arm'd as they were, over their Bogs, Morasses and Mountains, or, if the *Welsh* had done their Duty, and by their Skill supply'd that Defect. The truth is, King *Edward* gain'd a Pass, that is, in the Language us'd by *English* Writers, *An undisputed Victory*. However,

Such a Victory as it was, it had this Effect, that it enabl'd the indefatigable *Edward* to advance into the Country, and lay Siege to the Castle of *Stirling*, which, notwithstanding all his Forces could do, assist'd by their various Engines, wear'd with infinite Labour and Charge, held out full three Months: Nor did the Governour *William Oliphant* offer to capitulate, till he was forc'd to it for want of Victuals. And others tell us, that King *Edward* caus'd two Pair of large Gallows to be erected before the Place, and that he command'd Proclamation to be made within the hearing of the Garrison, that, if they did not yield by a certain Day, they should all be hang'd without Mercy. They did yield before the Time prefix'd, and tho' upon advantageous Terms, yet 'tis own'd they were maltreated.

Takes the
Castle of
Stirling.

Returns to
England.

King *Edward* was, no doubt, inclinable to improve his Successes: But the Season was far spent, and his Army weakn'd by Deaths, Fatigue, Loss of their Horses and want of Money (a Proof that *Scotland* is not to be over-run, by any Power whatever in one Campaign, if they are but willing to resist) was oblig'd to return to their Winter Quarters; and the rather because, on the 25th of *August*, when the King was at Dinner in his Camp, near an Abbay, *English* Records call *Dazquer*, the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, by a special Mandate from the Pope, arriv'd, after he had surmounted inconceivable Difficulties on his Road, and presented to him a Monitory Bull, which, because 'tis so very home, and so pat to the Purpose, I shall abridge.

Monitory
Bull of Pope
Boniface to
Edward I.
concerning
Scotland.

He tells him, (a) " That the Kingdom of *Scotland* never was, nor is a Fee of *England*: That this both himself and his Father *Henry* III. had own'd; his Father, because by his Letters Patents he testified, that he had receiv'd Auxiliary Troops from his Son-in-Law, *Alexander* III. King of *Scotland*, not as an Assistance any Way due to him, but as a special Favour; himself, because when he intreated the same King *Alexander* to be present at his Coronation, he declar'd also by his Letters, that he ask'd it as a special Favour, to which King *Alexander* was noways oblig'd: That when the King of the Scots did the usual Homage to him for his *English* Possessions of *Tyndale* and *Penrith*, he publicly protested, that as King of *Scotland* he was independent, and that he held his Crown of God alone, to which King *Edward* himself did agree: That when *Alexander* died, leaving only a Grand-child behind him, as Heiress of the Crown, King *Edward* did sollicite

“ a Marriage between her and his own Son Prince *Edward* by all
“ Methods imaginable; whereas had he been Liege-Lord of *Scotland*,
“ he had had the Wardship of the young Lady, and might have
“ given her in Marriage to whom he pleas'd: But that, on the
“ contrary, there were Guardians of the Kingdom at that Time,
“ tho' not appointed, yet own'd by him; that with these Guardians, the
“ Nobility of *Scotland* had chosen, he had treated concerning the
“ Marriage: That, by the Contract agreed to, 'twas expressly pro-
“ vided, that if there happen'd to be no Children of that Marriage,
“ the Kingdom of *Scotland* should return to the next Heirs, free and
“ independent as it had ever been; and that, if Children were
“ procreated, yet that *Scotland* should remain separate and distinct
“ from *England*, should retain the Name and Dignity of a Kingdom
“ as before, and be govern'd by its own Laws, have its own Officers
“ of State, and its independent and free Parliaments; and that no
“ Causes concerning *Scots* Affairs, should be decided but within the
“ Bounds of *Scotland*, nor none of its Inhabitants be oblig'd to go
“ elsewhere for Judgment. That the Queen of *Scots* being dead, and
“ the Controversy arising among the Nobility about the Succession,
“ the greatest Part were willing that the King of *England* should
“ be Arbitrator; and accordingly invited him to the Borders, whi-
“ ther he came with an Army to support his Faction; but that they
“ would not go over the Limits of their own Country, nor appear
“ in his Presence, till he first assur'd them by his Letters Patents,
“ that they were not requir'd to do the same, as being a Duty,
“ but out of a special Favour, and that the Liberties of the Kingdom
“ should suffer no Prejudice thereby, nor should their Compliance
“ be a Precedent for after Times: That, notwithstanding these Se-
“ curities, some Innovations had afterwards been made and assented
“ to, by one in whose Favour he had pronounced an unjust Sen-
“ tence; yet all these things were extorted by Violence and Fear,
“ which may befall a constant Man, and therefore ought not to
“ subsist in Law, nor to redound to the Prejudice of the Kingdom:
“ That when Legates were sent into *England*, by the Apostolick
“ See, to exercise their Functions, they could not upon that Pre-
“ text proceed to do the same in *Scotland*, neither was ever a Legate
“ admitted, or ought to be admitted into that Kingdom, unless
“ he brought special Letters from the Pope to the King of *Scotland*;
“ which had been needless, if *Scotland* had been a Fee of *England*,
“ or the King of *Scots* subject to the King of *England*: That the
“ Church of *Scotland* had ever been, as the Kingdom, independent
“ on any but the See of *Rome*, and that when the Arch-bishop of
“ *York* had, had in his Predecessor's Time, pretended to a Superiority
“ over the Clergy of *Scotland*, he could produce nothing to make
“ good his Plea, but a Letter from some *Scots* Bishops, who had
“ pass'd this Compliment upon him, *Remember that we are yours*. In
“ fine, he absolutely condemns the Design and Intention of the King of
“ *England* to subdue *Scotland*, especially at a Time when it wanted a

“ Head, and admonishes him sharply to withdraw his Arms from
 “ thence, and to leave the *Scots* to their own Liberties and Laws:
 “ Adding withall, that if he had any equitable Plea to alledge for
 “ himself, he should appear before him by his Ambassadors with-
 “ in six Months, and that he would take Care to do Justice to both
 “ Parties.

The King-
 dom of Scot-
 land no Fee
 of the See
 of Rome.

Here indeed the Pope's Ambition is manifest, who asserted in the same Bull, that the Kingdom of *Scotland* was a Fee of the Church of *Rome*; but every Body knows, how far Pope *Boniface VIII.* endeavour'd to stretch the Priviledges of his See. 'Twas but too ordinary in those Days for Popes to assume to themselves a Jurisdiction over all Christian Princes; and these last, had, by their Concessions (particularly by receiving and acquiescing in the Political Canons of the Council of *Lateran*) given too much Ground to these detestable Incroachments. *France* had with most Vigour reclaim'd against them: And yet this same Pope *Boniface* is said to have call'd himself Lord of *France*, at least he excommunicated, and, so far as in him lay, depos'd the King, for which his Letters were publickly burnt in the Market-place of *Paris*, and the Divines and Doctors of the *Sorbon* assisted at, and approv'd the Disgrace put upon them. No great Wonder then, if he also asserted that *Scotland* belong'd to him: Indeed, had it been a Fee of *England*, the Pope had had a fair Plea; for *England*, we all know, had been by King *Edward's* Father and Grand-father, acknowledg'd a Fee of *Rome*, consequently, upon King *Edward's* Supposition, *Scotland* was so too, and the Pope, by the same Consequence, natural Judge between him his immediate Feudatary and the *Scots* his Sub-Vassals. But the Pope was better advis'd, or more just at the Time, than to pretend to any such Thing; and what he did say concerning his own Claim to the Superiority of *Scotland* was perhaps but a politick Contrivance to awe the *English* into Respect, and to frighten their Consciences into a Forbearance of what was said to belong to the Church. If this was the Design, 'twas ineffectual; King *Edward* had none of these tender Consciences, a crafty Priest can, like Clock-work, wind up and turn at his Pleasure. He was nevertheless extreamly netl'd upon Perusal of the unexpected Bull, and swore a terrible Oath (a) that he would not desist. The Oath was terrible indeed; for said he, (b) *By the Blood of God, for Sion's sake I will not hold my Peace, and for Jerusalem will I not be at rest,* (alluding to the Words *Sion* and *Jerusalem*, express'd in the Pope's Message) *while there's Breath in my Nostrils; but will defend my Right, which is known to all the World, to the utmost of my Power.* Yet, upon second Thoughts, he sent (c) for the Arch-bishop, and calmly told him, that the Affair was of Consequence, that he could say nothing to it without the Advice of his absent, as well as present Nobility and Clergy, but that as soon as possible, by their common and joynt Determination, he would send his

(a) Echard ubi sup. p. 318. (b) Walsing. Matth. Westminst. &c. Craig's Dispute concerning Homage p. 323. (c) Pryn. ubi sup. p. 332.

his Holiness an Answer. In the mean time, he thought fit to grant, what he had hitherto refus'd, a Cessation of Arms to the Scots from the 30th of October 1300, till *Whitsunday* 1301 (a); but with this Protestation, that he thereby did not at all mean to acknowledge them as Allies of the King of France; tho' at the same time that King declar'd, that they were his Allies, and his two Ambassadors *Peter de Inouncy* and *John des Braves*, a few Days afterwards at *Everwyke*, notify'd the Truce, as agreed to by their Master and the King of England (b), to Sir *John de St. John*, Warden of the Marches of *Galloway* for King *Edward*, and to Sir *Adam Gordon*, Warden of the same Marches for the Guardians of Scotland. By this Transaction, it appears that the mighty King *Edward* was visibly worsted, that King *Philip* had got the better of him, who while he forc'd him to a Truce with his Allies the Scots, pursu'd the Earl of *Flanders*, the Ally of King *Edward*, with such Vigour, that that Prince, now shamefully abandon'd and left to shift for himself (c), was forc'd to surrender himself and his two Sons, to *Charles* Count of *Valois*: And these young Princes, being brought to *Paris*, were sent from thence, and kept close Prisoners at *Compiègne*.

About three Weeks after *Christmass*, King *Edward* met his Parliament at *Lincoln*, and having, by new Concessions they still ask'd when he was straitn'd, purchas'd a 15th of all their moveable Goods, towards supplying his incessant Wants; he order'd the Pope's Monitory Bull to be read in a full Assembly, and he, in name of the whole Nation, made such an Answer to it (d), as they, by Advice of such School-men and Lawyers as were call'd for the Purpose, thought fit to prescribe. Sometime after (e) he himself wrote a long Letter upon the same Subject to the Pope. Both these Letters are extant; and I may make bold to say, that 'twere better they had been suppress'd, at least Posterity might have entertain'd a more favourable Opinion of the Honour and Ingenuity of that King and his Council. His Introduction is such, as would tempt an indifferent Reader to doubt, whether he believ'd that there was a God: For he calls the Almighty the Searcher of Hearts to Witness, O Heavens! And of what? That he is, by an unchangeable Conviction of his Judgement, assur'd, that his Predecessors Kings of England, had, from the first Foundation of the two Monarchies, the direct Dominion and Superiority of the Kingdom of Scotland, and that he himself in their Right, did receive the Homage of the King of Scotland and his Nobles: Than which, a greater Falshood could not be express'd, unless by the King of Scotland he meant his own Creature King *John*, and by the Nobles, those that were trick'd and compell'd into the same Measures with him. 'Twas impossible he could have forgot that King *Alexander* and his Nobles, absolutely refus'd any such Acknowledgment; and if he had, the Pope's Bull was sufficient to have refresh'd

Truce between *Edward I.* and the Scots.

A. D. 1301.

The Answers of King *Edward* and the Parliament of England, concerning Scotland.

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(a) Foeder. Angl. p. 868. (b) Ibid. p. 870. (c) Tyrel p. 144. (d) Foeder, Angl. p. 872. Pryn. 887. (e) Foeder Angl. 863. Pryn. ibid.

refresh'd his Memory. But to all the pregnant and unanswerable Instances to the Contrary adduc'd in the Pope's Brieve, not one Syl- lable is answer'd, and all that can be said in Vindication either of the King, or of those who by his Orders drew up his nauseous Letter, is, That they went upon a palpable Equivocation, intimating, that the Kings of *Scotland* did Homage for their Kingdom, when in Reality they only did it, as I (and many others more copiously than I) have shewn, for their *English* Territories. 'Twere in vain to dwell any longer upon this Subject: The whole of the Letter is no- thing else, but a fulsome Repetition of the vain, Sophistical, fabu- lous, Legendary, Romantick Arguments, formerly adduc'd to im- pose upon the World, and over-awe the *Scots* in the Year 1291 at *Norham* Castle. As for the Letter of the Parliament, 'tis just as idle, with Reference to the Crown of *England's* Superiority over that of *Scotland*: But I own that those who wrote it, are in the Right to tell his Holiness, as they do, *That their Lord the King is no ways concern'd* (tho even that was not thought true, in the two preceeding Reigns) *to answer judicially, for any of his temporal Rights, to the Pope, either in Person or by his Proxies.* So far, I say, they were in the Right, but upon the Main egregiously in the Wrong; and this I doubt not, but all Men of Candor and Ingenuity (and of such I know there are as many in *England* as perhaps in any Country what- ever) will, with Mr. Tyrrel, after Inquiry own. That Gentleman (a) plainly acknowledges here, what he had before evinc'd, *That however these Testimonies or Authorities may have satisfied the King, and his great Council, of the Justice of his Claim, when duly weigh'd and con- sider'd, they do not make good the Point for which they are alledg'd.* But the King and his great Council were satisfied, or, which is the same thing, gave out that they were so, and therefore the Truce being ended, the War must go on.

King Ed- ward I. and his Son in- vade *Scot- land* to no purpose.

Two different Armies were sent this Summer into *Scotland*; the one commanded by King *Edward* in Person, t'other by the Prince of *Wales* his Son: But the *Scots*, as the weaker Party should al- ways do, unless they can do no otherwise, or have an evident Ad- vantage on their Side, could not be brought to an universal En- gagement; but then they intercepted the *English* Convoys, cut off Parties of their Men, drove away their Horses, cut out so much Work for them, and occasion'd so many Deaths, and such Scarcity in their Camps, that all they could gain this Campaign, was the Castle of *Carlaverock*; for which, since 'tis own'd that it made a no- ble and long Defence, it follows that they must have paid very dear. That Place had been taken from the *Scots* but the preceeding Year, and they had re-taken it, as they were wont to do, not in the Winter, by Reason of the Truce, but before King *Edward* could be in a Readiness to come to the Fields. Wherefore (in Order to pre- vent Surprises, and to hem in a restless and indefatigable Enemy, accusom'd to improve all Opportunities of re-gaining their own) he resolv'd

King Ed- ward I. passes the Winter at *Linlith- gow* in *Scot- land*.

resolv'd to pass the Winter in *Scotland*, and accordingly kept his Court at *Linlithgow*.

While in this Place, he had Advice from his Plenipotentiaries at *Anieres* in *France*, that conform to his Warrant (a) given at *Dunipace* the 14th of *October*, they had agreed to a second Truce with the *Scots*. The Instrument drawn up on this Occasion (b) imports, That, whereas the King of *France* had frequently requir'd the King of *England* to forbear molesting the noble Prince *John* King of *Scotland*, and the *Scots* his Allies; and that, the Treaties intended for that Effect having been till now, by several Impediments, delay'd, therefore in order to put an End to that Affair;

A second Truce between King Edward I. and the Scots.

I. A Cessation of Arms was by the Plenipotentiaries of both the Kings agreed to, to continue till the Feast of *St. Andrew*, being the 30th of *November* 1302.

II. That the Plenipotentiaries shall meet again at *Monstreville* a Fournight after *Easter*, to treat of such Differences as have not yet been adjusted, provided nevertheless, that the Earls of *Flanders*, *Bar*, &c. shall not be consider'd, nor mention'd by the King of *England* as his Allies.

III. That the Lands, Castles, &c. taken from them by the King of *England*, before the Ratification of this present Agreement, shall be sequestrated into the Hands of the King of *France*, till the Feast of *All-Saints* next, and be by him committed to the Guardianship of the Duke of *Burgundy*, Earl of *Aumale*, or any other not ungrateful to the King of *England*.

IV. That the King of *England* shall ratify the Agreement, with this Reservation, that altho the King of *France* gives always the Title of King of *Scotland* to *John Baliol*, and calls the *Scots* his Allies; yet he, the King of *England*, protests, that he owns neither of them to be such.

This was a little hard upon King *Edward*, that by a solemn Treaty he must disown his Allies the Earls of *Flanders*, *Bar*, &c. while King *Philip* so avow'dly continu'd to own *John Baliol* and the *Scots*. 'Tis true, that against this King *Edward* was allow'd to enter a Protestation, as he did, when he ratified the Agreement (c) at *Linlithgow* the 26th of *January* 1302: And to shew, that he did not design that the Truce he had granted, so much against his Mind, should be of great Use to the *Scots*, he very soon after issu'd out his Writs (d) to the Nobility and Barons of *Ireland*, commanding them to be in a Readiness with all their Forces, to assist him to put a quick End to the War in *Scotland*, in case the Treaty then on Foot did not take Effect: And upon his Return to *England* (e) he sent the Earl of *Lincoln*, and the Lord *Hugh le Despencer*, to the Court of *Rome*. Their Business was to set forth the pretended Injuries done to the King and Kingdom of *England* by the *Scots*, and to desire his Holiness to hearken no more, to the false Representati-

A. D. 1302
Edward I. solicites the Pope to favour his Pretensions upon *Scotland*, but in vain.

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(a) *Fœder. Angl. ubi sup. p. 892.* (b) *Ibid. p. 892. Recueil des Trait. &c. p. 121.* (c) *Fœder. Angl. ubi sup. p. 896.* (d) *Ibid.* (e) *Tyrrel ubi sup. p. 150.*

ons of those Traitors and Murtherers, who had impos'd so much upon his Prudence: But in vain. The Pope, justly prepossess'd by the Scots, not only commanded King Edward not to molest them, but also (and he had Right to do it, by a positive Treaty in the Year 1299) demanded, in behalf of King John, a full Restitution of all his Estate in England. But King Edward, still more and more injurious to that unfortunate Prince, was so far from doing him that Justice, that some Years after (a) he gave away his whole Fortune (and a very great one it was) to John of Britany, a Nephew of his own. In the mean time, his Ambassadors at Rome, tho they were unsuccessful upon the Main, yet obtain'd two Bulls from the Pope; the one directed to all the Scots Bishops, and t'other to Robert Bishop of Glasgow in particular (b); by which it appears, that they had been represented to him as Fire-brands, who, by entertaining the Animolities of the People, perpetuated the War. And the Truth is, the Bishop of Glasgow, whose Diocess was in the Hands of the English, had been the last Year oblig'd to take an Oath of Fidelity to King Edward, as to his true Lord and King, and to swear, as the Record has it (c), at the Abbey of Holmcoltrain, upon the Body of our Lord, and the two famous Crosses of Scotland, the Cross Neytte, and the Black-Rood, and that in Presence of the Duke of Britany, and the Earl of Bar, two sovereign Princes, and a great many more of the highest Quality. But, if that Prelate was, as St. Peter, so weak, as to swear to a Falshood, he receiv'd, it seems, as the same Apostle, Grace to repent: And I am so far from condemning him or his Brethren for their Vigour and Zeal, in rousing up the Hearts of the People committed to their Charge, to defend the just Rights of their injur'd Country, that I humbly conceive they ought to be commended, and, by those of their Character, in the like Circumstances, imitated. But if, as the Pope was told, they had really been Fire-brands, and, which is not at all probable, had, by their seditious Sermons or otherwise, obstructed the intended Peace; in that case they had mis-us'd their Ministry, and History could not forbear to mention them, as they had deserv'd, with Indignation and Horrour.

Scots Ambassadors sent to France

William Lamberton Bishop of St. Andrew's, and Matthew Crambeth Bishop of Dunkeld, were, like the Bishop of Glasgow, good Patriots, and wise Men: (d) For which Reason they were sent this Year to France, together with John Cumine Earl of Buchan, James Lord Steward of Scotland, John Soules, Engelram Umfraville, and William Baliol, with a Plenipotentiary Power to assist at the Treaty of Peace; and the Truce was prolong'd, first (e) to Easter, and then to (f) Whitsunday 1303: But it seems that it was not well kept, and probable that the English broke it; for they were the Invaders, and, in the beginning of Lent 1303, advanc'd in three distinct Bodies, which were in Effect so many Armies, since, each of them

(a) Foeder. Angl. (b) Ibid. p. 904, 905. (c) Ibid. p. 868, 869. (d) Ibid. p. 906. (e) Ibid. p. 913. (f)

consisted of 10000 Men, as far as *Rosline* in *Lothian*. But they paid dear for their Breach of Faith, for they were all in one Day cut off, or put to flight, by a handful of no more than 8 or at most 10000 Men, under the Command of the Lord *Cumine* of *Badenach*, and *Simon Fraser*. *English* Authors have done all they could to lessen this Victory; I shall have Occasion to speak of it elsewhere: In the meantime, it suffices to tell, that it was such an one, (a) as made the *Scots* Valour to be talk'd of, and admir'd over all *Europe*. Yet the Nation reap'd no real Benefit by it: For not long after, the Guardian receiv'd a Melancholy but Heroick Letter (b) from the *Scots* Ambassadors at *Paris*; in which, after having wish'd to him and the Loyalists that adher'd to him, *Health, Triumph, and the Spirit of Comfort*, they give an Account, " That a perpetual Peace

" was at last concluded and sworn to, by the Kings of *France* and

" *England*, and that the *Scots* were not comprehended in it, but

" that the King of *France* continu'd what he had still been, their

" fast Friend. That he had sent Ambassadors over to *England*,

" with Orders to desire, that the Truce with *Scotland* may be pro-

" long'd, and that the two Kings may meet. That upon an Inter-

" view (now all their Quarrels were taken away, and a perfect

" Friendship settl'd between them) it would be more easy to bring

" about the Peace of *Scotland*: That in the mean time, if the de-

" sign'd Truce was agreed to by King *Edward*, 'twas fit the

" *Scots* should accept of it, notwithstanding the Dammage some of

" them by lying so long out of their yearly Revenues would su-

" stain; but that, if the Heart of that Prince, was, like that of King

" *Pharaoh*, hardn'd so far, as to reject all reasonable Terms, even

" in that Case, they exhorted their Country-men not to Despair,

" but to shew themselves, more than ever, Men of Resolution and

" Courage. They added, That did the *Scots* but know how much

" their Valour was over all the different Climates of the World ce-

" lebrated upon the Account of their last Conflict, they would cer-

" tainly be overjoy'd, and encourag'd to out-do themselves. That

" 'twas their own Inclination and earnest Desire to return with all

" Haste, in order to be as useful to their Country as was possible;

" but that the King of *France* would not suffer them to depart, till

" he had effected their Business. That his Ambassadors would

" probably go from the Court of *England* to *Scotland*, which if they

" did, they desir'd, that they might be receiv'd with all imaginable

" Respect and Civility, both for the Honour of them, the Prelates

" and Nobility, and for that of the Kingdom.

A. D. 1297
Their ex-
cellent Let-
ter to the
Nobility of
Scotland.

Thus the King of *France* endeavour'd to excuse himself, and to make Amends for his having so unexpectedly and so ungratefully abandon'd his *Scots* Allies. The Diversion they had made in his Favour, and the noble Resistance they had so long continu'd in Opposition to his most powerful Enemy King *Edward*, had enabl'd him to disunite, or conquer, or at least to humble all the other Po-

The *Scots*
abandon'd
by the King
of *France*.

O. o o o o o 2

tentates

(a) *Fœder. Angl.* p. 929, 220. (b) *Ibid.*

tentates that had enter'd into the Grand Alliance against him. But the preceeding Year (a) the *Fleemings* had revolted, notwithstanding their Sovereign was a Prisoner at *Paris*, and had given a notable Overthrow to the *French* Army before *Courtray*; and King *Philip* was now so animated (and indeed 'twas no great Wonder) against the Pope, that he was willing to lay all other Business aside, in Order to prosecute, as he did, the haughty Pontif, to no less than Imprisonment, which soon after was follow'd by Sickness and Death. These were probably the true Reasons, why, as King *Edward* had done before by the Earls of *Flanders* and *Bar*, King *Philip* now left his Allies the *Scots* in the Lurch: For the Sollicitations of his Ambassadors at the Court of *England* had no Effect, and the *Scots*, thereby dispirited, and not well united among themselves, were no longer able or willing to resist the mighty Efforts of their terrible Enemy with that Vigour they had hitherto express'd.

Unable to resist King *Edward*.

He enter'd the Country about *Whitsunday*, on the Head of such an Army of *English*, *Irish*, *Welsh*, *Gascons*, and even some (b) unnatural and disloyal *Scots*, as none durst offer to oppose in the open Fields. Most Part of the Nation betook themselves to strong Castles, and inaccessible Mountains, only *Wallace*, the incomparable Sir *William Wallace*, with these unconquer'd few, who, as he, had vow'd never to put up their Swords, while an Inch of their Country should remain in Subjection, made frequent and noble Appearances, and did what was possible, if not, to stop, at least to retard the Enemy's Progress. But all these brave Men could do, was upon the main ineffectual: *Edward* continu'd his March, and pass'd near 300 Miles as far as *Caithness*, the utmost Limits of the Inland Country, and at that Time (the Islands of *Orkney* being yet in the Hands of the *Norwegians*) of the whole Kingdom. Few Places made any notable Resistance: I read of none that did, save the Castles of *Urquhart*, *Brechin* and *Stirling*. The last was besieg'd, but did not yield this Year; the first was taken by Storm, and the Garrison and Lord of it, one *Alexander Bois* (from whose Son, if we may credit *Boethius*, the numerous Clan of the *Forbesses* are descended) were put to the Sword. The second was long and gallantly defended by its Governor *Thomas Maul*, no doubt a Son of the ancient, noble, and in the same Country and Place still flourishing, Family of *Panmure*: For long before this Time, the *Mauls* (c) by matching with *Christine de Valoniis*, the Grand-child of *Philip de Valoniis*, one of the Hostages for King *William*, when releas'd from Captivity, (d) were possess'd of the Barony of *Panmure*, which lyes in the Neighbourhood of *Brechin*, and we know of no other Family of that Name, at that Time extant. But, whoever he was, 'tis certain, that he deserv'd that Justice no *Scots* Author has hitherto done him; I mean, to be plac'd among the bravest and best Men of his Time. *Matthew of West-*

Alexander Bois Lord of *Urquhart*.

Thomas Maul Governor of the Castle of *Brechin*, his brave Defence and Death.

(a) Tyrrel, ubi sup. p. 152. & 155. (b) Holinshed's Hist. of Scotl. p. 307. Buchan. Boet. &c. in vit. Joan. Baliol. (c) Great Chancery of Aberbrothock in Biblioth. Jurisconsul. Edinb. fol. 27. (d) Foeder. Angl. Tom. I. p. 391.

minster, an Author not to be suspected of Flattery when he speaks in Favour of the Scots, says (a), that he was a Souldier of undaunted Boldness and Resolution of Mind; that the Vigour and Strength of his Body were very great, and that he did not fear to hold out the small Fortrefs, committed to his Charge, against a Royal Army. King Edward (b) batter'd it with costly Engines and great Stones, but, for a long time, to no Purpose, insomuch, that one Day as the Governour was standing upon the Wall, and watching where a Stone hit against it, he in Derision wip'd the Place with his Handkercheif: But some Days after, he was, for thus exposing his Person to such an evident Danger, but too much punish'd: For a Stone from an Engine hitting him on the Breast, he was taken up dead; and this unlucky Accident so much discourag'd the Defendants, that they Capitulated, after a noble Defence of 20, or, as others Copies have it, of 40 Days.

Had King Edward contented himself to Garrison the strong Places he had taken, and so return'd, after ending the Campaign, with his Army to England, he had probably lost during the Winter, (as had often fallen out before) all the Conquests he had made in Summer: But he had providently taken Care, that so much Provisions should be brought both by Sea and Land from England, that his Army should not, as formerly, be in the least straitn'd for want of Necessaries. He therefore resolv'd to detain it by him, and to pass the Winter, together with the Prince his Son, at Dumfermling. This was undoubtedly good Conduct, and it had all the Effect he could desire: For the Lord John Cumine of Badenach, who in his Quality of Guardian of Scotland, had till now been so resolute and firm, came, and with him a great many more of the Nobility and Gentry, and submitted in February 1304, on the following Terms.

I. That all who came into the Peace of the King, with the said John Cumine (except the Persons Internam'd) should have their Lives and Limbs sav'd, and neither be imprison'd nor disinherited.

II. That their Ransom and Fine to be exacted upon the Account of Faults committed against the King, should be regulated by him in his next Parliament, in which the Establishment of Scotland should also be ordain'd.

III. That all the strong Holds, now in the King's or his Friend's Hands, should remain so, and the Charge of keeping them be defray'd by the Owners.

IV. That the Prisoners on both Sides, except Monsieur Peter de Morham and his Father, as also the Hostages for the Payment of the Ransoms of Prisoners, be releas'd.

The Persons excepted were, Robert Bishop of Glasgow, Monsieur (this French Expression was prefix'd to the Names of all Gentlemen of both Nations, as all the Writs, Charters, Instruments, &c. were in those Days drawn up in the French Tongue) James the Steward of Scotland, John Soules, David Graham, Alexander Lindsay, Simon Frazet,

P p p p p p

Thomas

King Edward I. passes the Winter at Dumfermling in Scotland.

Receives the Submission of most Part of the Scots Nobility and Gentry, and on what Terms

Excepts a great many from the Benefit of the Act, and who they were.

Thomas Bois, and *Monfieur William de Wallys*: All those, but the last, were to be banish'd for some Time, and he must submit himself wholly to the Mercy of the King. But he scorn'd to do it: On the contrary, (a) he still kept the Fields upon the Head of such a Party as oblig'd King *Edward* to leave *Dumfermling*, how soon the Season of the Year was proper for Action, and to march against him. But he was not able to stand the Shock of Forces so vastly unequal, who therefore renew'd the Siege of the Castle of *Stirling*, the only one in *Scotland* that still held out. Sir *William Oliphant* (no doubt the Ancestor of the present Lord *Oliphant*, and the Cadets of that ancient Family, and the very same, who but four Years before had so gallantly defended that Castle) was again the Governor of it. If he did well then, he did better now; for notwithstanding the Walls of the Place were so batter'd and shatter'd by Engines, which cast Stones of 200 Pound Weight, that several large Breaches were made, yet 'tis own'd, that the Besieg'd stood out to the last, kill'd great Numbers of the *English*, with Arrows and Stones shot from their Warlike Engines, endanger'd the King himself, and did not surrender till the 20th of *July*, when a huge Breach being made in the Walls, and the Ditches fill'd up with Faggots and other Materials, a general Assault was order'd, and would have infallibly succeeded: Then, and not till then, did they offer to capitulate upon honourable Terms. And indeed those they got were very much so to them, and at the same Time as dishonourable, in my Opinion, to the Memory of King *Edward*, who ought to have put more Respect upon Enemies so surprisingly brave: For, instead of Drums beating, Banners display'd, &c. they were oblig'd to come out of the Castle, with Ropes about their Necks, and bare-footed, and in that humbling Posture to implore the Conqueror's Mercy, Which so prevail'd upon his good Nature, says Mr. *Tyrrel*, that he gave them all their Lives: That is, I humbly conceive, that he did not murder them: And a mighty All they were, (b) just two Gentlemen, Sir *William Oliphant* and Sir *William Dupplin*, twenty four common Souldiers, and two religious Men, a *Dominican* Friar, and a *Benedictine* Monk: So very few *Scotsmen* of old had the Courage and Power to hold out a petty Fortress, and that during almost two Campaigns, (for it had been unsuccessfully besieg'd the preceeding Year) against a Royal Army, one of the greatest *England* could raise, and one of the greatest Kings *England* can boast of, the Conquering *Edward* I.

That Monarch, after having reduc'd the Castle of *Stirling*, and, as he thought, the whole Kingdom, sent its Governor, and with him above 100 Persons of Quality, to be kept Prisoners in different Fortresses of *England*, appointed Supervisors over all the Counties and Castles of *Scotland*, and made Sir *John Segrave* Guardian or Lieutenant under himself over all the rest. He return'd a little before Winter into *England*, and in the ensuing Lent held a Parliament at *London*.

A.D. 1304.

Sir *William Oliphant* Governor of the Castle of *Stirling* his great Bravery.

The Scots Nobility and Gentry carried Prisoners to *England*.

(a) *Tyrrel*, ubi sup. p. 157, 158. (b) *Foeder. Angl. Tom. II. p. 950, 951.*

don (a) and there was willing to lay by the Airs of a Conqueror, and to seem rather to court, than to force the Scots into Obedience. With this View, he ask'd the Advice of Scotsmen, and those too, who had been among the most active against him, viz. Robert Bishop of Glasgow, Robert Bruce Earl of Carrick, and John Mowbray, concerning the Settlement of Scotland and Scots Affairs. They very readily comply'd with what they understood he had a Mind to; and 'twas determin'd, that, towards regulating all Matters concerning Scotland, a Parliament should meet at London, three Weeks after Mid-summer, and that ten Scotsmen, two Bishops, two Abbots, two Earls, two Barons, and two for the Commons, should be chosen by the whole Community to represent them in it. This is the first time I read, either of Members being chosen to assist in Parliament, or of Commons, properly so call'd, admitted into it. The Kings of Scotland were formerly in use, to call whom they pleas'd to their Council, and those were generally the Prelates, Earls and principal Lords or Barons, as is evident from such Records as are yet extant, and I have already mention'd. But as the Word *Parliament* was brought in Fashion upon the first Usurpation of King Edward, as direct Lord and Superior of the Kingdom, so now he acted as the immediate Sovereign and King, and had a Design to make a compleat Union of both Nations: He thought fit to abolish, as far as could be, tho' to the Diminution of his own Prerogative, all the Customs of Scotland, and in their Place to introduce those of England; and the rather, because by thus appointing Scots Members to sit in Parliament, and those to be elected by the Community of Scotland, it would appear that he design'd not to enslave those he had conquer'd, but rather to give Liberty, than to take it away. This was no ill Policy, and (let us do Justice to the greatest Enemy Scotland ever had) it might in Process of Time have been advantageous to us; we had long ere now, or never, been in Possession of those great Benefits, 'tis hop'd our Posterity shall reap from the present Union; and who knows, but, as the English before were by Subjection improv'd and rais'd upon the Ruin of their remote, and therefore forgotten Ancestors, so we (had ours been in the like Manner undone) might have shar'd in the Glory and Wealth of our Conquerors. This had undoubtedly happen'd, if (as the Dukes of Normandy and Anjou thought fit to leave their native Countries, and to make England the Place of their Residence) the English Conquerors had pleas'd to reside among us, or, since that was not to be expected, but to favour us but one Year of three with their Royal Presence: A Favour, which, had it been sought, I dare say King Edward had promis'd to grant, at least with a *Salvo jure Coronæ*. But our then Ancestors did not penetrate so far into Futurities, as we do in this more acute and sagacious Age; and, it seems, they could not be perswaded, that the best way to make their Posterity happy, was to suffer themselves to be made miserable.

Scots Members call'd to the Parliament of England.

P p p p p 2

The

(a) Tyrrel ubi sup. p. 161, 162, &c. Pryn Tom. III. p. 1052, 1053, &c.

Who they
were.

Regulations
made in
Parliament
for the Set-
tlement of
Scotland.

The Persons they elected to represent them, in Pursuance of the late Act made in their Favour, were those one should have thought the Country durst not have nam'd, nor the Court suffer'd to sit in Parliament, the Bishops of *St. Andrew's* and *Dunkeld*, the Abbots of *Comper* and *Melross*, the Earl of *Buchan*, *John Mowbray*, *Robert Keith*, *Adam Gordon*, and *John Inchmartine*; one Earl *Patrick*, I believe, *Dunbar of March*, was also elected, but he came not, and King *Edward* by his own Authority appointed *John Monteith*, probably the same unfaithful Friend, who, about this time betray'd the Magnanimous Sir *William Wallace*, to the cruel and undeserv'd Death he suffer'd on the 23d of *August*. Except that one Traitor, all the Rest had been before, and some of them afterwards prov'd, most zealous Assertors of their Country's Liberty: Yet (so unlike are Statesmen to themselves, and so differently do they act, when in different Circumstances,) on this Occasion they not only comply'd with, but seem'd forward to promote the Settlement and Union design'd. By their joint Advice and Consent, together with that of an equal or not much greater Number of *Englishmen* commission'd to Consult with them; *John of Britany*, King *Edward's* Nephew, was appointed to be Guardian of, or Lieutenant in *Scotland*, Sir *William Bevercots* Chancellor, Sir *John Sandale* Chamberlain, and Sir *Robert Heron* Comptroller; several Gentlemen, most part *Scots*, were made Justices of Peace, Sheriffs of Counties, and Governours of Castles; the Customs and Laws of the ancient *Scots* and *Britains* were intirely abrogated, but those of *St. David* and his Successors Kings of *Scotland*, order'd to be Revis'd and Amended, by Advice and in Presence of the good People of the Land. And that no Body might be in a Capacity to disturb the Government, all suspected Persons were brought under, by Exile or Fines. To instance in a few, (a) *John Cumine*, formerly Guardian of the Kingdom, *David Graham*, and such others as with them came last Year to the Peace of King *Edward*, upon the Faith of the Covenants granted them, were now appointed to pay three Years Value of their Lands and Rents, but were pardon'd as to their Exile. The Bishop of *Glasgow*, Sir *Simon Fraser*, and Sir *Adam Gordon*, had the same Conditions, only Sir *Simon* was banish'd to Boot. Sir *Ingeram de Unfraville*, because he made his Submission but a little before these Letters were granted, was to pay five Years value; *William de Baliol* and *John Wychard* four; all the Bishops, Abbots, Priors, &c. one, and so on. But this Determination, favourable in the Opinion of King *Edward*, was not to be extended, to such Persons of the *Scots* Nation as were Prisoners, or had not yet submitted; and how many there were of these, we cannot tell.

This done to the infinite Satisfaction of King *Edward*, and indeed of the whole *English* Nation, who now thought they had secur'd their Conquest to all Intents and Purposes, the Bishop of *St. Andrew's*, *John Sandale*, *Robert Keith* and *John Kingston*, two *Scots* and two

(a) Tyrel ubi sup. p. 164. Foer. Angl. p. 968.

two *Englishmen*, had a joint Commission (a) to be Guardians of the Country, till *John of Britany*, King *Edward's* Lieutenant should be sent thither. But before that Prince could arrive, Affairs were alter'd, and *Scotland*, in stead of a Lieutenant, had got a King of its own, and a King so superlatively Great, that *England*, the triumphing glorious *England*, was silent in his Sight; and the Lyon Rampant alone, could awe the three Leopards, together with their mighty Supporters; I mean, that *Scotland*, Headed by their new King, the often mention'd *Robert Bruce* Earl of *Carrick*, brought *England* it self, tho supported by all the Might of *Ireland*, *Wales*, and *Gascony*, to Reason. He set the Crown upon his Head on the 27th of *March* 1306, and, notwithstanding the almost unconquerable Difficulties and Hardships he met with in the Beginning, made King *Edward* to know at his Death, that his Life had been mis-spent, and that he died neither the Superior and direct Lord, nor the Conqueror of *Scotland*; retaliated the Injuries of his Reign, upon that of King *Edward* the II. his unfortunate Son; and from his Grand-son King *Edward* III. forc'd no less than a Parliamentary Acknowledgement, that the preceeding Reigns of the two former, his Father and Grand-father, had been (by Reason of their Claim to Superiority over *Scotland*) calamitous; and that the Crown King *Robert* wore, was, and ought to be Imperial and Independent.

A.D. 1306.

A.D. 1327.

A.D. 1328.

This final Transaction, by which the Pretensions of the *English* Kings over *Scotland* were intirely cut off, was made in the Year 1328. Since the Death of King *Alexander* III. 42. Since the Restoration of King *Malcolm Canmore* 271. Since the Expulsion of the *Picts* 489. Since the Re-establishment of the *Scots* Monarchy by King *Fergus* II. 906. And since its Foundation by King *Fergus* I. 1658. By what Means, and how justly King *Robert* effected these Wonders, I shall give an Account when I come to write his Life. I would avoid Repetitions, but could not, if I should offer to separate the Life of this King, from the Martial Atchievements or History of the Nation, when under his Sway. Those of inferior Worthies his Cotemporaries (if nevertheless Sir *William Wallace* can be call'd his or any one's Inferior in any thing, but that he was not born to be a King) have not had such an immediate Influence upon National Transactions, and therefore may be written apart.

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The

(a) Foeder. Angl. p. 970.

The LIFE of
 Sir William Wallace,
 GUARDIAN of SCOTLAND.

THIS is a hard Task to write the Life of this Gentleman, but to write it to the Satisfaction of all Readers, is almost impossible: Whoever goes about to do it in this refin'd and censorious Age, (and the succeeding will probably be yet more so) must value himself, or too much, or too little; too much, if he designs to assert nothing but what the Age we live in requires, (Truth, vouch'd by Authentick Records, or Authors of undoubted Veracity) and hopes at the same time to answer the Expectations of the Vulgar, or even to come up to the Idea the Learn'd and Wise have form'd to themselves of this Modern Heroe. Yet both these Ends ought to be aim'd at: And the Author, who, in a Subject like this, has not at once the shining *Merveilleux* we're pleas'd with in Fables, and the genuine well documented Truth we look for in History, must value himself too little; at least his Performance will be short liv'd, and People, uncertain what to believe concerning Matters so much in Appearance incredible, will still long for a better Pen, and wish in vain that a *Livy* and a *Virgil* may combine to perform the arduous Work. This is no Rhetorical Flourish, design'd to prepossess the Mind of my Reader, with an Expectation of great and uncommon Things; 'tis no more than all true Hearted *Scotsmen* have wish'd for, these 400 Years bypast: For, as Mr. *Tyrrel* observes, (a) *Sir William Wallace was the great Champion of the Scots Nation, and is celebrated, even to this Day, in their Songs, Poems, and Histories.* From the best of these, I shall Collect what to me seems most certain concerning him and his glorious Actions, and shall so far respect the Authority of *English* Authors, (as injudiciously Passionate, and scurrilously Invective against him, as they have generally been) as not to contradict them in Matters of Fact, they must have known better, or but as well, as the *Scots*.

His Birth
 and Paren-
 tage.

Displeas'd at his very Birth, they will not allow him to have been born a Gentleman: But this is a Falshood demonstrable, even in our Days; and Sir *James Dalrymple* (b) has actually demonstrated

from

from original Charters, that in the Reign of King *Alexander II.* there was a Family of the Name of *Wallace* in the West, where Sir *William* was born, and that one of this Family, namely *Ricard* or *Richard Wallace* (from whom *Ricarton* in *Kyle* his principal Seat had its Appellation) was even then possess'd of the Lands of *Achinroe*. One of that Gentleman's Posterity married the Heirefs of *Craigie*, since which Time they have taken their Designation from this last Place, as does at present Sir *Thomas Wallace*, Baronet. Now that Sir *William Wallace*, since of the same Name, and born at *Ellerslie* in the same Country, and by all *Scots* Historians said to be descended of a good Family, was of Kin to the above-mention'd *Richard*, and by Consequence a Gentleman, no Body can doubt. His Father was, according to the same Authors (I need cite none in particular, for in this they all agree) honour'd with Knight-hood; and *Blind Hary* (of whom afterwards) tells us, That his Name was *Malcolm*; That he was Laird of *Ellerslie*, *Auchenbothie*, &c. That he married the Daughter of a very Worthy Gentleman, Sir *Raynald Crawford*, Sheriff of *Air*, and had by her two Sons, Sir *Malcolm* (or, as others write, Sir *John*) and Sir *William*.

Sir *William* must needs have been born in the Reign of King *Alexander III.* And 'tis probable, that about, or not long after the Year 1286, when that Prince died, he was a Scholar at *Dundee*, where he had his Education; (a) together with *John Blair*, a *Benedictine* Monk, who was afterwards his Chaplain, and wrote his Life; no doubt, with great Veracity, since a good Man, and an Eye Witness to most of his Actions. Injurious Time has depriv'd us of this Book; which is so much the more to be regrated by the Lovers of *Scotland*, and the Admirers of Heroick Vertue, because what was long afterwards design'd to supply its Want, or, at least the Scarcity of Copies at that Time remaining, seems to be nothing but an Unchronological and inconsistent Series of Romantick Adventures, fitted indeed to divert, and perhaps to animate the ignorant and credulous Populace, with Hatred against the Enemies, and Love for the Defenders of their Country; but to the nicer Taste of Gentlemen and Scholars, unpalatable and fulsome: I speak of the Book compos'd in old *Scots Verse*, about 200 Years ago, by one *Blind Hary*, Intitl'd; *The Acts of Sir William Wallace*. That Author was blind in more than one Sense: For besides that (as the Reverend and most Learn'd Bishop of *Carlisle* observes) He describes his Hero like a true Knight Errant, cleaving his Foes through Brawn and Bone down to the Shoulders; 'tis plain, that he knew nothing of the Transactions of the Time, and has by misplacing those Things he relates, made them, tho' really true (as a great many of them I believe are) liable to Objections and Doubts. To instance in a few, Sir *William Wallace* was, according to him, made Governor or Vice-Roy of the Kingdom in the Year 1294, and in a short Time after, conquer'd the South Parts of *Scotland*, forc'd the *English* to a Truce, reveng'd the Breach of it; and

His Education.

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(a) Dr. Mackenzie's Life of John Blair Vol. I. p. 247. and of Blind Hary p. 422.

and in *August* 1296, destroy'd by Fire huge Numbers of the *English* at *Air*. He tells us a great many Wonders and Exploits, which, upon his Supposition, must have been achiev'd, some before and some during that Interval of Time I have mention'd: But his Supposition is groundless, for in 1294, the War was not broke out between the two Nations, and King *John* did not abdicate, nor was *Scotland* over-run till *July* 1296; at which Time, and not till then, 'tis probable that *Sir William Wallace* began to signalize himself. While young and at School, he had heard of, and, with all the Youth of the Nation, griev'd at the Incroachments made by King *Edward*, and long suffer'd both by King *John Baliol*, and those in Place about him. As these Incroachments were open and bare-fac'd, so they were odious to every Body, and were by Consequence for some five or six Years, the general Grievance and Discourse of all Ranks of People; who, being before accusom'd to Liberty and Independency, conceiv'd so much the greater Liking for both, by how much more they saw themselves oppress'd. The Clergy and Governours of the Youth did their Duty: They made it their Business to inspire those committed to their Care, with free and generous Sentiments; And (a) the Uncle of *Sir William Wallace*, a Priest, so often inculcated, and so deeply imprinted the following Lines upon his Mind and Memory, that by them he squar'd all the Thoughts of his great Soul, and Efforts of his vigorous Body.

*Dico tibi verum, Libertas optima rerum,
Nunquam servili sub nexu vivito; Fili.*

A. D. 1296. Whether he was in Arms in that fatal Campaign of 1296; is uncertain; if he was, it seems he retir'd to *Dundee*, upon the inglorious Surrender made by King *John* at *Brechin*, which being in some Measure confirm'd by the Submission of almost all the Freeholders of the Kingdom at *Berwick*, and thought secur'd by the Exile and Imprisonment of the bravest and best of the Nobility and Gentry, who were convoy'd to, and dispers'd through different Parts of *England*, all *Scotland* was immediately fill'd with *English* Soldiers and *English* Governours. These could be no welcome Guests to the oppress'd People, over whom they lorded it with extream Insolence, as the *Lordanes* had formerly done over them. Their rough and imperious Behaviour met with frequent Resentments, and had they been more Mannerly, yet there were those, who (as is ordinary on the like Occasions) would have fetch'd Quarrels from any thing, a Word, a Look or a Jest. *William Wallace* was of this Humour: He was incredibly Strong, and his Aversion to the *English* could not be equal'd, but by the Love he had for his Country. To be short, he quarrel'd with, and kill'd several of them; first one *Selby*, the Constable's Son of *Dundee*, and (b) afterwards the Sheriff of *Lanerk*, a Man of Quality and Power.

(a) *Scotichron. Maj. lib. 12. cap. 3.* (b) *Scotichron. Min. ad Ann. 1296.*

For these Slaughters he was Out-law'd, and therefore oblig'd to pass the Winter in obscure and unsearchable Retirements, whither ^{is Out-} none could come (a) but such as himself, Men determin'd to live ^{law'd.} and die unconquer'd. Of these Scotland afforded, in those Days, many; and what added to their Number, was the unconscionable Severity of the King of England's Justiciary, *William Ormesby*, who (b) banish'd all such, as being really Conscientious, refus'd to Qualify themselves according to the Law, that is, would not swear Fealty to a King, they consider'd as an Usurper. Upon the Head ^{Heads a} of Men of these Principles did Sir *William Wallace* atchieve those Ex- ^{Party of} ^{Loyal North-} ^{jurors.} ploits, which for their Variety, Number and Greatness, Posterity cannot believe. He would often sally out of his lurking Places, and seize upon Convoys, cut off Parties, surprize Castles, and with Handfuls defeat Multitudes. He alone was Match enough for three or four, even in the open Fields; (c) and 'tis confidently reported of him, that no Armour was proof against his Sword, and that one Blow, if he chanc'd to hit fair, gave present Death to whoever receiv'd it: Yet he did not so much trust to his Strength, as to Conduct and Stratagem. Expeditious and indefatigable, he seem'd to be every where at a time, yet could be no where found out, nor ever laid himself open to any Numbers of Men, but when sure to foil them. Some have said, that he was once apprehended, and being imprison'd at *Air*, and almost starv'd for Want of Food, thrown out at a Window by the Keepers, who believ'd him dead: What truth may be in this Story I know not: If it was so, he had very soon after the Pleasure of being reveng'd in the same Place. The Manner thus:

The *English* had proclaim'd a Justice-Air (d) to be kept at *Air*: All the neighbouring Gentry, at least, such as had submitted to the Government, went thither according to Custom, and some of them, particularly Sir *Raynald Crawford*, Sheriff of the Place, and Uncle to Sir *William Wallace*, Sir *Brice Blair*, and Sir *Niel Montgomery*, were, for I know not what pretended Crimes, condemn'd and executed. Sir *William Wallace* got quickly Notice of this, as he did of whatever was done to the Prejudice of *Scotsmen* in the Country, and therefore came upon the Head of 50 of his Followers in the Night, set Fire to the Barns where a great many *English* lay secure and asleep; and those that escap'd from the devouring Flames, fell all into an Ambush laid for them, and were cut off by the Sword. This done he seiz'd the Castle into his own Hands, then march'd instantly to *Glasgow*, where falling upon a Body of Souldiers commanded by the Lord *Henry Percy*, the Nephew of the Earl of *Surrey*, Lord Lieutenant for King *Edward*, he routed them, and so continu'd to range over all Places, and every other Day to do some signal Mischiefe to the *English* and their Abettors. This Exploit against the Judges and Garrison of *Air*, is said to have been

R r r r r

atchiev'd

(a) Buchan. Boeth. &c. in vit. Joan. Baliol. (b) Pryn. p. 730. Knighton lib. 3. cap. 7. Tyrrel Vol. III. p. 2
(c) Joan. Maj. lib. 4. (d) Joan. Maj. ubi sup. D. Mackenzies Life of John Blair.

achiev'd upon the 28th of *August* 1296; but that cannot be true, since, as I have already observ'd, King *John* did not abdicate till the *July* before: Nor could the (as yet unsettl'd) *English* so very soon hold Courts of Justice in the Country, or Sir *William* get a Party of Non-juring Out-laws to second him, in an Attempt of this kind. So that it seems this Action, and a great many more, as surprizing and vigorous, must have been perform'd the Winter following: For in the succeeding Spring, we find that those stragling Parties Sir *William* Headed, and, by *English* Authors call'd Out-laws, Robbers and High-way-men, came to look formidable, to be term'd Rebels, and were grown to little less than an Army. They say (a) that the Rebellion broke out in *May*, and that Sir *William Wallace* was then join'd by Persons of the greatest Quality, such as, *Robert* the Bishop of *Glasgow*, *Robert Bruce* Earl of *Carrick*, *James* Lord Steward of *Scotland*, Sir *John Stewart* his Brother, Sir *Andrew Murray* of *Bothwell*, Sir *William Douglas* formerly the Governor of *Berwick*, *Robert Boyd*, &c. But before this Time 'tis certain, that Sir *William Wallace's* Reputation must have been very great, and his Followers numerous, else 'tis not to be suppos'd that these Noblemen would have yielded so much of the Command and Management of Affairs to him as they did, tho' I believe they did not yet own him either as Guardian of the Kingdom, or their Commander in Chief; but they seem rather to have acted independently on one another, and altogether to have made up but a tumultuary Army, which wanting that Regularity and Subordination, so necessary on the like Occasions, did little or nothing to purpose. 'Tis true, they kept the open Fields, which Sir *William Wallace* alone durst not do; and, say *English* Authors, (b) committed unheard-of Barbarities upon the Persons of those that fell in their Hands, pursuing some even into the Churches, and killing them in those Sanctuaries, the Devotion of these Ages respected, driving the Religious Men from their Cloysters and Livings, tying the Women with Cords, and unmercifully drowning them in Rivers; In a word, cutting off all those of the *English* Nation, for no other Reason, but because they were *English*. So say their Writers, how truly I cannot tell: But, as *Scots* Authors deny, that Sir *William Wallace* did ever put a Clergy-man, unless found in Arms, or a Woman or Child to Death, so 'tis not likely that Bishops and Priests would permit or witness those Indignities done to their own Character, especially when they knew not how soon the very same might be return'd upon their Persons. However,

To suppress this Insurrection, the Earl of *Surrey*, by Orders from his Master King *Edward*, rais'd a considerable Army in the North of *England* (c); but because he had not his Health at the time, he gave the Command of it to one who was glad of the Opportunity to rub off the Affront Sir *William Wallace* had put on him but a little before

A. D. 1297.
Is join'd
by several
great Men.

(a) Tyrrel ubi sup. p. 111. Wallingh. p. 35, 36, Knighton ubi sup. (b) Ibid. (c) Knight. lib. 3. p. 25. &c.

before, the Lord *Henry Percy* his own Nephew. That General march'd straight to *Air*, upon the Head of above 40000 Men; and upon Advice that the *Scots* were encamp'd at *Irvine*, about four Miles off, under the Command of the Bishop of *Glasgow*, the Lord High Steward, *William Douglas*, *Andrew Murray*, and *William Wallace*, he resolv'd to seek them out, and found them cover'd by a Lake on the Front, and probably entrench'd on the Flanks. But 'twas their Misfortune to be miserably divided among themselves; for what Reason History does not tell: This so disheartn'd one *Richard Lundy*, tho otherwise a brave Man, and a Non-juror, that he went over to the *English*, and told them, that he would no longer serve, where nothing but Discord and Contention prevail'd. The Desertion of that Gentleman intimidated the rest into the Terms of Accommodation offer'd by the Lord *Percy*, who upon their Submission (and the Bishop of *Glasgow*, the Earl of *Carrick*, the Lord High Steward, and even the much celebrated *Sir William Douglas* did submit) granted them an Indemnity for all they had done; yet the first and last were immediately confin'd, the Bishop to the Castle of *Roxburgh*, and *Sir William* to that of *Berwick*.

Is abandon'd by some of the Nobility.

Notwithstanding this Piece of Treachery or Cowardice those great Men were guilty of, *Sir William Wallace* and the inferior, but braver Gentry that adher'd to him, stood their Ground. If they enter'd into the Treaty, as the *English* say they did, they did it but to gain Time, but never came to a Conclusion, till they had made a Shift to get off from the dangerous Pass they had been engag'd into, and then taking Advantage of the Earl of *Surrey's* Remissness, who was come to treat with them in Person, reinforc'd their Army, bid him Defiance, fell upon his Rear as he retreated through *Galloway*, plunder'd his Baggage, and kill'd those that guarded it, to the number of 500 Men, Women and Children: But, adds *Henry Knighton*, were pursu'd by a Body of the Army, who kill'd about 1000 of their Numbers.

These Commotions in *Scotland* did not hinder King *Edward* from pursuing his Design to go over to *Flanders*: He thought, that since the Noblemen above mention'd had come to his Peace, and that most Part of the Nobility and Gentry he had last Year carried Prisoners with him to *England*, had oblig'd themselves to endeavour the Pacification of their native Country, and to attend him beyond Seas with their Persons and Power, *Sir William Wallace* would not, with the remaining few, be able to withstand the Army and Garrisons left in *Scotland*. But he was mistaken: Of all those that had been made Prisoners, and were now upon these Conditions liberated, I read of none, but the two *Cumines* of *Buchan* and *Badenach*, that did effectually contribute towards settling the Peace of the Country. Those that went with him to *Flanders* deserted to the *French*, how soon they found an Opportunity; and the Rest, how soon they came Home, revolted to *Sir William Wallace*; that is, they return'd to their Allegiance to King *John*, whom as yet, since the

Is made
Guardian of
the King-
dom, and
Captain-
General of
the Scots Ar-
my:

more righteous Heir (if any such there was) did not set up, all the Loyalists of the Nation still own'd as King. In his Name Sir *William Wallace*, and the Non-jurors with him, had always acted, and now by the unanimous Consent of almost the whole Nation, he was fairly elected and acknowledg'd Guardian of the Kingdom, and Captain-General of the Army, under the most Illustrious King *John*. Some are positive that he had his Commission from that Prince, tho' at the time a Prisoner in the Tower of London. I'm sure, that henceforth he gave Lands, and granted Charters to deserving Persons, particularly to *Scrimgeor of Dudhope*, and that in those he design'd himself *Dux exercitus Scotia*; nay as such, and in Name of King *John*, he gave Protections to Religious Houses in *England*, and safe Conducts to those of the Enemy that wanted to have them. And all Scots Historians are agreed upon the Main, that he was a lawful Magistrate, and, says Bishop *Lesly*, *Omnium suffragiis dux liberandæ patriæ creatus est*: But when he got his Commission from the King, or was elected by the Community, is uncertain: I think about this Time: For now, and not till now, it plainly appear'd, that 'twas possible to retrieve the Malheurs of the Nation; and that he alone seem'd by Nature cut out, and by Providence design'd for the noble End. Those of the highest Quality had been so very mysterious and uncertain in their Conduct, they had so often chang'd Sides, or so formally submitted to the Usurper, that they could not be trusted by the more steady and resolute Gentry, who, perhaps because they had less to lose, dar'd more; and finding themselves and the Country abandon'd, nay, given up, as they had Reason to think, even by those of the Blood Royal, the *Bruces* and *Cumines*, were themselves inclinable, and prevail'd with others, of much the same Humours and Principles with themselves, to trust their All to the try'd Conduct and Courage of one, who, as he had no present Interest to forfeit his Honour, so they were well assur'd, had a Heart equally incapable of being by Dangers terrified, or mollified by Gain. And,

Now Sir *William Wallace* was by the Majority of the Kingdom elected Guardian, he made the Dissenters to know, they must own him as such; whoever did not, he treated as Enemies to their Country, and as Rebels to their King. Neither would he allow that any one should (as but too many do on the like Occasions) ly by and wait for the Event: Who were not willing or forward enough to put their Hands to the Work, he compell'd (a) by Authority and Force: And, says an Author of undoubted Veracity, (b) *oblig'd the greatest of the Nobility to obey his Commands, whether they would or no; or, if they did not, seiz'd upon their Persons, and committed them to Prison*. Thus it appears, that the Nobility, always too regardful of their Estates, were generally the most backward to serve their Country; but they afterwards found, that this was no good Policy: For upon the Ruine of their Families and Fortunes, did the

a) H. Linshed Hist. of Scotl. p. 203. (b) Supplement, ex Scotichron. Maj. continuat. lib. 2 Cap. 28.

more active and braver Gentry rise to that Height of Grandeur and Respect, their Illustrious Posterity are still possess'd of; I speak of the *Douglasses, Grahams, Campbels, Setons, Ramsays, Mutrays, Hays, Boyds, Johnstons, Gordons, Keiths, Crawfords, Scots, Frazers, Kers, Lindsays, &c.* None of all which were as yet dignified with Titles higher than that of Knight: Nor do I find, that any of the Nobility, I mean of the Earls, (for we had as yet no Dukes, Marquesses, &c.) but one *Malcolm* Earl of *Lennox*, did unchangeably adhere to the better Cause. However with these, and such Worthies as these; among whom (for I would willingly omit none that have so well deserv'd of King or Country) I find that *Sir Fergus Barclay, Alexander Scrimgeor, Roger Kilpatrick, Robert Lawder, Alexander Michinleck, Arthur Bisset, John Cleland, Edward Little, Robert Rutherford, Thomas Haliday, John Tinto, Walter Newbigging, Jardan Barde, Adam Curry, Hugh Dundass, Stephen Ireland, Ruthven*, and two Priests, *John Blair* and *Thomas Gray*, were remarkably eminent. With these, I say, the Guardian *Sir William Wallace* seem'd rather to fly over, than to march through all Parts of the Kingdom. All or most Garrisons, terrify'd at the very Sound of his Name, and much more at the Approach of his Army, yielded as soon as he appear'd before their respective Fortresses. He had before this Time recover'd the Countries of *Argyle* and *Lorn*, by the faithful Assistance of *Sir Neil Campbel*; and by that of the Earl of *Lennox*, those about *Stirling* and *Pertb*. From thence marching Northwards, he took, and to save the Charges of keeping them, demolish'd the Castles of *Forfar, Brechin* and *Montrose*, surpris'd *Dunoter* and garrison'd it: And as he came in view of *Aberdeen*, saw it all on a Flame, and soon after found it plunder'd and deserted by the *English*, who had retreated into the Citadel: But, upon Advice that an *English* Army had enter'd the South Parts of *Scotland*, he thought not fit to lose Men or Time in besieging them: He therefore return'd and resolv'd to encounter the Enemy (who he was willing should advance a good Way into the Country) no where but in Places chalk'd out by himself. He sat down in the mean time before the Castle of *Comper* in *Fife*, others say *Dundee*, where he had Intelligence of the nigher Approach of the *English* Generals, the Earl of *Surrey*, and *Hugh de Cressingham*, with an Army of above 40000 Men (a). Upon this he commanded the Burghers upon Pain of Death to continue the Siege he had begun; and himself, with his little but resolute Army, march'd towards *Stirling*, and encamp'd in an advantageous Post, upon a Hill above the Monastery of *Cambuskenneth*. The Enemy lay on the South-side of the *Forth*: And the Generals, willing to bring Matters to an Accommodation without Blood-shed, sent two *Dominican* Friars to that *Robber*, as *Knighton, Pryn, &c.* are pleas'd to call him, *William Wallace*, with Orders to offer Peace; to be sure upon their own Terms. But the Guardian bid them go tell their Officers, " That the *Scots* came not to that Place to sue

His great
Exploits.

S. f f f f f

" for

(a) Tyrel Vol. III. p. 121. Knighton de devent. Angl. lib. 3. p. 2516.

“ for Peace; that they were ready to Fight, and would, how soon attack’d, with their Swords evince, that their Country was Independent and Free. Let them but advance, *added he,* and to their Faces we’ll tell them so much.” This provoking Answer extremely irritated the *English* Generals: They despis’d the Handful of Men they saw before them, and the most presumptuous cry’d out, *They’re all our own, let us instantly charge them.*

Lundy a *Scotsman*, the same, who in the Beginning of the Campaign had deserted to the *English*, oppos’d the Motion: He knew that the Guardian of *Scotland* would not readily fight, without having taken Measures capable to counter-balance the vast Inequality of Numbers: They say, he had not above 10000 Men. *Lundy* was in the Right; for the Bridge over which the Army must pass, was both narrow and weak, and the *Scots* Carpenter, who had a little before been employ’d to mend it, had at the Guardian’s Desire, cut the main Beams of it half through, and thereby made it incapable to support a great Weight. But *Hugh de Cressingham*, King *Edward*’s Treasurer for *Scotland*, was positive in the contrary Opinion: He told the Earl of *Surrey*, That ’twas no Time to dally; nor could he be answerable to squander away the King’s Money to no Purpose. Mov’d by these Expressions, the Earl gave Orders to the Army to march along the Bridge, and Sir *Marmaduke Twenge*, a Gentleman of noted Courage and Resolution, led the Van, and bravely advanc’d to the Foot of the Hill on which the *Scots* were drawn up in Order of Battle. These last did not move, till they saw as many of the Enemy got over, as the Guardian thought they could vanquish, nor did they make a great Opposition to Sir *Marmaduke*, but on the first Onset retreated as if they had fled. He pursu’d hotly, but when at a great Distance from the Bridge, was by one near him, made to take Notice, that none of the *English* Standards were in his Rear, nor was he follow’d by an *English* Cors. The Reason was this, while some of the *Scots* Army seem’d to fly before him, the most Part had taken a by-way to the Bridge, and intercepted his Retreat, nay, which was worse, the Bridge was broken by the Weight of arm’d Passengers, and huge Numbers of them drown’d in the River. This Accident, or rather Stratagem, disheartn’d the whole Army, and all the *English*, (to the number of 5000 Foot, and 100 Horse, says *Knighton*, a very partial Historian, for which Reason we may justly reckon upon a great many more) that had come over the *Forth*, were put to the Sword; only Sir *Marmaduke*, and a very few with him, made the best of their way back to the River, and by Swiming escap’d. How soon that gallant Gentleman had re-join’d the Earl of *Surrey* (who all this while stood on the South-side of the Water, and had had the cutting Mortification to see his Men drown’d and cut to Pieces; without being able to give them Relief) he advis’d him to set Fire to what remain’d of the Bridge, thereby to prevent his being so quickly pursu’d by the victorious *Scots*, as he must otherwise be.

Gains the
Battle of
Stirling.

But this Expedient, tho' very good, was of little Use to himself or his broken Army: For the great Steward of *Scotland* and the Earl of *Lennox* had on purpose posted themselves in an Ambush not far from the *English* Army, and how soon they saw the Event of the Day, they came from behind the Mountains, charg'd the retreating Earl, put him to Flight, and pursu'd him with that Vigour, that he escap'd with Difficulty to *Berwick*: And 'tis observ'd by *English* Historians, (a) that his Horse was so spent with running, that, when put in the Stable of the *Franciscan* Friars, he could eat none. A Proof, I take it; or that this Earl must have been the most notorious Coward in Nature, and that's neither probable nor alledg'd; or that by the admirable Conduct of the Guardian of *Scotland*, his whole Army, consisting of no fewer, perhaps many more than *English* Authors tell us of, must have been intirely cut off, ere they got out of the Kingdom. Among the many *English* and *Welsh* that were slain, the Treasurer *Hugh de Cressingham* was one: Of him, tho' a Priest, his own Country-men also Priests and Monks, give us as ill a Character, as can be imagin'd, and say, that, for his Covetousness and Cruelty, the *Scots* hated him so very heartily, that finding his dead Body after the Battle, they flea'd it, and cut his Skin into Parcels, not with a Design to keep them as Relicks, but to shew them in Derision, and to make Girths, or the like Furniture of them for their Horses.

This glorious Battle, in which no *Scotsman* of Note but one, the brave Sir *Andrew Murray* of *Bothwell* lost his Life, was fought on the 13th. of *September*; and, what always demonstrates how far a Victory may be reckon'd compleat, its Consequences were as great as the Gainers could wish: For no *Englishman* durst stay in *Scotland*, and all those *Scots*; that, for Reasons of Policy or Cowardliness of Temper, had appear'd in the *English* Interest, submitted to the Deliverer of their Country; insomuch, that before the last Day of the Month, all the Strengths in the Kingdom were recover'd, except *Berwick* and *Roxburgh*: Nor did these hold out long, being like the rest, deserted by their Garrisons. And thus, within 14 Months after the King and Kingdom of *Scotland* had been intirely subdu'd, and oblig'd to own a foreign Potentate as their lawful Sovereign and only King, did one single, and till then private unknown Gentleman, without Money or Arms, but what he took from the Enemy, and without Men but a few, whose Souls he animated by the Vigour and Greatness of his own, restore the Nation to its ancient Liberty, and (which was yet more, and scarcely to be expected, considering how many Indignities they had tamely suffer'd, and how servilely their King and Nobles had, during almost ten Years by-past, truck'd under an usurp'd Sovereignty above them) to such an invincible Desire of preserving it to their Posterity, that henceforth no Interest, no Hardships, no Disasters, no Power upon Earth, could make them degenerate so far, as to sit (I don't say Years as

Drives all
the *English*
out of *Scot-*
land.

• S f f f f f •

before)

(a) Knighton *ibid*.

before, but Months, under the Yoke. Nor did he rest satisfied with this,

The Plunder, gain'd at the Battle of *Stirling*, was no doubt considerable, but the two *English* Armies that had enter'd *Scotland* this Summer, and the *Scots* that had rang'd through all Parts of the Kingdom, occasion'd a great Scarcity of all Things necessary to the Subsistence of Men and Horse; and a Famine was with great Reason apprehended. To prevent this Inconvenience, as well as to retaliate Injuries formerly reciv'd, the provident and indefatigable Guardian bethought himself of this Expedient: He issu'd out his Orders (a) commanding all *Scotsmen* that were capable to carry Arms, to be ready to join him by turns, at certain Times and Places condescended upon, and that none might be absent, he had an exact List of all between the Age of sixteen and sixty Years, wherever they liv'd, whether in Shires, Baronies, Burghs or Villages; and in each Village he caus'd a Gibbet to be put up for the more speedy Execution of whoever should presume, or to desert from their Colours, or not to repair to the Army when call'd. Some in and about *Aberdeen* did not at first obey these Commands; for which Reason, he left his Army, then on its March to the Frontiers of *England*, went to *Aberdeen*, caus'd the Delinquents to be hang'd, and with incredible Expedition return'd. The whole Kingdom he divided into Districts, and from each District he could, how soon he pleas'd, draw out as many Men as it contain'd; and those were all with great Order and Nicety Regimented, every three having a fourth over them, whose Orders they were to obey; every nine a tenth, every ninteena twentieth, and so on to hundreds and thousands, &c. Thus having divided and subdivided the whole Nation, and having them all, under the Pain of present Death, oblig'd to Duty and Discipline, he drew together as many as he thought necessary for the Purpose, gave the Command of them under himself to *Andrew Murray*, Sirnam'd the Noble, the Son of that *Andrew Murray* who had but lately been kill'd at *Stirling*, and so enter'd *England* (c) on the 18th of *October*, about six Weeks after the Battle had been fought. The Inhabitants of *Northumberland*, terrified at his Approach, and leaving the whole Country defenceless and naked, went with all their Effects and Families to *Newcastle*. Upon this, the *Scots* Army halted, or rather made a shew of Retreating; which Movement drew back the Country People to their Habitations, and they were all on a sudden surpris'd by the Diligence of the *Scots* Generals, who by detaching Parties from their Army, which lay in the Forrest of *Ruthesbury*, ravag'd the whole Country between *Tine* and *Dervent*, during the Space of twenty three Days. By this Time a Body of fresh Troops was come to the Borders, wherefore some of the former were sent home, and had the Satisfying Pleasure to carry back with

Disciplines
the whole
Nation.

Invasades Eng-
land, and ra-
vages the
North of it.

(a) Supplement. ex *Scotichron.* Maj. ubi sup. *Buchan. Boet.* &c. ubi sup. (b) *Knighton, lib. 3. p. 252 r.* &c. *Tyrrel, Vol. III. p. 122.*

with them to their own Country, the great Plenty they had found in that of their Enemies.

On the 11th of November, the Guardian directed his March to *Carlisle*, and sent a Priest to summon the Place, who, says *Knigh-ton*, discharg'd his Commission in these Terms. "My Master *William* the Conqueror, said he to the Magistrates, desires, that to avoid the Effusion of Blood, you'll surrender your Town and Castle into his Hands, which if you do, he promises to save your Limbs and Effects, otherwise depend upon it, he'll instantly set upon and cut you to Pieces." They ask'd who was the Person he call'd the Conqueror? The same, reply'd he, you call *William Wallace*: To which the Magistrates made answer; "That their Master the King of *England*, had committed the Town and Castle to their Care, and that they were not assur'd that he would take it well, if they should surrender them to another; but that, if *William Wallace* meant to be a Conqueror in good earnest, he might attack them, and enjoy what he should gain. 'Twas their good Luck that he could not, for want of battering Engines, which the shortness of Time and Season of the Year did not allow him to provide. He therefore turn'd aside, march'd through the Forrest of *Inglwood*, laid waste *Berlande* and *Allerdale*, and generally all that Country, as far as *Cockermouth*, not sparing (say some *English* Authors) either Age or Sexe: But this is false, even according to *Knigh-ton* himself, (a) from whom we have some Copies of the Letters of Protection and Safety he gave to religious Houses. I shall for the Satisfaction of the Curious transcribe one of them.

"*William Wallace* and *Andrew Murray*, in Name of the Illustrious Prince *John*, by the Grace of God, King of *Scotland*, and with Consent of the Community of the same Kingdom, Commanders of the Army of the said Kingdom of *Scotland*, to all the Subjects thereof, to whom these Letters may come, Greeting; Know that in Name of the said King, we have taken into his Protection, the Prior and Convent of *Exfeldesham* in *Northumberland*, their Lands, Men, Possessions and Goods, moveable and immovable; wherefore we strictly forbid you to do any Hurt, Mischief or Injury whatever, to their Persons, Lands or Goods, under Pain of Forefeiture of your own Goods and Estates to the King, or to kill any of them under Pain of Death: And we will that these Letters be of Force a whole Year and no longer. Given at *Exfeldesham*, 7th of November.

From *Cockermouth* the Army march'd towards *Newcastle*, and when they came to the Village of *Ryton*, the Inhabitants came out of it, gave them opprobrious Language, and curst them in their Hearing: What gave this Boldness to these People, was the huge Quantity of Water that cover'd them, and over which they thought the *Scots* would not be able to pass. But the *Scots* did pass over and set their Village on Fire. The Inhabitants fled with Precipitation, and the Consternation was general all over the Province. All fled, all lamented

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Gives Let-
ters of Pro-
tection to
religious
Houses.]

their Disasters, and no Body of Men durst so much as offer to appear in the open Fields: Only the Cities of *Durham* and *Newcastle* put themselves in a Posture of Defence; and those in *Newcastle* had the Courage to come out of the Town, but not far, not daring, says *Knigh-ton*, to come to an Engagement, by Reason of the Inequality of their Numbers. Nor did the *Scots* think fit to attack them: They very well knew, that the Town, which they could not take in that Season of the Year, would protect its own Inhabitants. Besides, they had done Mischief enough to their Enemies, and at a cheap Rate purchas'd abundance of Wealth and Glory to themselves. And now they had liv'd upwards of two Months in *England*, and got wherewith to damage *Scotland* for their former Losses, they thought fit to return, and pass the *Christmases* Holy Days in Peace, Plenty and Jollity at Home.

The Fame of *Sir William Wallace*, and of the mighty Successes he had had, first in *Scotland*, and afterwards in *England*, was the Subject of all Mens Discourse, particularly at the Courts of *England* and *France*. *Philip the Fair* heard of it with Joy; and *King Edward* with that grating Displeasure, Men of his Character always conceive, when out-done by those they reckon below themselves. He therefore made haste to conclude the Treaty set on foot between him and *King Philip*; and, in the mean time, to put a Stop to further Progresses, he wrote from *Flanders* (where he still continu'd) to the Prince his Son, and desir'd him to summon a great Council (a) or Parliament of the Nobility, with Orders to promise in his Name, whatever seem'd necessary towards the obtaining their hearty Concurrence in the *Scots* War. They met accordingly: And the King's late Confirmation of the Great Charter, and that of Forrefts being for their Satisfaction read and publish'd, and Sentence of Excommunication denounc'd against all Violators of these Priviledges, the Nation had never obtain'd, but for the Necessity the *Scots* had put upon the King to grant any Thing; so he had thereby a Prospect of reducing them; the Constable and Marshal of *England*, the Earls of *Surrey*, *Glocester* and *Arundel*, and generally all the Earls and Barons of the Kingdom agreed, that within eight Days, all the Forces they could raise, should rendezvous at *Newcastle*. This was done as appointed, and the Army was found to consist of 2000 choice Horse, well arm'd, 2500 light Horse, & of Foot-men above 100000. The Prince and Noblemen above-mention'd set themselves upon their Head, and march'd against the *Scots*, reliev'd the Castle of *Roxburgh*, the Guardian, it seems, had laid Siege to, took in *Berwick*, which being untenable, the *Scots* Garrison had deserted, and there receiv'd Orders from *King Edward* (who was willing to have the Glory of recovering his Conquests by himself, or perhaps fear'd, lest his General the Earl of *Surrey* should, by the Guardian of *Scotland's* inimitable Conduct, be, to *England's* irretrievable Loss, a second Time worsted) to advance no farther, till he himself

A vast Army rais'd in *England*, marches to the Borders against him.

(a) Tyrrel, Vol. III. p. 127, 128.

himself, having now settled his Affairs beyond Seas, should come Home to put an End to those of *Scotland*.

As he had promis'd, so he landed in *England* on the 21st of *March*, and presently sent threatening Letters to the Guardian of *Scotland* (a) and told him amongst other Things, "That he durst not
" have attempted a Revolt in *Scotland*, much less an Invasion upon
" *England*, had he himself been in the Island. Sir *William* receiv'd
his Messenger with that Height that became his present Station, and made answer, "That he had more Reason to take the Opportu-
" nity of King *Edward's* Absence to free his Country from Servi-
" tude, than King *Edward* of the Divisions of a free People, to en-
" slave them. He added, "That he had invaded *England*, to repay
" the Injuries done to *Scotland*: That he design'd to keep his *Easter*
" in the same Country; and that he invited his Highness to that
Feast. He was as good as his Word, and King *Edward* no worse than
his. The last had an Army just ready to receive him: For tho' the Earl
of *Surrey*, and the other Noblemen above-mentioned, (b) had, upon
Receipt of his Letters from *Flanders*, dismiss'd the greater Part of
their numerous Army, yet they retain'd about 1500 select Horse,
and 20000 Foot, who (with such as join'd the King, as he went
North to Head them) seem'd sufficient, not only to render the
Guardian's Design of returning to *England* ineffectual, but to make
him retreat to the Mountains of *Scotland*. Yet he did return, as he
had promis'd, and came in View of the mighty Monarch near *Stan-*
more.

A. D. 1298

His Answer
to King *Ed-*
ward's
Threats.Meets the
King of *Eng-*
land, or his
Army at
Stannore.

That Prince's Army was incredibly numerous, at least it appear'd so to the *Scots*; the Armour of the Souldiers shining, the Dress and Equipage of the Officers and Generals admirably Fine, and the Sound of their Trumpets and Noise of their Drums pompous and terrible. Yet such was the Ardour and Bravery of the *Scottish* Youth, that they sought Leave from the Guardian to go a Pickeering, and to merit (as my Author expresses it, by trying whether all this was Shew or Reality in the *English*) to have golden Spurs; I suppose he means the Honour of Knighthood: But this was a Favour he would by no Means allow; on the contrary, he issu'd out a Proclamation, commanding all Men upon Pain of Death to keep their Ranks, to march with Gravity, and to attempt nothing without his Orders. The King of *England* took Notice of, and admir'd the Order, Discipline, and Countenance of the same Enemy he had hitherto despis'd: He now found, that he had to do with Men that acted with Subordination and Concert, and that they had Leaders perfectly knowing in the Art of War. His own Veteran and experienc'd Souldiers were not yet come over from *Flanders*, and he thought not fit to hazard his own Glory, the Lives of his Nobility, and the Forfeiture of his great Claim, with an undisciplin'd (tho' numerous) Militia, against a small (but fearless and resolute Army) compos'd of as many Heroes as Officers, and of as ma-

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(a) Ex *Scotichron. Maj. lib. 2. cap. 30. Pere D' Orleans liv. 4. p. 483.* (b) *Tyrrel ubi sup.*

ny Officers as Souldiers. He therefore wisely retir'd, and the Guardian of *Scotland*, with no less Prudence, check'd the too forward Courage of his Men, who, seeing the Enemy retreat, would needs follow and charge their Rear. But this was to put all in Danger: A general Engagement might have ensu'd, and that's what he ever avoided, but when by a premeditated Stratagem he was sure to make Odds even. He again upon Pain of Death discharg'd any from stirring from the Order they were in, and told those about him, "That they had done enough, when they but stood their Ground, and kept their Countenance in the Presence of such a Power, as one should have thought, was able to have swallow'd them up: That this was in Effect a Victory, and so much the more Glorious, that they had gain'd it without drawing their Swords. These words being spread through the Army had an agreeable Effect upon all their Minds: The Gentry alighted from their Horses, and all the Army prostrated themselves on the Ground, glorify'd God, and, as the Fashion then was, sung his Praises whom they believ'd to be the Patron of *Scotland*, the Apostle *St. Andrew*; nor did they omit those of *St. Cuthbert*, on whose Feast, and in some Measure by whose Intercession, in their Opinion, their Courage had been inflam'd, and their Enemies intimidated. So says my Voucher above cited, and with him all *Scots* Authors say the same upon the Main: But the *English* tell us nothing of the Matter, and are positive, that their King was not present on this remarkable Occasion. It may be so, tho the *Scots* thought otherwise: But since 'tis own'd, that about this Time an Army of above 100000 Men, headed by the Prince and all the Nobility of *England*, did march to the Borders in Search of the *Scots*, I see no Reason to doubt of their having come in View of one another near *Stanmore*; and 'tis most probable, that the *English* Nobility, finding the Enemy so advantageously Posted, and so well dispos'd to receive them, may have been cautious how, in the King's Absence (who was every Day expected) they should venture upon a decisive Battle. And thus the differing Accounts given us by both Nations, may be reconcil'd.

The Glory of the Guardian *Sir William Wallace* was now at its Height: And as he was become the Admiration of *Europe*, the Terror of *England*, and the Darling of the Gentry and Commonalty of *Scotland*, so he was the Object of the Envy and Fear of the Nobility. (a) They consider'd the Praises heap'd upon him, as so many Reproaches cast upon themselves, and each glorious Action he did, seem'd to reflect Disgrace upon their Cowardice that durst not, or Perfidy that would not do the like. They had numerous Followers and large Estates; and thereby the Means of asserting their own and their Country's Rights, yet had not done it: And a private Gentleman, a second Brother of none of the most opulent Families, destitute of all earthly Assistance, but Courage to dare and

Is envy'd by
the Nobility
of *Scotland*.

Wit

(a) Buchan. Boeth. Holinshed, &c.

Wit to contrive, had taken their Work in Hand, and effected it so successfully, that now he was become their Superior, and, to say the truth, behav'd himself as such: What might he not do afterwards? And whither Fortune might carry a Man of his Spirit, no Body could guess. *John Cumine of Badenach*, and *Robert Bruce Earl of Carrick*, both of the Blood Royal, and both of aspiring Tempers, fear'd he might at last usurp upon their Birth-Right, and set the Crown they had a Title to, on his own Head. These Considerations made the one join openly with the Enemy, and the other ly by, or act but faintly against him. King *Edward* could not be ignorant of this; and he was too Wise not to make Advantage by it: He was not yet ready to return to the Borders in Person; but he had an Army still there, and by his Emissaries (a) he prevail'd with the leading Men in *Galloway* to Revolt in his Favour, and at the same Time *Aymere de Valence*, Earl of *Pembroke*, and *John Psewart*, two of his Generals, made a Shift to penetrate into the Country; or, which is more probable, to make a Descent in *Fife*: But on the 12th of *June*, the Guardian set upon them, at the then spacious and beautiful Forrest of *Black-Ironside*, and kill'd or took Prisoners 1580 of their Men. He lost very few of his own, and none of Note but *Duncan Balfour* Sheriff of *Fife*, the gallant Sir *John Graham* being only wounded.

Battle of
Black-Iron-
side.

This Victory did not hinder the vigilant Enemy from making more Attempts upon the In-land Country; for I find that the same Summer the Guardian was forc'd to break the Bridge of *Perth*, and that at, or near that Place, he defeated the *English* no less than three Times; and in one of these Engagements, their Leader Sir *John Withrington*, was, with a great many of his Party, drown'd in the River. 'Tis probable that King *Edward* had sent a Fleet to the Coasts of *Scotland*, with Orders to harass them, and, when Opportunities offer'd, to make Descents; which while the Guardian endeavour'd to prevent or defeat, his Army on the Borders, in Conjunction with the Rebels of *Galloway*, seiz'd upon some Parts in the South and West. To punish these, and repel those, the Guardian, and with him Sir *John Graham*, Sir *John Menteith*, and *Alexander Scrimgeor* Constable of *Dundee*, march'd Southwards, and having Intelligence, that they had canton'd themselves about *Air*, and that the Barns were fill'd with *English* Souldiers, they advanc'd in the Night upon the Head of a Party of 500 Men, and set them on Fire, so opportunely, that such as awaken'd and escap'd from the devouring Flames, fell upon the Points of the *Scotsmen's* Swords. So says my Author, who by placing this Action in the present Year (contrary to what I have before related from others concerning it) has made it the more uncertain at what Time it was perform'd.

" Thus (continues he) (b) did *Scotland*, by the wonderful Conduct
" and Vigilance of its Guardian, enjoy Peace in the midst of War,
" and the People, guarded by repeated Victories over their Enemies,

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(*) *Scotichron. Maj. lib. 2. cap. 30.* (b) *Ibid. cap. 31.*

" mies, securely cultivated the formerly neglected Soil, and dis-
 " pers'd Plenty over the Land, while, at the same Time, the more
 " Potent Nobles, inebriated with Envy and Jealousy, outwardly
 " profess'd all the Gratitude that was due to the admir'd
 " Achievements of their Deliverer, but privately conspir'd
 " his Ruin: And in order to Effect this, caus'd Rumours to
 " be spread abroad, intimating that he design'd to usurp the
 " Crown; and that, if an Usurper must Reign, a great and mighty
 " Monarch, tho' a Foreigner, was preferable to an Upstart of
 " Yesterday. O strange Fatuity! (*adds he*) Wallace had no Design
 " to be King, but against his own Will had been elected Guardian
 " of the Kingdom; and at a Time, when, unhappy Scotland, thou
 " had not a Head to defend thee, he did it with the Strength of
 " his Arm, and in the Day of Tribulation afforded Relief. Odi-
 " ous Envy! Whence comes it, that Scotsmen are thus over-rul'd
 " by thee? Alas! 'tis natural to most Men, to hate and depress one
 " another, the best Patriots especially, because the best; in this
 " like to Cain, who envy'd Abel; to Rachel, who hated Leah; to Saul,
 " who male-treated David; and to the Scots, who would not suffer
 " themselves to be bless'd by their Wallace.

By this Time the formidable Army King Edward had left in
 Flanders was return'd to England; and he, to strengthen it by the
 Addition of all the Forces that Kingdom, Ireland and Wales could
 raise, had given his Nobles all the Satisfaction they could desire
 (a) with Reference to the Priviledges they still contended for:
 And now their Jealousies being intirely remov'd, they march'd with
 him against the Scots with great Courage and Chearfulness. His
 Army, when muster'd at Roxburgh, amounted in all to 30000 choice
 Horse or Men at Arms, that is, such as were arm'd Cap-a-pe, be-
 sides 4000 light Horse-men, and about 80000 Foot, most Part Irish
 and Welsh. To oppose this terrifying Power, the Guardian of
 Scotland had not above 30000 both Horse and Foot, say all Scots
 Authors; yet they had most probably stood their Ground, disci-
 plin'd and animated as they were, had they been commanded by
 the Guardian alone: But unluckily two Men, brave indeed, but,
 as most Part of the Nobility (*and those that had an immediate*
Dependance upon them generally were) for the Reasons mention'd
 but now, his secret Enemies, divided the Command with him;
 Sir John Cumine of Badenach, and Sir John Stewart of Bonkyll; this
 (b) the Brother of James Lord High Steward of Scotland, and for
 that Reason by some Authors erroneously call'd Stewart of Bute,
 which at that Time was a Part, not of his, but of his eldest Bro-
 ther's Patrimony; and that, the Grand-child of Dervegild the Mo-
 ther of King John, consequently, next to him and his Children, a
 legal Pretender to, if not Heir of the Crown, Both these made it
 their Business to thwart the Designs of the Guardian; yet so far a-
 greed with him, upon the Enemy's Approach, as by his Advice to
 take

take up their Ground in an advantageous Post, to rank their Men orderly in three round Bodies, consisting of Lances, to fill up the Spaces between them with Archers, to place their Horse (because unable to engage the *English*, by far more numerous) in the Rear, and to fortify their Front with Palisadoes stuck in the Ground and ty'd together with Ropes.

Battle of
Falkirk

In this Posture did they ly at *Falkirk*, about seven Miles from *Stirling*, and wait till King *Edward* (after having reduc'd some Castles, and penetrated so far into the Bowels of the Kingdom) came in their View on the 22^d of *July*. And now 'twas, that they should have laid aside their Animosities, and contended about nothing, but who should vanquish or die with the greatest Bravery. They were not so wise: Each of them would have the Honour of going on first upon the Head of the Van; *Wallace*, because Guardian of the Kingdom; *Cumine*, by Reason of his more numerous Vassalage and Royal Birth; and Sir *John Stewart*, because he acted that Day in Place of his absent Brother, the Lord High *Stewart* himself, whose Vassals or Military Tenants, commonly call'd *Brandanes*, would obey no Commands but what he gave them; and he is said to have been so nice upon this Punctilio of Honour, that he upbraided the Guardian to his Face, charg'd him with Ambition and Pride, and compar'd him to the Owl, which, according to the Fable, had nothing that was originally its own, but beg'd a Feather of every Bird, and getting thus to be richly plum'd, pretended to Beauty and Superiority above all others.

'Tis easy to guess what must be the Event of a Battle, begun in such a Juncture of Time. While the fatal Debate was agitated with the greatest Heat, King *Edward*, tho he had that very Morning got a Fall from his Horse and broke two of his Ribs, caus'd sound a Charge: The *Scots* were soon routed, and lost, say they, 10000 Men (fifteen, twenty, nay, 60000, say some of the *English*, with no Shadow of Probability or Truth.) Sir *John Cumine*, with these under his Command, went off without fighting at all; Sir *John Stewart* fought bravely and died honourably, as did all the *Brandanes*: And the Guardian (who in the Beginning of the Action had got no more Leisure, than to go about among the Ranks of his Men, and to make this short Speech to them, *I have brought you to the King, hap that is, fly, if you can*) did all that could be expected from the greatest Commander in the World. Unable or to rescue the *Stewart*, or alone to withstand the prevailing Enemy, by whose Numbers he was very near envelop'd, (for the Earl of *Carrick* made a large Compass about, and was ready to fall on his Rear,) he retreated insensibly, pass'd the little River *Carron*, and by this Means put a Fossy, he knew they durst not attempt to wade or swim over in his Sight, between him and the pursuing Enemy. Thus he sav'd his own Men, and shelter'd such of the *Brandanes* as fled to him. He did more, for by keeping himself in the Rear, and having a constant Eye upon those that were hottest in the Pursuit, he found Means

Sir *William Wallace* makes a noble Retreat from the Battle of *Falkirk*.

to cut off severals of them, particularly, (a) one *Frere Bryan Jay*, a Knight Templar, upon whom he turn'd, and kill'd him in View of most of the Victorious Army. This bold Action made others beware of coming, as the Templar had done, within his Reach.

The Earl of *Carrick* (who, by the Means I have express'd, made the Guardian to retreat; for which Reason, and because of the many Fortes he brought to the Field, he was branded as the main Author of the Losses his Country had sustain'd) was one of those that followed the Chace, and, as the Guardian stood on the one Side of the River, he advanc'd to the opposite Bank, and elevating his Voice, spoke to him, (as most Authours write) to this Purpose. "I'm surpriz'd, said he, Sir William, that you should entertain Thoughts, as 'tis believ'd you do, of attaining to the Crown of *Scotland*, and that, with this Chimerical View, you should thus expose your self to so many Dangers. 'Tis not easy, you find, to resist the King of *England*, he is one of the greatest Princes in the World; and were it otherwise, do you think the *Scots* would suffer you to be their King". The Guardian did not allow him to say more. "No, Reply'd he, my Thoughts did never soar so high, nor do I intend to usurp a Crown, I very well know, my Birth, has given me no Right to, and my Services cannot merit. I only mean to deliver my Country from Oppression and Slavery, and to defend a just Cause you have abandon'd. You, my Lord, whose Rights may entitle you to be King, you ought to protect the Kingdom; 'tis because you do it not, that I must and will, while I breath, endeavour the Defence of that Country I was born to serve, and, if Providence will have it so, to die for. As for you, whose Choice it is, rather to live a Slave, if with Safety of your Life and Fortune, than free, if with the hazard of losing the last; you may continue in the Possession of what you so much value, your large Estate, tho' had you but the Heart to claim the Crown, you might win it with Glory, and wear it with Justice. I can do neither, but what I can I will, live and die a Free-born Subject." This Conversation is thought to have left an indelible Impression upon the Mind of the aspiring Earl: But the Circumstances of Place and Time oblig'd them both to break it off; *Bruce* return'd to the Victorious *Edward*, and *Wallace* continu'd to bring off his Men. He did it with as much Glory, in the Opinion of Discerning People, as when last Year he gain'd (as is evident from the Consequences of both) a greater Battle than that which was now lost. Nevertheless, his Enemies gave then out (no doubt to palliate the Treachery of Sir *John Cumine*, who was known to have fought none at all) and some *Scots* Authours have since written, that Sir *William* behav'd little better than Sir *John*, I mean, that sacrificing his Honour and Country to his Resentment against Sir *John Stewart*, he stood by an idle Spectator, till he saw that brave Man and all about him, cut to Pieces. This, say they, is the only Blot he can be charg'd

His Interview and Conversation with King Robert Bruce.

charg'd with, during the whole Course of his Life. I should say the same Thing, did I see any Reason or good Authority for it. *Blind Harry* may talk what he will, ignorant People may mistake a necessary Retreat, for a giddy Flight; and because *Sir William Wallace* was not the first that engag'd (an Honour flatly refus'd him,) and afterwards when he saw the Day lost, did not engage too far, Prejudice may have reported that he lay by. But, as this is contrary to the Assertion of the best *Scots* Authors, and in particular of *Buchanan*, who are all positive, *That* (to translate the Words (a) of a Learnd *French-man*) *he did nothing derogatory to his Character, was still himself, and that his Valour appear'd in the Combat, and his Prudence in the Retreat*: So no one *English* Historian, for ought I know, says any Thing of the Matter: On the contrary, they always suppose him to have been General of the *Scots* Army, to have drawn it up advantageously, and harangu'd it pithily. Besides, 'tis remarkable, that as *Mackduff* (not the Earl of *Fife*, as our Historians generally say, but (as the more accurate *Mr. David Simson* (b) has it) the Grand-Uncle of *Duncan*, the Earl of that Country fell where) the *Stewarts* commanded; so *Sir John Graham* of *Abercorn*, or *Dundaff*, a Gentleman, who, by Reason of the Oneness, at least Similitude of his Heroick Qualifications with those of *Sir William*, inseparably attach'd to his Interest, Person and Fate, was kill'd on that Side where he fought; another Proof, I take it, that he did not ly by. However, it must be own'd, that in so critical a Juncture, the Guardian stood too much upon the Preeminence of his Post: It was not Time to contend about leading the Van, when the whole Army was just then to be attackt, and he ought to have given way to the Ambition of the Great Ones, when he found them willing to act as became their Quality and Station.

He did it soon after: For by the *Cumine's* Conduct before, and at the Battle, and by the Conversation he had afterwards with the *Bruce*, he plainly understood these Great Men were act'd by meer Jealousy, a Passion not easily check'd; and that both, having a View to the Crown, would always oppose, at least would not heartily concur with one, who, they thought had Merit and Ambition enough to set it on his own Head. To re-unite them, if possible, he resolv'd to undeceive them and the World; and for that End call'd an Assembly of the Nobles at *Perth*, and, to the inexpressible Grief of all that knew the Sincerity of his Intentions, and Disinterestedness of his Soul, laid down his double Commission, of General of the Army, and of Guardian of the Kingdom, reserving nothing to himself of all the Acquisitions he might have made, but a small Party of choise Friends, who, fix'd to his Destiny, devoted themselves to the Service of their Country, and declar'd an eternal War to the *English* wherever they were to be found. *Sir John Cumine*, his greatest Enemy, was, because of his near Relation to King *John*, whom the *Scots* still own'd as their lawful Sovereign, elected Guardian in his Room: And I

Laid down
his Commis-
sion of Guar-
dian.

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learn

(a) *Pere D' Orleans*, liv. IV. p. 492. (b) *Histor. of the Stewarts*, p. 63.

learn from Authentick Records, that not only *William* Bishop of *St. Andrews*, and *Robert Bruce* Earl of *Carrick*, (a) the next Year 1299, but also, that *Sir John Soules*, in the tenth Year of King *John's* Reign, (b) which must needs be in *Anno* 1302, acted in Conjunction with him. So long, nay much longer did these brave Men (*Sir William Wallace's* Example had taught to be so) notwithstanding King *Edward's* so much magnified Victory at *Falkirk*, keep up the Face of a Government in *Scotland*, and maintain the unequal War they were engag'd in, against all the Power of *England, Ireland, Wales* and *Gascony*, tho' Headed by one of the bravest Princes *England* boasts of, and he too at the Time free from actual War with *France* or any other Nation whatever.

To be sure, *Sir William Wallace* was not idle all this Time, but what he did, or where he was, no Author with Certainty relates. Some think that he still continu'd in *Scotland*, and, tho' in a private Station, gave Life and Spirit to the distress'd Government. Others, that he retir'd to *France*, or at this Time, or, according to the *Scotichronicon*, (c) after the glorious Victory obtain'd in the Beginning of the Campaign 1302 by the *Scots* at *Rosline*, when he had Reason to think, his Country stood not so much in need of his Service: That in his Voyage thither, he fought with, and made Prisoner, the famous *French* Pirate, *Thomas de Longeville*, Nick-nam'd the *Red-River*: That he was heartily welcom'd, and very much caress'd by *Philip* the *Fair*; nay some add, by him made Duke of *Guienne*, at least General of the Army he sent to that Province against the *English*: That as in *Scotland*, so in *France*, he did Wonders, that old *Gascon* Songs were made and long after sung to his Praise; and that, to confirm the Truth of all this, many domestick Monuments of *Thomas Longeville*, (who, enamour'd with his Fortitude, follow'd his Fortune, and return'd with him to *Scotland*) as his Sword, Evidences of his Lands, &c. do yet remain, and are preserv'd with great Veneration by his Posterity. I cannot take upon me to ascertain Uncertainties, yet for these Reasons, and because of the great Correspondence kept between the *French* and *Scots*, from the Year 1298 to 1303, and of the Silence both of *Scots* and *English* Authors, who (altho' during all that Time, but for some Intervals of Truce, the War continu'd) particularize none of his Atchievements; I am apt to believe he may have gone over to *France*, and probably with those Ambassadors, the new Guardians, how soon they enter'd upon their Ministry, sent thither to treat about a Peace: If so, I believe no Body will doubt, but that King *Philip* would be very fond to have such a Man by him, a Heroe, and at the same Time, by Nature, Education and Principle, an irreconcilable Enemy to the *English*. 'Tis therefore credible, that he may have design'd to give him the Command of his Army in *Guienne*; but that he actually got that Command, or that he did those Exploits in that Province, that are said to be mention'd in their old Songs, to me does not seem

(a) Foeder. Angl. Tom. II. p. 859. (b) Chartulary of Kelso in Biblioth. Fac. Jur. (c) Chap. 14.

seem probable: The Reason is plain; for the *French* and *English* had no memorable Wars during all this Time; the Truce agreed to in the Beginning of the Year 1298, having been from Time to Time prolong'd, till about *Whitsunday* 1303, when a Peace was finally concluded, to the inexpressible Surprise and Loss of the *Scots*, who were not comprehended in it.

Then it was, and 'twas certainly a very fit Time, that Sir *William Wallace* and his unconquerable Friends appear'd again (where none durst but themselves) in the Fields, and in Opposition (a) to that irresistible Army, upon the Head of which King *Edward* march'd triumphantly through, and a second Time subdu'd the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*; insomuch that, as Mr. *Echard* observes (b), had not Providence, in Favour of that Country, ordain'd some inaccessible Places and natural Strengths, where no Armies could march, or be maintain'd, the *Scots* from this Time, would have probably lost all their ancient Liberties: To these Sir *William Wallace* did retire as before, when he could do no better; but with a Resolution to sally out, how soon he found an Opportunity should offer: And he made no doubt, but that Providence had destin'd him to be once more the Deliverer of his native Country. King *Edward* dreaded it with Reason: That Prince could not, did not, think himself an absolute Conqueror while *Wallace* stood out. But *Wallace* was not, as others, to be aw'd by Fines, Forfeiture or Threats, into Submission; he therefore courted him to his Peace, with large and magnificent Promises of Honours and Wealth, Places and Pensions; (c) but in vain: His constant Answer was, to all that ever spoke to him (and a great many of his most intimate Friends, as well as the Emiffaries of King *Edward*, spoke to him) upon the Head, "That he ow'd his Life to, and would frankly lay it down for his Country: That should all *Scotsmen* but himself submit to the King of *England*, he never would, nor would he give Obedience, or swear Allegiance to any Power, save to the King of *Scotland*, his righteous Sovereign.

Since therefore, nor Threats, nor Bribes, nor Example, nor open Force, nor hidden Stratagem, could conquer the invincible Soul of our *Scots Cato*; the *English Caesar* bethought himself of the only Expedient that yet remain'd unessay'd to subject him. What had been rejected by himself, Preferment and Money, he caus'd offer to some of his fastest Friends, who only knew by what Means he could be surpris'd, and even among them, (who could have thought it?) a *Judas* was found. The Traitor Sir *John Monteth*, one of those he most trusted to, brought a Party of *Englishmen* upon him, as he lurked some where near *Glasgow*, who having apprehended him, carried him, by King *Edward's* Orders, to *London* (d). As this Misfortune, the greatest that, as Matters then stood, could attend the Kingdom of *Scotland*, was inexpressibly grating to all honest Men in

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Sir *William Wallace* appears anew in the Fields A. D. 1303.

Is courted by King *Edward*.

Is betray'd to the *English*. A. D. 1305.

Convoy'd to *London*.

(a) Buchan. ubi sup. Tyrrel Vol. III. p. 153. (b) Book II. p. 320. (c) Buchan. ibid. Scotchron. Maj. lib. i. c. 3. Holinshed. p. 307. (d) John Stow's Chronicle of Engl. p. 209. Speed's Hist. of Great Britain p. 666.

it, so it gave Joy and Pleasure to all Ranks of People in *England*. They now thought the War was at an End, yet could not but pity the hard Fate of so celebrated an Enemy: Huge Numbers of Men, Women and Children, run from all Parts, to wonder upon, and gaze at their illustrious Prisoner, as he was upon the Road. When arriv'd at *London*, he was conducted to, and lodg'd in the House of one *William Delect* in *Fan-Church-Street*. The next Day, which was the 23d of *August*, he was brought on Horse-back to *Westminster*, accompanied by *John Segrave* and *Geffrey Knights*, the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen of the City, with a great many more, both on Horse-back and Foot: In Presence of all whom, he was plac'd on the South Bench of the Great Hall, and, or because they would have the People to believe that he had aspir'd to the Crown of *Scotland*, or because 'twas reported that he had formerly boasted (a very improbable Story) that he had deserv'd to wear a Crown in that Place, he was Crown'd with Laurel. This done, *Sir Peter Malory*, the King's Justice, impeach'd him of Treason: He answer'd, "That a Traitor he never was, nor could he be to the King of *England*. The other Crimes laid to his Charge, as burning of Towns, taking of Castles, killing the *English*, &c. he frankly acknowledg'd: But denied that these were Crimes, as indeed they were not, unless inflexible Loyalty to one's natural Sovereign, with Dependence on whom, and in whose Name he ever acted, Zeal for the just Rights of one's native Country, by the Community of which he was created a Magistrate, and resisting not a lawful Government, but a tyrannical Usurpation, shall be thought to deserve the odious Name. However, these Heroick, and, I humbly conceive (even the highest Flyers and greatest Assertors of *Non-Resistance*, and *Passive Obedience*; much more those, that, by inverting the Text, *Resist for Conscience sake*, will say) Christian Vertues, were voted Crimes: And the Prisoner, *Notwithstanding*, as *Mr Echard* observes, (a) he had never acknowledg'd or submitted to the Laws of *England*, was try'd by them, and condemn'd to be hang'd, drawn and quarter'd, and whilst alive, to have his Bowels and Privities cut out. All which (b) was executed upon him with the utmost Severity, or rather Barbarity: His Head was fix'd upon *London Bridge*, but his four Quarters were sent into *Scotland*, and plac'd over the Gates of as many of the principal Cities of his native Country, for whose Sake he suffer'd (I am apt to believe with *Ballinden*) (c) Martyrdom: For I don't think that he only is a Martyr, that is executed for his Belief in Christ Jesus, he's as much so who chuses to die, rather than to violate the Precepts Christ Jesus has left us: And to say nothing of his Piety towards his Country (a Vertue, by all Authors, prophane as well as sacred, cry'd up to the Skies) nor of his Loyalty to his King, whom he honour'd, even when in Exile and Chains; I'm sure, that had he, as others, but sworn what he did not believe, that the King of *England* was the righteous King

And Executed.

King and superior Lord of *Scotland*, and condescended to acknowledge and serve him as such, he had not lost his Life upon a Scaffold. So that it may truly be said, that he died because he would not be guilty of the Sin of Perjury: And if his Intentions were sincere, which in Charity we ought to suppose, it follows by Consequence, that he died a Martyr. Mr. Speed (a) will not allow him that Title, Yet, he says, *must we think his Country honour'd in him, wishing many the like in our own.* But,

Another like him, I mean, one in all Respects equal to him, I very much doubt if any Country did ever produce. All or most Nations have had their *Cesar's* and *Alexander's*, that is, bold and fortunate Usurpers, Plunderers of the World, and Scourges of Mankind, who, with great and extraordinary Endowments of Body and Mind, have had lucky Opportunities of Undertaking, and visible Assistances towards effecting their ambitious Designs. *Alexander* had a warlike Kingdom *Macedon*, nay, he had all *Greece* at his Command; and when he vanquish'd the *Persians*, he vanquish'd but Women and Eunuchs. *Cesar*, 'tis true, had to do with *Romans*, but then he had *Romans* to assist him, an old Veteran and well disciplin'd victorious Army, against a lazy divided Senate, and an effeminate Youth, *Beaux* that durst not look to the Point of a Spear, lest it should disfigure their Faces: Both had Men and Money, *Wallace* had neither; the one was a King, t'other something more, a Citizen of *Rome*, and by Fortune, Birth, Wealth and Authority, one of the first Order: Whereas *Wallace* was but a private Gentleman, the second Brother of a *Scots* Laird, and he had *Martial England* and mighty *Edward* to fight against, and but some of the Gentry and Commonalty of *Scotland* to back him, nor these neither, till by Exploits, for their Greatness and Singularity incredible, he had wrought them into a Belief, that under his Conduct they were Invincible. In good earnest, who but himself, stated as he was, would have presum'd to entertain so much as a Thought of what he singly undertook, and in less than 14 Months effected? The Freedom of a desolate, dispirited, enslav'd, and (by a Power at least four times as great as its own had ever been, when in the most flourishing Condition) subjected Kingdom. A Modern Critick, (b) speaking of the Folly of *Alexander* the Great, who, capable of being Happy at Home, and, by a wise Administration of making his Subjects so too, went about to make a Wilderness of the Universe, which when he had depopulated, did not yet think that he alone had enough of Room, has this Satyrical Observation upon the Matter, and expresses it (as he is wont to do) inimitably well.

His Character.

*Heureux ! si de son tems pour cent bonnes raisons,
La Macedoine eut eu des petites maisons,
Et qu'un sage Tuteur leut en cette demeure,
Par avis de parens enferme de bonheur.*

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Sure

(a) Loc. cit. (b) Monsieur d'Espreaux,

Sure who would but Form a Project, like that which Sir *William Wallace* not only form'd but perfected, would be thought to deserve the same Censure, and the Wise would send him to raise Structures in *Bedlam*. I own, that all good Men would, if they durst, and that thousands have dar'd, some in vain, as the last of the *Romans*, *Brutus* and *Cassius*; others successfully, as General *Monk*, to attempt the Freedom of their subjected Country: But they had probable Means in their Hands to effect it, and I know none, who, like Sir *William Wallace*, without any Means at all, but such, as he found within himself, ever ventur'd upon an Enterprize, so much, in all probability, Impracticable. 'Tis therefore worth while to enquire what it really was that rais'd him so high above the Level of common Humanity.

He had (a) that Air and Make of Body, that seem to give Right to Command; his Stature was Tall and Majestick, his Strength incredible; his Health not to be shaken by Hunger or Toil; he was broad Coasted, large and broad Shoulder'd and big Bon'd, yet had a pleasant Aspect, and a Countenance always Serene; nor was his Bulk unweildy, tho' Gigantick. These Advantages of the Body made him Superior in Combat to all Men living, and 'twas ordinary in him to fight and defeat three or four at a Time. But the Strength of his Mind was superior even to that of his Body: He had the true Spirit of a Souldier, and such an Inclination to the noble Employment, that he learn'd it without Experience, and his first Essays were really Master-pieces. No Man ever dar'd more than he, yet none was more cautious, or understood better the Arts of Stratagem. Untaught himself, he taught the whole Nation to be Souldiers, and disciplin'd them so nicely, that were it thought fit to copy after his Model, *Scotland* could at any Time afford at least 30000 good Men, ready for any Enterprize whatever, and that without being chargeable to the Government, or depopulating the Country. He was rigorously severe to Offenders, but then he was most obligingly liberal to those under his Command. With the large Booties he often gain'd from the Enemy, he enrich'd every Body but himself, and in the Midst of Dearth and Devastation, brought Plenty from *England* to *Scotland*. Provident and Foreseeing, he was never surpris'd, but by the Villain that betray'd him under Trust. The *English* have tax'd him with barbarous Cruelty in his Way of making War; but, says *Pere D'Orleans*, could the *English* see Vertue in their Enemies, they would acknowledge, that *William Wallace* had much more of the Heroe (such as the *Scots* call him) than of the Robber and Vagabond, as they would fain have him to be thought. *John Blair* his Chaplain, and probably Confessor, who was an Eye Witness to most of his Actions, gives quite another Idea of his Temper: If we may believe him, he never did harm to Women or Children, but, on the contrary, was a Father to Orphans and Widows, a Protector of the Poor and Miserable, a severe

(a) Boet. Bûchan. Lell. ubi sup. Joan. Maj. lib. 4. p. 70. Pere D'Orleans lib. 4. p. 485. Joan. Blair ad Ann. 1299.

a severe Punisher of Robbers and Thieves, a declar'd Enemy to Liers and Cheats, had a great Veneration for the Church and Church-Men, and a Love to his Country, nothing could Equal, but his Hatred and Aversion to the *English*: And for this, I believe, none will blame him that has a Value for Honour, Loyalty and Religion. I say Religion: For altho Revenge, Pride and Ambition, may have mov'd him (which yet we ought not to think) to take Arms against a People that domineer'd with such a tyrannical Sway, over his King, Country, Kindred and Friends; yet we must own that 'twas Religious and Christian in him to die, rather than swear a false Oath. 'Tis a pity we have not a full Account of his Behaviour, when at his Trial, and on the Scaffold. *Scots* Authors could not, and the *English* would not do that Justice to his Memory, which must have left an indeleble Stain upon that of their admir'd King *Edward I.* by whose Orders he was so cruelly, and, I may say, so imprudently executed: For his Death did not, as that Prince imagin'd, ascertain the Subjection of *Scotland*. On the contrary, it exasperated the Nation against him, animated them to Revenge, and occasion'd all the Friends and Admirers of *Sir William Wallace* to acknowledge and fight for the Title of King *Robert Bruce*. This appears evidently from the Fragments we have of *John Blair's* Book; It ends thus. "And here it is to be observ'd, says he, that these three Things concur to immortalize the Name of the noble *Wallace*; his own Innocence, the Tyranny of *Edward*, and the Treachery of *Monteith*. Accurs'd be the Day of *John Monteith's* Nativity, and may his Name be blotted out of the Book of Life. Accurs'd to all Eternity be the inhumane Tyrant that put him to Death, whilst he, the noble Champion of the *Scots*, shall, for the Reward of his Virtue, have Glory without end. Amen.

" *Non Scotus est Christus, cui liber non placet iste.*

I'm a *Scotsman*, yet cannot join in this Prayer with my Author: The Psalms of the Royal Prophet I shall not pretend to interpret; but I'm sure the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour no where allows us to pray our Enemies to Hell. However, this shews how highly the Nation did resent the Death of their Champion: And their Resentment is much more nobly express'd in the following Verses, done, some think, by the same Mr. *Blair*, but in my Opinion with no Probability; which, for their very much and very deservedly admir'd Beauty, I shall transcribe.

*Invida mors tristi Gulielmum funere Vallam,
 — Quæ cuncta tollit, sustulit:
 Et tanto pro cive cinis, pro finibus urna est,
 Frigusque pro lorica obit.*

*Ille quidem terras, loca se inferiora, reliquit:
 At fata factis suppressens,
 Parte sui meliore solum cœlumque pererrat;
 Hoc spiritu, illud gloria.
 At tibi si inscriptum generoso pectus honesto
 Fuisset, hostis proditi
 Artibus, Angles, tuis, in pœnas paritor isse,
 Nec oppidatim spargeret
 Membra viri sacrandæ adytis. Sed scin quid in ista
 Immanitate viceris?
 Ut Vallæ in cunctas oras spargantur & horas
 Laudes, tuumque dedecus.*

The Author of the History of the *Douglasses* has translated these Verses, as follows; and the Reverend Bishop of *Carlisle*, a very good Judge, is of Opinion, that the Translation is no Foil to the Original.

Envious Death, who ruins all,
 Hath wrought the sad lamented Fall
 Of *Wallace*; and no more remains
 Of him, than what an Urn contains.
 Ashes for our Heroe we have,
 He for his Armour a cold Grave:
 He left the Earth, too low a State,
 And by his Acts o'rcame his Fate:
 His Soul Death had not Power to kill,
 His noble Deeds the World do fill,
 With lasting Trophies of his Name.
 O! hadst thou Vertue lov'd or Fame,
 Thou couldst not have insulted so,
 Over a brave, betray'd dead Foe,
Edward, nor seen those Limbs expos'd
 To publick Shame, fit to be clos'd,
 As Relicks, in an holy Shrine:
 But now the Infamy is thine,
 His End Crowns him with glorious Bays,
 And stains the brightest of thy Praise.

The L I F E of
 Sir John Graham
 of A B E R C O R N.

UNLESS I should copy after *Blind Harry*, which, I believe, no Author, that has a mind to be credited, will do, I can say but little of the great Actions; and Life of this Gentleman: But Sir *John Graham* has obtain'd so noble a Character from *Scots* Authors, and those of his Name were then, and have since been, so eminently Loyal, and so deservedly accounted Brave, that, tho' later Times will afterwards afford me ample Opportunities of doing Justice to their Merit, yet I humbly conceive, 'twill not be thought amiss, that I lay hold on this Occasion, to let the World know, that they have been among the earliest Patriots, *Scotland* can boast of.

If Tradition may be credited, they're as ancient as the Restoration of the Monarchy by King *Fergus II.* and derive their Origine from no meaner Personage than the renown'd *Greme*, who govern'd *Scotland* during the Minority of his Grand-child *Eugene II.* fought with the *Romans*, defeated the *Britains*, and, by forcing that mighty Rampart they had rear'd up between the Rivers of *Forth* and *Clyde*, immortaliz'd his name, insomuch, that, to this Day, that Trench is from him call'd *Graham's Dyke*. But should the Rise and Sirname of the *Grahams* be of a more modern Date, yet they must be own'd to be upon Record, as old as most in the Nation. This is evident from the Charter of Foundation of the Abbacy of *Holy-Rood-House* (a) granted by King *David I.* near 600 Years ago, in which *William de Graham* is a witness; as also from other (no less Authentick) Papers still extant in the Custody of their Chief, the present Duke of *Montrose*, (b) which shew, that in the Days of King *William*, Sir *David de Graham* was a great Baron in *Angus*, and elsewhere; and that in those of his Grand-son King *Alexander III.* (c) Sir *Patrick Graham* was Sheriff of *Stirling*, and by that Prince frequently employ'd in foreign Embassies. About the same Time it was, that the gallant Sir *John* was born; and, if we may believe *Blind Harry*, he was the Son of another Sir *John*, Lord or Laird of *Dundaff*. This seems the more probable, because it appears from a Charter

Antiquity
and Origine
of the
Grahams.

Birth of Sir
John Graham.

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granted by King *Robert Bruce*, (a) that the Barony of *Dundaff* was then possess'd by one *Sir David de Graham*. But because none of the Name of *John* are reckon'd among the Ancestors of this *Sir David*, I am more inclinable to believe, with *Mr. David Simson*, (b) who saw Documents for it, that *Sir John* was of the *Grahams* of *Abercorn*, and probably the Possessor of that Barony. However, 'tis not to be doubted, but his Wealth, as his Merit, was considerable. Upon the Account of both, King *Alexander* is said to have made him a Knight at *Berwick*, while his Father was yet alive. That old Gentleman liv'd but too long; for he had the Mortification to see his Country subdu'd, and himself oblig'd to pay Tribute (as my Author expresses it) to the Usurper. This, it seems, was very grating to one of his Temper: But he could not, aged as he was, offer to resist the Fate of the Nation: What he could he did; he encourag'd his Son to join *Sir William Wallace*, and made him swear upon a broad Sword, that while he breath'd, he should serve his Country under the Conduct

He joyns
Sir William
Wallace.

of one that dar'd so confidently to attempt its Freedom. And, Henceforth *Sir William Wallace*, and *Sir John Graham*, were, like *David* and *Jonathan*, intimate Comrads and bosom Friends: Nay, they were rather more inseparable; and *Sir John* is acknowledg'd to have shar'd in all the Victories *Sir William* won, from the first Time he took up Arms, till he laid down his Commission, after the unlucky Battle of *Falkirk*, where the *Graham* was kill'd. We are sure, that they were together at the Engagement of *Black Iron-side*, and at the burning of the *Barns of Air*; and, says *Blind Hary*, at the taking the Castle of *Crawfurd*, the Defeat of the *English* at *Lanerk*, the Battle of *Bigger*: In a word, wherever Danger was to be met with, or Honour gain'd. I shall not mention Uncertainties, but to shew how undoubtedly true 'tis, that the bold Actions and steady Principles of *Sir John Graham*, did deserve to be transmitted to, and imitated by his Posterity, I shall only repeat what all Authors (c) have said of him, which is in short this, *He was of all Scotsmen, next to Sir William Wallace, the bravest and best*; at least the Age he liv'd in thought so: And in Testimony of their Respect to his Memory, gave him this unpolish'd, but expressive Epitaph, still to be seen on his Tomb at *Falkirk*.

*Mente manique potens, & Vallæ fidus Achates,
Conditur hic Gramus, bello interfectus ab Anglis.*

XXII. Jul. 1298.

Blind Hary, tho a bad Historian, is thought no ill Poet for the Age he liv'd in: 'Tis true, he has made a Romance, but has built upon Truth, and the Sallies of his Imagination generally take their Rise from what he heard from Tradition, or was read to him in History. I shall therefore set down what he very justly supposes *Sir*

William

(a) Penes Jacobum Ducem de Montrose. (b) History of the Stewarts. (c) Buchan, Lesly, Boeth, Pere D'Orléans &c. ubi supra.

The LIFE of
Sir Simon Frazer,

Sometime Lieutenant General of the
SCOTS Army.

His Birth
uncertain.

Is carried
Prisoner to
England.

THIS brave Gentleman, so much celebrated by *Scots* Authors, for his Conduct and Gallantry at the Battle of *Rosline*; and (as appears from that inestimable Collection of Records Mr. *Rymer* has oblig'd the World with) so much persecuted by the *English*, upon the Account of his Love to *Scotland*, must needs have been born (of what Parentage, since I cannot positively tell, I shall afterwards endeavour to conjecture) during the Reign of King *Alexander III.* for he was a Man, and, either for his Courage or Quality, or both, remarkable in 1296, when the King and Kingdom of *Scotland* were first subdu'd. That he behav'd as became a true Hearted *Scotsman* on that fatal Occasion, cannot be doubted; since he was one of those Patriots whom King *Edward*, not daring to trust at Home, thought fit to carry along with him to *England*, where he continu'd a close Prisoner about 8 Months, and was not liberated till *June* 1297, when he, and his Cousin *Richard Frazer* (a) did, in Imitation of all others in the same Circumstances, submit to the Conqueror, acknowledge him their Sovereign Lord, and promise, upon their having obtain'd Permission to return to *Scotland*, that they should stay no longer there, than was necessary to equip themselves, in order to attend that Monarch in his design'd Expedition against *France*; and if they should fail in this, they declar'd themselves willing that their Persons, Wives, Families, and all they had in the World, should be at his Mercy. But 'tis certain that they did fail; nor did any *Scotsmen* in those Days believe that forc'd Obligations were binding in Conscience: On the contrary, the best of them were the foremost to break through those Oaths, they thought it more sinful to keep, than to take.

Whether Sir *Simon* was one of those that join'd the Guardian Sir *William Wallace*, upon his Return to *Scotland*, or of those that did go with King *Edward* to *Flanders*, and, when there, deserted to the

French.

(a) Foeder. Angl. Tom. II. p. 769.

French, I cannot tell; this is certain, wherever he was, he gave so many illustrious Proofs of his Zeal for his Country, and his Loyalty to his King, and withal, of his own Merit and Parts, that very soon afterwards he was thought worthy to command the *Scots* Army, or in Conjunction with, or in the Quality of Lieutenant General under the then Guardian of *Scotland*, Sir *John Cumine* younger of *Badenach*. The Guardian could not have pitch'd upon a fitter Colleague: Witness the surprizing Victory they gain'd at *Rosline* over *Ralph Confrey* King *Edward's* Treasurer, and one of the chief Commanders of his Armies.

That General, for ought I can learn from those Records I have else where mention'd, broke the Truce that had been prolong'd from *St. Andrew's* Day the 30th of *November* 1302, till *Easter* 1303, and thinking to surprize the Nation, by Reason of the Truce, secure and defenceless, pass'd the Borders in *February*, upon the Head of 30000 Men, all well arm'd, and for the most Part mounted, for their greater Expedition, on fine Horses. (a) They met with no Opposition on their March, and therefore, for the Convenience of Forrage, and that they might do the greater Mischief by ranging at large, they divided themselves in three Bodies; and so on the 24th of the Month advanc'd to *Rosline* within five Miles of *Edinburgh*, where they encamp'd at a considerable Distance from one another. The *Scots* Generals Sir *John Cumine*, and Sir *Simon Fraser*; upon Advice of their Approach, made haste to draw together all the Forces they could raise, and these amounted to no more than 8, or at most 10000 Men. Nevertheless with these few did they march in one Night near sixteen Miles, from *Bigger* to *Rosline*, with a Design to fall unawares on the Enemy's Camp. They did it with great Cheerfulness and Vigour, and in a very short Time kill'd, took Prisoners, or drove all that were in that Camp back to the second. Where the Alarm being given, every one drew to their Arms, march'd in haste, and came in view of the victorious *Scots*, as they were dividing the Plunder and Prisoners. And now they found they must renew the Combat with fresh Men, and those more Numerous than the former, they had already defeated, they express'd by their Countenances no great Inclination to the Work: But their Officers with short Harangues reassur'd their Courages, kill'd the Prisoners, and with their Arms provided such of their own Numbers as wanted them. A second Engagement ensu'd immediately, and a very fierce one it was, but the *Scots* had again the Advantage, and having laid by their Arms and Head-Pieces, were refreshing their hot and wearied Bodies, and making ready some to eat and some to sleep, when a third Army appear'd at no great Distance. What shall they do? If they fly, they must lose their double Victory; their great Booty, and probably be overtaken and trodden down by the avenging Enemy, who would thereby be encourag'd to pursue them. Their undaunted Commanders went again about among

A. D. 1303

Battle of
Rosline.

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(a) Boeth. Buchan. ubi sup. *Scotichron. Maj. Contin. cap. 1, & 2, lib. 12.*

their Ranks, exhorted them with all the Perswasives they could devise, to stand their Ground to the last; and beg'd they would once more but shew their Faces to Cowards they had already twice defeated, and who, terrified with their amazing Resolution, would not dare to stand their Onset. Animated with these Hopes, mounted on their Enemy's Horses, and arm'd with their Arms, the Scots receiv'd, fought with, and a third Time in one Day intirely routed a fresh Body of brave Men, equal or superior in Numbers to themselves. An Effort of Valour scarcely to be parallel'd in Story, and therefore by the vanquish'd ungenerously lessen'd and mis-represented. The most ingenuous of (a) them tell the Story after this Manner.

“ The Lord *John de Segrave*, Guardian of *Scotland* for King *Edward*, having winter'd at *Berwick*, resolv'd to march into that Kingdom, and wholly to reduce it to the King's Obedience; (and if so, to be sure he set himself upon the Head of no small Army, at least of what Scots Authors call it 30000 Men,) But when early in the Morning they came near *Edinburgh*, the *English* Generals divided the Army into two Battalions; the first was commanded by the Lord *de Segrave* himself, and the second by his Brother, a very valiant Souldier. These Battalions march'd about four Miles distant from each other, but not being aware of an Ambuscade the Scots had laid for them in the Way, they had all of them like to have fallen into it. When it was discover'd, the Lord *Segrave* was advis'd by his Officers to retreat to the next Battalion that was then coming up; but he, thinking that to be a Disparagement to his Honour, rashly declin'd it, and so the Scots proving too hard for him, he was taken Prisoner.----The second Division coming up was likewise routed, and *Robert de Coster* a most valiant Officer was kill'd. Whilst this Engagement happen'd, Sir *Robert Nevil*, that commanded a third Division was at Mass with his Men (it being the first Sunday of *Lent*) but on a sudden hearing that the Scots had the better of it, and that they had taken the General Prisoner, he presently made haste to the Assistance of his Country-Men, where he behav'd himself so gallantly, that he rescu'd the Lord *Segrave* and several other Prisoners, and so procur'd a honourable Retreat, tho not without considerable Loss on the *English* Side.” I shall not offer to diminish the Glory of that brave Man, who is said to have brought off his General; but how an Army, thought capable to reduce all *Scotland*, should be, by a Handful of Scots, wearied with the Fatigue of a long March in the Night, and oblig'd to fight fresh Men thrice in one Day, defeated, and yet said to have made an honourable Retreat, I don't so well understand. 'Tis certain, and I have taken Notice of it elsewhere, that the Valour, express'd on this Occasion by the Scots (b), was admir'd and discours'd of every where at Home and Abroad. Now, Whether

(a) Tyrrel Vol. III. p. 153. (b) Si sciretis quantus honor vobis crevit per diversa mundi Climata de conflictu ultimo habito cum Anglicis, multum gauderetis &c. Foeder. Angl. Tom. II. p. 930. ex Literis Scotor. in Francia legat. ad complices in Scotia.

Whether this famous Victory ought to be ascrib'd to the Guardian Sir *John Cumine*, or to his Collègue in the Command of the Army Sir *Simon Fraser*, I do not determine : Both have no doubt acted very well their respective Parts, but considering how unhand- somely Sir *John* behav'd at *Falkirk*, and how easily he was the next Year 1294, brought to submit to such Terms as King *Edward* pleas'd to impose upon him and the Nation ; I am very apt to believe, that Sir *Simon* was, what the *Scotichronicon* (a) insinuates, the main Instru- ment, not only in gaining this Battle, but also in keeping the Guardian to his Duty during the four Years of his Administration ; and the rather, because I find, that when the one did make his Sub- mission, t'other was at first excluded, (certainly, because of his greater Honesty or Bravery, or both,) from the Advantage of it, (b) and, together with *Thomas Boys*, for three Years banish'd, not only from *Britain* and *Ireland*, but also from *France*. Yet no sooner did King *Robert the Bruce* assert his Title to the Crown, and thereby endeavour to recover his own and the Nation's Rights, but I find Sir *Simon* once more appear upon the Stage, (c) and perhaps with more Glory, (tho no *Scots* Author takes Notice of it) than when he three Times triumph'd in one Day : For at the Battle of *Methven*, the Heroick King *Robert* was by the prevailing Enemy thrice dishors'd, and as often rescu'd and replac'd on the Saddle, by the incomparable Valour and Presence of Mind of Sir *Simon* ; that is, he vanquish'd even when defeated, and of him alone it may be said, that he gain'd three Battles in one Day, and in another three Times preserv'd the Life of his King ; yet could not save his own : For he was then, or not long after that Engagement, so fatal to the Nation and Royal Family, apprehended, and together with one *Walter Logan* convoy'd to *London*, (d) and there for their repeated Acts of Honour and Du- ty, sentenc'd and put to Death. Their joynt Praises Mr. *Johnston* celebrates thus.

Joyss King
Robert Bruce.

Rescues him
at the Battle
of Methven.

His Death.

Ergo nefas servare fidem, fas fallere dextram?
Ergo jugum a patria pellere velle nefas?
Crimen non alio luimus, si crimen in hoc sit,
Crimine sit patriam, sit coluisse fidem.
Non Porfenna refert tibi talia præmia, magne
Scævola: magnanimam laudat in hoste fidem.

I very well know that *Buchanan* attributes the Victory of *Rosline*, not to *Simon*, but to one *John Fraser* ; but as that Author has mista- ken many Things elsewhere, so here I think 'tis plain, that he must needs be in an Error. All other *Scots* Authors I have perus'd con- fute him, and *Simon Fraser* is a Name so often to be met with in the *English* Records and History, and the brave Man, that carried it, was on all Occasions so severely us'd by the Enemy, that in my O- pinion,

His Charac-
ter.

A a a a a a 2

(a) Lib. XII. Cap. i. (b) Tyrrel, Vol. III. p. 157. (c) Matth. Westminst. quoted by Pryn. p. 1123. (d) Buchan. in Vit. Rob. Bruce.

pinton, there's no Room left for a Doubt in the Matter. The few Passages of his memorable Life, and the glorious Death he suffer'd; shew what a hardy resolute and loyal Patriot he was; and if the Continuator of the *Scotchchronicon* (a) may be depended upon, he was not only of a fearless daring Temper, but was also endow'd with all the Qualifications of a good Man; and so indefatigable, in Opposition to the *English*, that for upwards of four Years, that he shar'd the Command of the *Scots* Forces with Sir *John Cumine*, he never ceas'd to harass and plague them by Night and Day.

English Authors do him yet more Justice than the *Scots*: (b) The former say, that these Prisoners that were taken after the Battle of *Methven*, and committed to the Tower of *London*, put all their Confidence in him, and that as they assur'd him to be invincible in Battle, and not to be taken by Surprize; so they were confident that *Scotland* was not lost while he was alive. Nay, one of them, by Name *Herbert Norham*, presum'd so much upon his Courage and Conduct, that he said, He would lay down his own Head upon the Block, when Sir *Simon* should suffer himself to be apprehended. But that Gentleman was hugely surpriz'd, when Sir *Simon* was also brought in Chains to the Tower: The ungrateful Sight reminded him of what he had said, and the Omen was not fallacious; for, on the 8th of September 1306, both he and his Armour-bearer, *Thomas Boys* were carried from the Tower and beheaded. But the Sentence past and executed upon the brave Sir *Simon*, was, by far more severe; he was kept in Fetters, while in the Tower; and the Day of Execution being come, "He was drag'd thro' the Streets as a Traitor, hang'd on a high Gibbet as a Thief, and his Head cut off as a Murderer: Then his Body, after being twenty Days in Derision fix'd to a wooden Horse, was at last consum'd in a Fire, and his Head plac'd hard by that of Sir *William Wallace* on the Bridge of *London*." Than which, in his own Opinion, I dare say, he could receive from his unmerciful Enemies no greater Favour.

Antiquity
of the Name
of *Fraser*.

I have already said, that I know not precisely his Parentage, but I'm very sure it was noble, and I have all the Reason in the World to believe, nay, am told by a very knowing Antiquary (c) and Learn'd Physician, that it may be documented from Charters (d) still extant, that he was Laird or Lord of *Oliver-Castle*, and heretable Sheriff of *Tweddale*; that his Heir Male, probably his own Son, was kill'd at the Battle of *Halidon-hill*; that his great Estate was divided among two Sisters, and that these being nobly married into the illustrious Houses of *Tweddale* and *Wigtoun*, gave occasion to their Posterity to carry the Arms of the *Frasers*, quarter'd with those of the *Hays* and *Fleemings*. Nor was Sir *Simon* himself an Upstart: He was descended, says an old MS. in the Custody of my Lord *Salton*, from *Pierre Fraser* Seigneur de *Troile*, one of the Retinue of those Ambassadors, *Charlemaign* is said to have sent to *Scotland*, about the Year

(a) Ubi supra. (b) Pryn. Tom. III. p. 1126. (c) Doctor *Sinclair* of *Herdmonston*. (d) *Penes March. de Twedd-*
dale.

Year 807, and who, having the good Luck to marry *Euphemia*, only Daughter to *Raam*, King *Achaius's* Favourite, got by her a plentiful Estate in the South. *Boethius* heard not of, or did not believe this Tradition; but he tells us, that the Surname of *Frazer* is as ancient (a) as the Reign of *Malcolm Canmore*; and in that of *Malcolm the Maiden* we find, (b) that one *Simon Frazer* was a Donator to the Abbey of *Kelso*. From him *Sir James Dalrymple* deduces the Succession of the *Frasers* of *Tweddale* (whose principal Seat, he says, was *Oligier-Castle*) down to the Heiress that married *Hay* of *Lochwarret*, the Predecessor of *John* the present Marquess of *Tweddale*. He also tells us from Authentick Records, that in the Reign of King *Robert I.* there were two eminent Gentlemen, the one design'd *Sir Alexander Frazer* of *Touch*, the other, *Sir Alexander Frazer* of *Cowie*. I can give no Account of the Posterity of the first, but I'm sure, the last is still represented by the Lord *Salton*, whose Ancestor, *Sir Alexander Frazer*, the first Laird of *Phlorth* was, (c) to speak in the Terms of Law, upon the 13th Day of *September 1361*, serv'd and retour'd Heir to his Grand-Father, *Alexander* of *Cowie*. *Sir Alexander* the Son (d) had the Honour to marry *Jean Ross*, one of the Co-Heiresses of the Ancient Earls of that Country, and got by her the Lands of *Philorth*, *Kirkton*, &c. From this illustrious Match, is *William* the present Lord *Salton*, lineally descended from Father to Son; (e) being, says *Mr. Alexander Nisbet*, a Gentleman, by Reason of his great Knowledge in Heraldry, very well seen in all our Antiquities, the sixteenth Generation from *Alexander Frazer*, the first Thane of *Cowie*. Besides, it may not be amiss (for I incline to do Justice to all *Scotts* Families so far as I am with Certainty inform'd) to tell in this Place, that, (f) in Right of his Grand-mother *Margaret Abernethy*, Daughter and Heiress to *John* Lord *Salton*, he also represents the Ancient, and in the Days of *Alexander II.* and *III.* so potent, *Abernethies*, that they were rank'd among the foremost in the Nation.

Nor is the House of *Salton* or *Philorth* the only one that may be suppos'd to have been of Kin to, or descended from the Brave *Sir Simon*: 'Tis probable, that the Lady Baroness of *Lovat*, the Representative of that Noble Family, may be descended from *Sir Alexander Frazer* of *Touch*, and certain, that, as she, *Charles* Lord *Frazer*, *Sir Patrick Frazer* of *Dores*, &c. are, by their Matches with the greatest Subjects in *Britain*, very nobly ally'd; so they have, or as Chiefs of their respective Cadets, or as Cadets of the respective Families, from whence they are descended, very great and just Pretensions to Antiquity. I have not seen those Documents, I know they can show, and therefore cannot pretend to give a further Account of them.

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(a) Boet. Less in Vit. Mal. III. (b) Preface to Sir Ja. Dalrymple's Collect. p. 77, 78. (c) Chart. penes Gul. Dom. de Salton. (d) Chart. penes eund. (e) MS. done by Mr. Alexander Nisbet. (f) Act of Parliament 1670

The L I F E of
 Robert Bruce,
 The Ninty Eight King of *Scotland*.

AN *English* Author, *John Speed*, (a) after giving an Account of the Death of *Sir William Wallace*, subjoyns a very candid and just Reflection: "Thus, says he, was King *Edward* possess'd of *Scotland*, which, nevertheless (that the World may see Gods Hand in the translating of Kingdoms, being a Point of his Prerogative) was not long after pluckt from his Son, (he should have said, from himself) and the Calamities which the *Scots* had suffer'd, whelm'd back upon the *English*; which peculiar Art of Divine Providence you will more easily acknowledge, when you shall behold by how naked an Instrument, he rais'd again the *Scottish* Common-wealth out of that Dust, in which, for a little Season, it seem'd to ly buried." Indeed 'tis by God Almighty that Kings reign, and Kingdoms subsist: He may, and sometimes does, for Reasons best known to himself, permit the most legal and righteous Sovereigns to be dethron'd or kept from the Eyes of all, and the Hearts of some of their prejudic'd Subjects, the most flourishing Empires to be overturn'd, and domestick Rebellion or foreign Intrusion, by new made Laws, and false Glosses upon old unjustifiable Precedents declar'd just, lawful and glorious: But for the most Part, such Revolutions as these are but of short Continuance; they're attended with such Calamities, Confusions and Enormities of all Kinds, as at length determine People to shake off the odious Yoke; and the Authors of them, are (to say nothing of the avenging Justice of Heaven) by the Tongues and Pens of impartial Posterity, call'd what they really are, Traitors, Tyrants, Usurpers. No Period of Time gave ever a more pregnant Instance of this Truth, than that of which I now write. King *Edward I.* of *England* had, by the most unjustifiable Means imaginable, enslav'd a Kingdom and dethron'd a King; he, or, which is all one, his Ministers in his Name had most unmercifully tyranniz'd

over

(a) *History of Great Britain*, p. 667.

over both, and by new Laws he himself had made for the Purpose, and by his confident Assertion of old Fables and groundless Allegiances, declar'd and procur'd himself to be, by a vast Majority, acknowledg'd, not only Supream or direct Lord over an Independent Nation, but also just and legal Possessor of an Imperial and Hereditary Crown, some indeed had very good Reason, and others plausible Pretences to contend for, while he alone of all the Competitors, had neither Reason on his Side, nor so much as a Pretence, which without Compulsion could take with any of that People, to whose Sovereignty he pretended; and 'tis not to be conceiv'd, that if he had had but a Pretence, not one Man in a whole Kingdom should have been by fair Means win over to acquiesce in it. Well, what was the Event? He liv'd to see the Crown he so eagerly sought to usurp, set upon the Head of at least a legal Competitor, and afterwards, to repeat the Words of Mr. Speed, *The Calamities which the Scots had suffer'd* (by his Incroachments) *were whelm'd back upon the English*: Nay, his own Son and Heir, a lawful King of England, was by his own Subjects more inhumanely us'd, than he had found in his Heart (as inexorable as he was) to treat one he call'd his Vassal, because once the not unlawful King of Scotland. By this then, *the World may see God's Hand in translating of Kingdoms, being a Point of his Prerogative*; but much more by what follows. I have said, that *John Baliol* was once the not unlawful King of Scotland, I said so, because, (tho I cannot call him an Usurper) for he had certainly a good Right to pretend, yet I cannot own him to have been lawful King: For none can be such, but who has a Right that's clear and by the known Laws of his Predecessors unquestionable; and I shall afterwards make it plain, that his Title was far from being such: Nay, what perhaps may seem surprizing, I shall from Authentick Documents by none, that I know, hitherto taken Notice of, evince, that *Robert Bruce* had more to plead from the Laws of the Kings his Predecessors, than *John Baliol*. However, I still own, that the Controversy was debateable, and therefore God Almighty, *whose Prerogative it is to give and take away Kingdoms, and by whom alone Kings Reign*, would needs decide it himself, and, in Spite of all Opposition, did it in Favour of the Heroick Monarch, whose Life I am about to enter upon.

Amongst the many Normans and French (a), who, by the Grant of their Leader *William the Conqueror*, came to be possess'd of most, if not all the Baronies of England, one *Robert de Brus* was one of the most eminent: Before the Death of that victorious Monarch, he became Owner of no less than forty three Lordships, in the East and West Riding, and of fifty one, in the North Riding of Yorkshire. Besides, he is said to have obtain'd (upon what Account I know not) from the Kings of Scotland, the Lordship of *Annandale*, all the Territory call'd *Estrabanent*, and all the Lands from the Bounds of *Dunegal* and *Stranit*, to the Limits of *Ranulph de Meschines*, then

A. D. 1066.

Genealogy of King Robert Bruce.

His Ancestors when settl'd in Scotland.

B. b. b. b. b. b. 2

Lord

(a) Dugdale's Baronage of Engl. Tom. II. p. 447, 448. &c.

Lord of *Cumberland*, with the same Priviledges granted to him within his Bounds, which *Ranulph* enjoy'd at *Carlile*, or elsewhere in *Cumberland*. As he was an old Acquaintance of King *David I.* so by this Means he became his Vassal, and therefore, together with *Bernard Baliol* before the Battle of the *Standard*, endeavour'd an amicable Agreement between the two Nations: But upon the King's rejecting the Overtures of Peace he had made, he renounc'd his Allegiance to him, and return'd to the *English* Army; yet left his second Son *Robert*, (to whom he had given his Estate in *Scotland*,) with the King of *Scots*. And 'tis observ'd, that that young Gentleman was afterwards made a Prisoner of War by his own Father, while the one fought for the *English* and t'other for the *Scots*.

To *Adam* his eldest Son, he left most of his Lands in *England*; but *Peter* his great Grand-child dying without Issue, the Estate came to be divided, in the Reign of *Henry III.* among four Daughters of the Family, and so thereby the Surname of *Bruce* to perish in that Kingdom. The *Scottish* Branch had better Luck: To *Robert* Lord of *Annandale*, &c. in *Scotland*, and of *Hert* and *Hertness* in *England*, (whom, contrary to Sir *William Dugdale's* Relation, Sir *James Dalrymple*, from Chronological Remarks, very reasonably conjectures to have been rather the Grand-child, than Son, of the above-mention'd *Robert*, who with the Conqueror came from *Normandy*) succeeded *William* his Son by *Isabel* his Lady, a natural Daughter of King *William the Lyon*. To *William* succeeded *Robert* Lord of *Annandale*, &c. the same that married *Isabel*, second Daughter of *David* Earl of *Huntington* and *Garioch*, one of the three Sisters and Co-heirs to *John* surnam'd *Scot* Earl of *Huntington*, and last Count *Palatine* of *Chester*. By this Royal Marriage, the *Bruces* of *Annandale* became the greatest, or at least to be among the greatest Subjects in *Europe*: For besides their Paternal Estate in both Kingdoms, this *Robert*, the second of that Name, Lord of *Annandale*, and the third of the *Scottish* Branch, came to be possess'd of the Mannors of *Uritele* and *Hatefield* in the County of *Essex*, with half the Hundred of *Hatsfield*, in Exchange for those Lands which descended to his Lady, by the Death of the Earl *Palatine* her Brother. To him and her succeeded their Son and Heir *Robert* the third of that Name, and fourth of the *Scottish* Branch: He it was, who afterwards laid Claim to the Crown of *Scotland* in Right of his Mother; and that he did it with great Reason and Justice, I have already promis'd to make good. He was no less considerable by his Personal Merit, than by his Royal Birth and great Wealth: Witness his noble Behaviour at the Battle of *Lewes*, where, together with *John Cumine*, he commanded those *Scots* Auxiliaries, that so much contributed, first to keep, and then to re-place King *Henry III.* of *England* upon his tottering Throne. Yet I have elsewhere own'd, that he did submit, as well as *John Baliol*, and all the other Competitors for the Crown, to King *Edward I.* as to the supream and direct Lord of *Scotland*, and that by Consequence he was not so very Heroick, as *Scots* Authors have made

Robert Bruce
the Competitor, who
he was.

made him: However, when that Controversy was decided to his Prejudice, 'tis certain, that he absolutely refus'd, even in the Presence of King *Edward*, to acquiesce in it: Nor did he ever do Homage to, or acknowledge *John Baliol* as King. And Sir *William Dugdale* says, that to avoid making any such Acknowledgement, immediately after the definitive Sentence was pronounc'd, he gave up all his Lands in *Scotland* to *Robert* the fourth of that Name his eldest Son, begotten on the Sister of *Gilbert de Clare* Earl of *Glocester*, who also refusing to do Homage, he said to another *Robert*, his second Son, begotten on the Daughter of the Earl of *Carrick*, Take thou my Land in *Scotland*. In this Sir *William Dugdale* is certainly mistaken, and with him all *English* and most *Scots* Authors; even the very latest (except Sir *James Dalrymple* and Mr. *Anderson*) that have written upon the Subject. An unpardonable Error in the *Scots*, who, had they been at the least Pains in perusing their own Records, would never have confounded, as they do, *Robert* the Son of the Competitor, with *Robert* the King. This is evident, (a) not only from an original Manifesto, emitted by the Clergy in a National Council holden at *Dundee* in *February* 1309, and from an anterior one of the Bishops to the same Purpose; but also from an Act of Parliament at *St. Andrew's* the 17th of *March* Anno— In all which *Robert Bruce* the Competitor, is, in exprefs Terms, call'd the Grand-father of King *Robert*. *Robert* the Competitor had then but one Son of the same Name of *Robert*; and he must have had him, by the only one Wife he ever had, so far as we know, *Isabel de Clare*, whose Brother *Gilbert* Earl of *Glocester* (b), was the Husband of *Johanna* a Daughter of *England*: So that the *Bruces* were near ally'd, if not of Kin, to the Royal Family of *England*, as well as to that of *Scotland*.

He was the Grand-father, and not the Father of King *Robert Bruce*.

He died (I speak of *Robert* the Competitor) in the Year 1295 (c) in *Annandale*, where, it seems, King *Edward* protected him, notwithstanding he disown'd King *John*; but was buried in the Abbey Church of *Gisbourn* in *Yorkshire*, which his Ancestors had founded. He left his Son *Robert* the fourth, and Grand-child *Robert* the fifth, well resolv'd to pursue his Right to the Crown, how soon an Opportunity should offer. *Robert* the fourth was in his younger Years sign'd with the Cross (d), and was one of those many *Scotsmen* that follow'd *St. Lewis* King of *France* in his last Expedition against the Infidels, and afterwards *Edward I.* then Prince of *England*, to the Holy Land. *Adam de Kilcontach*, (e) Earl of *Carrick*, was also of the Number; but he had the Misfortune to die at *Acon*, leaving behind him a young and beautiful Lady his Widow, whom this *Robert Bruce* afterwards married, and was in her Right, stil'd Earl of *Carrick*. By her he had many Children, of whom afterwards, and the first born was *Robert* the King. This shews, what a groundless Romance we have from *Buchanan* (f) and others, concerning

A. D. 1295.

Robert Bruce the Father of King *Robert*, who he was.

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(a) Append. to Mr. *Anderson's* Hist. Essay N. 12, & 14. (b) *Tyrrel* Vol. III. p. 91. (c) *Tyrrel* ibid. (d) *Dugdale* ubi sup. p. 450. (e) *Chronicle de Melros* ad Ann. 1270. (f) *Lib.* p. 244.

cerning that Marriage. As that Author (valuable only for the Elegancy of his inimitable Style, and his wonderful Knowledge of the Latin Tongue in which he writes) has been intirely ignorant of, or design'dly mis-represented all the most material Circumstances of at least this Part of our History, so here he has not one Word that's true. "For, says he, (a) Alan Lord of Galloway married Margaret, the eldest Daughter of David Earl of Huntington: By her he had three Daughters, the eldest Dornavilla or Dervégild, he married to John Baliol, who was King of Scotland for some Years. An unpardonable mistake, since the Son, and not the Husband of Dervégild was King of Scotland, as all Records testify, and Reason it self tells: For the Husband could have no Pretensions at all; besides he died in 1269 (b), about twenty Years before the Competition. Now comes the Romance; "Robert Bruce, continues he, married Isabel, David's second Daughter, and came to be Earl of Carrick upon this Occasion. Another mistake no less gross, the Husband of Isabel was never Earl of Carrick, nay, nor his Son the Competitor, as I have shew'd but just now. But let us go on. As Martha Countess of Carrick, being now marriageable, and the only Heiress of her Father who died in the Holy War, was a Hunting, she cast her Eye upon Robert Bruce, the most handsome Youth then living, and, affected by his Charms, courtously invited, nay, in some Measure compell'd him to attend her to her Castle, which was near at hand. When there, the Age, Beauty, Birth and Manners of both easily begetting reciprocal Love, they were soon married, but in a private Way.--- This highly incens'd the King, whose Right it was to dispose of the Lady; but by the Mediation of Friends, he was afterwards prevail'd with to pardon them. Out of this Marriage was born Robert Bruce, who was afterwards King of Scotland." Than which Assertion, a greater Absurdity was never committed to Writing: For if so, I mean, if Robert Bruce (who was first married with Isabel Earl David's Daughter, and then came to be Earl of Carrick by a second Match with the Countess of that Country) was Competitor for the Crown, he impudently sought, what neither he, nor the Children he had by his second Wife the Countess of Carrick, had any manner of Right to. But, says Buchanan, Robert the King was born of his Marriage with the Countess of Carrick. It therefore follows, that Robert the King was not so much as come of the Blood Royal, consequently was no King, but a bare-fac'd Usurper. The truth is, Robert the Son of the Competitor, whom, for Distinction sake, I have call'd Robert IV. was he that married the Countess of Carrick. And of this Marriage the King was born.

This Robert, who, as I have said, was in Right of his Wife, stil'd Earl of Carrick, continued all his Lifetime an irreconcilable Enemy

Enemy to King *John*, and a constant Asserter of his own Title to the Crown, and he it must have been, since his Father was dead the Preceding Year, whom King *Edward I.* when he first invaded *Scotland* in 1296, promised to set up in the Room of his as yet reigning Rival: But after the Battle of *Dunbar*, towards the gaining of which the Earl, his Son, and Friends had so much contributed, so far mock'd, as to give this deriding Answer to his Suit, *N'avons nous autre chose a faire que de conquerir des Royaumes pour vous?* This Disappointment was; no doubt, extremely grating; yet he continu'd outwardly in the Interest of King *Edward*, and twice more (a) (I mean in the Year 1299 and 1303) waited upon and fought for him against the *Scots*. For this tis, that *Scots* Authors exclaim and inveigh both against him and his Son with a great Deal of Bitterness. I shall not absolutely vindicate them: They did certainly a great deal of Mischief to their Country; but after all, what could they do? They were really as much *English* as *Scots*. As *Englishmen* they behov'd to own King *Edward* as their lawful Sovereign, and either attend him in his Wars, or forfeit the many Lordships they held of the *English* Crown. 'Tis true, the Estates they had in *Scotland* were no less considerable, and the Figure they could have made at the *Scots* Court much greater; but then they could not acknowledge the Title of King *John*, who, had he prevail'd, would certainly have found Means to rid himself of Pretenders so vexatious as they must be. They chose what was safest, and perhaps no less conscientious, to fight with their undoubted Sovereign King *Edward*, against the Usurper (as they thought) of their Birth-right, King *John*. But King *Edward's* Quarrel was unjust: So was King *John's* in their Opinion; and, as I have said, King *Edward* was their undoubted Sovereign as King of *England*; in his Quarrel, whether just or no, they were oblig'd to fight, or to forfeit their *English* Estate, and to transfer their Allegiance from him, to one whose Business they conceiv'd it would be, to work their Ruine. They therefore did not fight against the *Scots*, but against the Usurper, as they thought, of the *Scottish* Crown. That Crown they believ'd by Right to be their own; and how soon they had a Prospect of attaining to it, they made it appear, that they would defend it with Vigour.

Why the
Bruce
fought with
K. Edward
I. against the
Scots.

The first View they had of this Kind, was in the Beginning of the Campaign 1297, about six Months after the Abdication of their Rival; for then 'twas, that Sir *William Wallace* began to be formidable, being now join'd and assisted in his glorious Design of freeing the Nation, by a great many Persons of the highest Quality. The Bishop of *Carlisle* (b) and Men in Place about him took the Alarm; and fearing lest *Robert Bruce* the younger, who liv'd in the Neighbourhood, should concur with his Country-men in this Insurrection, sent for him and his Followers of *Galloway*, made him swear upon the Altar

Robert Bruce
the Grand-
child of the
Comper
joins Sir
William Wal-
lace.

CCCCCCC

and

(a) Dugdale, ubi sup. p. 450. (b) Knighton, Pryn. p. 730, 731.

and Sword of *St. Thomas*, that he would continue firm in his Allegiance to King *Edward*, and faithfully serve him against all his Enemies, especially the *Scots*. He did as he was desir'd; nay, he did more: For to colour his real Designs, he took up Arms, ravag'd the Lands of his Cousin Sir *William Douglas*, and carried his Wife and Children Prisoners to *Anmandale*; but as he was returning Home, after having convers'd with the revolted *Scots*, he call'd together all the Military Tenants of his Father, who was at the Time in the South of *England*, and told them, "That 'twas true, and they very well knew, that he had lately taken an Oath to King *Edward* at *Carlisle*, but that 'twas extorted from him by Force, and therefore not binding: For, added he, I was compell'd to it by Fear, and swore only with my Tongue, and not at all with my Heart. I am heartily sorry for the Sin I have thereby committed; but as I shall endeavour to merit, so I hope I shall soon obtain the Benefit of Absolution. No Body can hate his own Flesh, at least I cannot, and therefore am resolv'd to join my Relations, and serve my Country. I depend upon your Friendship and Concurrence in this Matter, which if you give, assure your selves I will consider you as my dearest Friends, and most inward Counsellors."

This Speech had not the design'd Effect: For, says *Knighton*, those Men, willing to suffer any thing rather than violate their Faith to King *Edward*, stole away from him that same Night; but he aspiring, as 'twas publickly reported, to the Crown, went and joyn'd that perverse People, and enter'd into a League with the Authors of all the Mischiefe, the Bishop of *Glasgow* and the Lord High Steward of *Scotland*. Henceforth that Perfidious and Infidel Generation of *Scots*, fell foul upon the *English* they met with, kill'd and murder'd them even in Churches and Sanctuaries. So say *English* Authors. And from thence we may justly conclude, what I have said, that the *Bruces*, both Father and Son, had no real Inclination to fight against their Country, but that they would have been the most forward to defend it, upon such Terms as were afterwards thought reasonable, I mean, could they thereby have attain'd to the Crown they had always in their View. That the Father did not appear on this Occasion, but rather withdrew to the South of *England*, is no Matter of Wonder: He thought it unnecessary to occasion the Forefeiture of the whole Family at once, and expedient to wait, till he should see what success his Son might have. It was not great; for notwithstanding King *John* had abdicated, and was an unactive Prisoner in the Tower of *London*, yet Sir *William Wallace*, and with him all the Loyal *Scots*, acted in his Name and for his Advantage. They had own'd him to be their lawful King; and to say the Truth, he was not unlawfully such. He had indeed Un-king'd himself, first by yielding to a Superior, and a second Time, by a plain and absolute Resignation: But all this, they thought, proceeded, not from his free Will and Inclination, but from inward Timidity and outward Compulsion: For which Reason, tho he was so far from being in a Condition to protect

test them, that, on the contrary, he had disown'd them as his Subjects, and in the most Authentick Manner imaginable, given himself and them up to a foreign Potentate; yet they would neither disown nor abandon him. Yet, it seems, all were not unanimous in this Sentiment; for the *Bruce* had his Abettors, and probably the Bishop of *Glasgow* and Lord High Steward, with whom he first treated, were of the Number; but *Wallace* and the Majority oppos'd him: From whence came these Divisions, I have elsewhere mention'd, which render'd this first Attempt towards Liberty abortive. For upon the 9th of July, (a) *Robert Bruce*, James Steward of Scotland, John Stewart his Brother, *Alexander Lindsay*, and even Sir *William Douglas* acknowledged their pretended Crime of Rebellion; and upon certain Terms granted to them by Sir *Henry de Percy* and Sir *Robert Clifford*, King *Edward's* Lieutenants, submitted as before. But because the *Bruce* was more particularly suspected, by Reason of his own and his Father's Pretensions to the Crown of Scotland, (b) the Bishop of *Glasgow*, James Steward of Scotland, and *Alexander Lindsay*, were oblig'd to become Sureties or Cautioners for his after-Behaviour, and did it accordingly, with this Proviso, That he should instantly give up his Daughter *Marjory*, as a Pledge and Guarantee, both for them and himself. King *Edward* (c) ratified this Agreement upon the 14th of the ensuing November, and the next Year 1298, to the great Loss of Scotland, and the unfortunate Degradation of Sir *William Wallace*, he experienc'd the Worth of that Valiant, and now by his own, or at least his Father's Subjects (for such he reckon'd the Scots to be) disoblig'd Pretender. He had offer'd himself to them, and was rejected; He could not conceive for what. King *John* had so often abdicated, that he believ'd that Prince's Name was made use of, only as a Pretence to cover the secret Ambition of some one or other that design'd to usurp both upon the *Baliol* and himself. Sir *William Wallace* was the Person, he, and indeed most of the Nobility suspected: They thought and said, that if an Usurper must reign, (d) the King of England was in all Respects preferable to an Upstart of Yesterday. Prepossess'd with this Jealousy, *Robert Bruce* determin'd himself to serve King *Edward* in good Earnest, and did it but too effectually; for to him chiefly do all Scots Authors attribute their Overthrow at *Falkirk*. While the main Body of the English Army attack'd the Front of that commanded by Sir *William Wallace*, he made a Compass about, and had very nigh envelop'd him, when that great Officer, perceiving his Danger, wisely retreated. *Robert Bruce* pursu'd the Victory with great Eagerness, but, by good Luck, Sir *William Wallace* had set the River of *Carron* between them, and, by this Means, both preserv'd the Remains of his Army, and afforded an Opportunity to the Earl of *Carrick* (for he was so call'd, even at this Time, notwithstanding his Father, who was only such in Right of his Lady, was still alive) of speaking to him. I have in the Life of Sir *William Wallace*, given an Account of their Conversation: It had

Makes his Peace with K. Edward.

A.D. 1298

Becomes jealous of the Designs of Sir William Wallace.

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(a) Feder. Angl. p.774. (b) Ibid. (c) Ibid. p.799. (d) Scotichron. Maj. lib. XI. Cap. 31. Buchan. in vit. Joan. Baliol.

Is unde-
ceiv'd.

A.D. 1299.
Revolts
from King
Edward, and
is made one
of the Guar-
dians of
Scotland.

had a very good Effect ; by it the Earl was in a great Measure undeceiv'd, with Reference to the Intentions of Sir *William* ; and this last, having, not long after, for his and the Nobilities farther Satisfaction, laid down his Commission as Guardian of the Kingdom, he began a second Time to entertain encouraging Thoughts, and to make forward Steps towards gaining the Minds of the Nation over to his and their own true Interest ; or, which was more, he generously sacrific'd his own Interest to that of the Nation. For finding the Nobility unanimous, in the Defence of their Liberties, against King *Edward*, yet still fix'd in their Allegiance to King *John*, he again revolted from the first, and, contrary to what either his Grandfather, his Father, or himself had ever done before, acknowledg'd the latter so far, as to make War, treat of Peace, and, as one of the Guardians of *Scotland*, to act in his Name, and by his Authority. This is evident, tho by no Historian hitherto taken Notice of, from the memorable Letter (a) *William* Bishop of *St. Andrews*, *Robert de Brus* Earl of *Carrick*, and *John Cumine* younger of *Badenach* conjunct Guardians of *Scotland*, In Name of the most Illustrious Prince *John*, by the Grace of God King of *Scotland*, wrote on the 13th of November to King *Edward*, wherein they wish him Health, and the Spirit of Charity towards his Neighbours ; and tell him, that they're willing to accept of the Truce notified to them by the King of *France* ; provided that he also will oblige himself to forbear his Hostilities. Hence it appears, that his Heart was truly *Scots*, and that, in Order to rescue his Country from foreign Oppression, he was now willing to lose, (not only his *English* Estate, but also, with the evident Danger of his Life, which he must have laid down upon a Scaffold, had he fallen into the Hands of King *Edward*) his just Pretensions to the Crown of *Scotland*. For at this Time King *John* was strongly supported both by the Pope and King of *France* : And had the joint Measures, these Potentates as well as the Regency of *Scotland* then pursu'd, prov'd successful, the *Baliol* would have been restor'd, and the *Bruce's* Pretensions thereby irretrievably sunk. What Hand the old Earl his Father had in all these Vicissitudes, I cannot tell ; but he liv'd, says Sir *William Dugdale*, (b) till the thirty second Year of King *Edward's* Reign, that is, till 1303, when, departing this Life, he was buried in the Abbay of *Holmcoltram* in *Cumberland*, being then seiz'd of the Mannors of *Uretele* and *Nothfield* in the County of *Essex*, and of that of *Caldecote* in *Huntington*, with the Advowson of the Church.

A.D. 1303.
His Father
dies.

Is again re-
concil'd to
K. *Edward*.

A.D. 1305.

This Year was fatal to *Scotland* : The Regency (abandon'd by the King of *France*, and over-power'd by the irresistible Forces and Presence of the King of *England*) submitted to those Laws the latter was pleas'd to impose. At what Time the Earl of *Carrick* made his Peace, I cannot tell ; perhaps not long after the Death of his Father, of whose Lands, *Dugdale* tells us that he soon after had Livery. However, 'tis certain, that he did make his Peace, and that in 1305 he was employ'd, (c) together with the Bishop of *Glasgow*, and *John de*

(a) *Fœder. Angl. Tom. II. p. 376.* (b) *Ubi sup.* (c) *Tyrrel, Vol. III. p. 161.*

de Mowbray, who had been concern'd in the late Wars against King *Edward*, as well as he, to treat among themselves, and advise what Methods should be pursu'd, for securing the Peace, and regulating the disorder'd State of their conquer'd Country. To be sure, they did whatever they understood the Conqueror had a Mind to; and what that was, I have told in its proper Place. In short; the Laws of *Scotland* were alter'd; *English*, or rather *Norman* Customs, together with the *French* Language (still us'd at the Bar, and in all publick Writs) were introduc'd; most of the Nobility and Gentry were forfeited, and by way of Favour oblig'd to compound for their Lives and Fortunes; some were exil'd, some imprison'd, and others, particularly Sir *William Wallace*, cruelly executed; all Places of Honour and Trust were fill'd with *Englishmen*; all Fortresses garrison'd by *English* Souldiers, and the whole Kingdom so fairly reduc'd, and so securely sett'd, that to hope for a Change was to look for a Miracle. But,

About nine Years before, the *Scots* Nation had been reduc'd to much the same State, and the Courage of one private Man, Sir *William Wallace*, had freed it from Subjection; and now again, two different Persons were found, *Robert Bruce* Earl of *Carrick*, and the Lord *John Cumine* younger of *Badenach*, both young, valiant, rich, and in all Respects great Men, who pity'd, as *Wallace* had done, the Malheurs of their Country, and entertain'd Thoughts of re-acting his Heroick Part. They had been joint Guardians of the Kingdom, were perfectly well acquainted with the Genius, Disposition, Humour, Strength and Courage of their Country-men, and knew, that had they but a Leader, in whom they had Reason to confide, they would certainly draw their Swords as before, and never put them up, till Death or Victory should indemnify their pretended Crime. But to effect this, 'twas necessary to pitch upon a Leader, in whose Authority all Men would acquiesce; and none such could be found unless he was King. *John Baliol* had again and again unking'd himself; He had declar'd he would never meddle with *Scotland*, nor *Scots* Affairs; His Son Prince *Edward* had (at least virtually) done the same, and both liv'd unactive and unconcern'd, the Father in *France*, and the Son in *England*; insomuch, that had the Nation been yet willing to receive them, 'twas certain, they neither would, nor could accept of the Nation's Offers. But a King, and a lawful King, must be had, and who should be the Man was the Question. *Robert Bruce* Earl of *Carrick* had the same Right to the Crown, his Grand-father had formerly pleaded; and *John Cumine* younger of *Badenach* (by *Buchanan* mistaken for *John Cumine* of *Buchan*) had, in Right of his Mother *Marjory*, (a) the Daughter of *Derwegild*, and Sister of King *John*, the same Title, that abdicated Prince had once contended for; and tho he himself could and did abdicate, (for no Body is oblig'd to be King whether he will or no) yet he could not thereby prejudge his nearest of Kin: So that

Enters into a secret Treaty with Sir *John Cumine*, towards freeing their Country from Servitude.

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the

(a) Lib. Cœnob. de Balmer. Penes Joan. Dom. de Balmerinocht.

the Competition continu'd between the *Bruce* and *Cumine*, what it had formerly been between the *Baliol* and *Bruce*. 'Twas therefore necessary, or that the Community of the Kingdom, whose Right it certainly is, in Cases, like this, unprecedented, to decide the Controversy; (and that was at the Time impracticable, since a free Convention of the Barons and Prelates could not meet) or that one of the Competitors should yield to the other. All *Scots* Authors say (a), that *John Cumine*, whose Title was after all no better than that of the *Baliol*, and might (by Prince *Edward Baliol's* After-pretensions) be intirely extinguish'd, did willingly lay by his Claim, and acquiesce in that of the *Bruce*, (from the very Beginning thought as good, if not better, and now incomparably such, than that even of King *John* himself) but with this Condition, That how soon the *Bruce* should attain to the Crown, the other should have all his private Patrimony (which was very great) made over to him, and be by Consequence next to the King, in Honour, Wealth and Power. This Agreement was very private, yet, that no Room might be left for Repentance, sign'd and seal'd by both Parties. But the *Cumine* had never been cordially sincere; or if he was, he soon repented; and thinking that he had now in his Hands what would effectually remove the Competition, by working the Death of all the Competitors, he treacherously sent his Counter-part of the Indenture to King *Edward*; no doubt with Assurances that he himself had enter'd into it for no other Reason, but to let his Highness know, what Villains the *Bruces* were, and thereby to give him a fair and legal Opportunity of cutting off an aspiring Family, whose very Being was inconsistent with the Peace and Settlement of the united Kingdom. The Earl of *Carrick* had by this Time gone from *Scotland* to the Court of *England*, where, while his Friends, particularly the Bishop of *St. Andrew's*, *Glasgow* and *Murray*, and the Abbots of *Scott* and *Melross*, with whom *English* Authors say (b) that he confederated, were busily employ'd in consulting with the Nobility, and in preparing the Means of a new Revolution, he thought fit for preventing Suspicion to stay some Time. But he soon found that he was actually suspected: For he was commanded not to stir from the City of *London*, secret Guards were appointed to watch him; and when call'd for by King *Edward*, that Prince shewing him the Paper he had subscrib'd, ask'd him, Whether he knew his own Handwriting? He denied the Thing, and offer'd to prove it forg'd. 'Twas a Wonder that his Person was not that Minute secur'd. Perhaps King *Edward* did not give great Credit to what he believ'd might proceed from the Malice or Jealousy of his Rival: Perhaps, as Matters then stood, he did not much fear the Consequences of a Plot so early discover'd; or, which is more probable, he had a Mind to make sure of all his Brothers, before he should let them know that their

Ruin

Is betray'd
by the *Cu-*
mine.

(a) Buchan. in vit. Joan. Baliol. Boeth. & Less. ubi sup. cit. Earbour. Continuator of Ford, &c. (b) Prym. Tom. III. p. 1122.

Ruin was certain. From whatever Motive King *Edward's* Slowness or Indulgence proceeded, he experienc'd, that Affairs of this Nature admit of no Delays; and that it is less inconvenient to arrest the Innocent, who may be releas'd at Pleasure; than to suffer the Guilty (who to be sure are not so easily to be re-taken) to make their Escape. The very same Evening one of his Friends at Court, probably the Earl of *Glocester*, his Brother-in-Law, sent him privately 12 *sterling* Pence, and a Pair of sharp Spurs. King *Edward's* Discourse to him, and much more his own Conscience, made him soon to understand what was meant by that mystical Message; he presently order'd his Horses to be shod backward (for the Ground was cover'd with Snow, consequently the Impression made upon it by the Horses Feet, if not by this Means prevented, might have pointed out to Pursuers the Road he had taken) and with only two Servants about Midnight took his Journey for *Scotland*, with a full Resolution to take instantly upon him both the Title and Authority of King. The Title he could not so soon get, by Reason both of the *English* Garrisons, and Faction of the *Cumines*, who, he was now sure, would thwart the Design; he was therefore oblig'd to begin by exerting the Royal Authority, and did it to its full; if not beyond the utmost Extent it can be allow'd. The seventh Night after his departure from *London*, he arriv'd at his own Castle of *Lochmaben* in *Anmandale*, where he found his Brother *Edward Bruce*, *Robert Fleeming*, *James Lindsay*, *Roger Kilpatrick* and *Thomas Charters*, all brave Men, and before-hand determin'd to pursue any Measures, he, as their lawful Sovereign, should set them upon.

Makes his
Escape from
London.

They had no Time to lose, and therefore resolv'd to go altogether in search of *John Cumine*. As they were on the Road, 'twas the *Bruce's* good Luck to fall upon a second Demonstration of his Enemy's Treachery, by Means of a Courier they met with by Accident, who had but just then been dispatch'd with Letters to the Court of *England*; they were by the same Means inform'd, that he was at *Dumfries*, and found him at his Devotions in the Church of the *Minorites*. Even there, the *Bruce* (because probably the guilty *Cumine* refus'd to come out of the only Sanctuary, in which he thought himself secure) upbraided him with his repeated Falshoods, shew'd him the Letters he had but just then intercepted, and, in the Heat of the Contest, stabb'd him with his Dagger, and leaving him almost dead on the Spot, went out of the Church, and was going again to take Horse, when *James Lindsay* and *Roger Kilpatrick* (surpris'd at the Change they perceiv'd in his Countenance) ask'd him *What he ail'd?* He told them what he had done, and for what Reasons; adding, That he believ'd that the *Cumine* was dead: *What,* reply'd *James Lindsay*, with an Air of Indignation, *have you offer'd to kill him, and have not done it?* With these Words he hastily went off, enter'd the Church, and with repeated Blows put the Matter out of Doubt. He had Reason, if Reason can justify an Action of this Nature: *Sir John Cumine* younger of *Badenach*, was, by his Royal

Kills Sir
John Cumine
of *Badenach*.

Parentage, numerous Vassals, great Alliances and opulent Fortune, next to the *Bruces*, the most powerful Man in the Nation: He had been Guardian of the Kingdom, and aspir'd to be King, consequently was not to be offended by half; and 'twas plain, that as he could never forget the Provocation he had given, so, while alive, he would never forgive the Resentment he had met with. His Cousin Sir *Edward Cumine*, and some others belonging to their Retinue, were, by the *Bruce's* Followers, at the same Time dispatch'd. This Slaughter, of which all *Scots* Authors give much the same Account, was committed on the 10th Day of *February* 1306; but the *English* relate it less favourably to the Actors. They positively deny (a), (and I have not contradicted them, because I believe they're so far in the Right) that King *Edward* was at the Pains, as some of the *Scots* assert, to flatter both the *Bruce* and *Cumine* with the Hopes of a Crown, he had so eagerly sought, and had now obtain'd to himself. Neither do they tell us any thing of Sir *John Cumine's* Breach of Faith to *Robert Bruce*, but say, (what I'm confident was not at the Bottom true) That he was most loyal and faithful to his lately acknowledg'd Sovereign King *Edward*, and would by no Means comply with any Design or Attempt against him; that to sound his Intentions, the Earl of *Carrick* charg'd his two Brothers *Thomas* and *Niel* to desire a Meeting with him in the Cloyster of the *Franciscan* Friars at *Dumfreis*; where, upon Conference, the Lord *Cumine* refusing to join with him in the Design to make him King, he in Revenge stabb'd him: That *Cumine*, finding himself wounded, fled out of the Cloyster to the Church for Sanctuary; but that one of the *Bruce's* Brothers and others of his Retinue, fearing he should recover, follow'd him thither, and murder'd him at the very Altar. It may be so; and be it as it will, the *Bruce*, and those about him, acted like wise Politicians, tho' I'm far from saying, like good Christians. They committed a Murder and Sacrilege, I think, at once; both great, but (as Matters then stood) so necessary Crimes, that, but for them, the otherwise Heroick and lawful Project had not (in all humane Probability) succeeded. But an ill Thing is never to be done in View of a good; and the Almighty stands in no need of our Iniquities, to bring about the Decrees of his Providence. So that whoever would go about to palliate or excuse the Crime I have mention'd, must say, that the *Bruce* (tho' not acknowledg'd as such) was really the supream Magistrate at the Time; that he did not Murder his Equal, but put to Death his Rebellious Subject; and that, if he did it not by the ordinary Forms the Law prescrib'd, he is justifiable by the receiv'd Maxime, that *Necessity has no Law*. Thus Reasons may be found out, to sooth the Consciences of Men, who being themselves the supream Judges, may think, that upon some Occasions they may dispense with ordinary Forms. I wish none were of this Opinion, but I'm sure Instances of the same kind may be given, not only where one Sovereign

(a) *Fyrrel*, Vol. III. p. 168, 169. *Pryn* ubi sup. p. 1122.

reign is absolute, but also in mixt Monarchies and Common-wealths. For, as Sir *William Temple*, by me some where else quoted, judiciously and truly observes, *All Governments are equally absolute, when in the last Resort;* and, as such, have sometimes, contrary to the common Forms of Law, made bold, both with the Fortunes and Lives of Men, they in their Judgment have thought guilty.

But should it be lawful in the Supreme Magistrates, whoever they are, on certain Emergencies, as when the least Delay might overturn a State, to break through, or rather to dispense with usual Forms; it may still be objected against the *Bruce*, that he was not yet the Supreme Magistrate. 'Tis true, he was not crown'd King; but as his after-Coronation gave no new Right, so 'tis certain, that he was at this Time in reality as much King, as when that Ceremony was perform'd; at least, he acted in every thing as such, witness King *Edward* himself, (a) who, in his Writ directed to those of the North of England and Borders of Scotland; dated the 5th of April, 1306, tells them, "That *Robert de Brus*, formerly Earl of *Carrick*, after killing *John Cumine* of *Badenach* his faithful Subject, continu'd to add Crime to Crime, made War in his Land of *Scotland*, seiz'd his Castles and Towns; imprison'd his Sheriffs and Officers, and by usurping the Dominion of *Scotland*, endeavour'd to disinherit him." 'Tis plain then, that he thought himself King, and acted consequentially.

Acts as R.
of Scotland.

The very first Thing he did (b) after having dispatch'd his Enemy, was to seize upon the Horses of the Slain, and to go with his Followers straight to the Castle of *Dumfries*, where King *Edward's* Justices were then sitting, and a few *English* attending them. He did it so quickly, that he surpriz'd them all on a sudden, and as they had the Prudence to surrender themselves to his Mercy, so he had the Generosity to give them a safe Conduct to carry them out of the Kingdom. Another Proof, I take it, that he even then acted as King. The better Part of the Nation consider'd him likewise as such; and the Loyalists, I mean, the very same Men who under the Conduct of Sir *William Wallace*, and afterwards by the Command of the Regency, had fought so long in Favour of the *Baliol*, now resorted from all Parts to, and frankly acknowledg'd the better Title of the *Bruce*. Among the most eminent of those Patriots (c) were, *Malcolm* Earl of *Lennox*, *John* Earl of *Athole*, Sir *Neil Campbell*, Sir *Gilbert Hay*, Sir *Hugh Hay*, Sir *Christopher Seton*, Sir *Thomas Randolph*, Sir *Simon Fraser*, Sir *Alexander Fraser*, Sir *David Barclay*, Sir *Robert Boyd*, Sir *William Haliburton*, *John Somervail*, Sir *David Inchmartin*, *James Douglas*, &c. to whom may be added the Generality of the Clergy, and more particularly the Bishops of *St. Andrews*, *Glasgow* and *Murray*, and the Abbots of *Melross* and *Scoon*. How far these Church-men did approve of, or condemn the Slaughter of the *Cumines*, I cannot tell: 'Tis probable, that if they did not approve of it as legal, yet they were soon brought to excuse it as necessary; and that

A. D. 1306.
Is join'd by
the loyal
Gentry.

• E e e e e e 2

they

(a) Foeder. Ang. Tom. II. p. 988. (b) Tyrrel, Vol. III, p. 168. (c) Barbour, Edit. Glosg. 1672, p. 22.

they made no great Difficulty to grant Absolution for a Sin, one of their Number, the Bishop of *Murray*, if we may credit King *Edward*, (a) consented to, and probably call'd an Act of Justice. *Scots* Authors generally say; (b) that how soon the Thing was done, the *Bruce* su'd for, and obtain'd Absolution from the Pope. I doubt not, but to amuse the Vulgar, 'twas given out, so at the Time; but the Truth is, he contented himself (and he was in the Right) with the Intrinick Power of the National Church; and, if he did repent, we're very sure, that the only Forgiver of Trespässes ratified in Heaven the Absolutory Sentence pronounc'd by his Ministers in *Scotland*.

To the then Pope he could not apply, and if he had, he had done it in vain: (c) *Berteran de Got*, Arch-bishop of *Bourdeaux*, a *Gascon*, and a Subject to the King of *England*, had been, under the Name of *Clement V.* but lately promoted to the See of *Rome*. He was by Consequence no Friend to King *Edward's* Enemies, and that Politick Monarch left nothing undone to fix him in his Interests: He sent him great Presents, and, which was yet more winning, flatter'd him with Hopes of setting himself or the Prince his Son, upon the Head of a Grand Crusade, towards reconquering the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*: And the Pope, in Return to his high Compliments, and to encourage his Zeal in the Prosecution of a Work, which, if effected during his Pontificate and by his Endeavours, would prove so honourable to his Memory, granted to King *Edward*, for several Years, a tenth out of all Ecclesiastical Benefices in *England*, *Scotland*, *Wales* and *Ireland*: But those Revenues, tho' by his Holiness design'd for the Relief of the Holy Land, were, says Mr. *Tyrrel*, by King *Edward*, diverted for his own private Occasions, and principally, no doubt, to quell the Rebellion in *Scotland*; for so did he and his Partisans ever mis-call the just Defence made by the *Scots* against his Encroachments. And now he made loud Complaints of the horrid Murder committed at the very Altar by the Earl of *Carrick*; protested that, but for that Rebellion, he would instantly set about his design'd Expedition against the Enemies of the Cross, and so far prevail'd with the favourable Pontiff (who, by the By, resided still at *Bourdeaux*, and was by Consequence inaccessible to *Scots* Envoys or Remonstrances) that on the 18th of *May* a Bull was directed (d) to *English* Bishops, with Orders to excommunicate *Robert Bruce* Earl of *Carrick*, for his Sacrilege and Homicide; to put his Lands, and these of his Accomplices under Interdict, and upon the same Penalty to forbid all Persons to favour, harbour or follow him; till, by his Repentance and Satisfaction, he should merit the Benefit of Absolution. His Holiness was so prudent or so just, as not to mention his being a Rebel, or offer to decide the Question of Right. Nay, he was so cautious, as to desire the Bishops (to whom the Bull was directed) to enquire before giving Sentence, Whether 'twas really true, that

Is Excommunicated
by the Pope.

that the Earl had committed Murther and Sacrilege. But these Bishops were *Englishmen*, and had they been obey'd, I mean, had none dar'd to favour, harbour or follow him, he had certainly been undone. But even that Age, we see, knew better Things. For,

Before this Time, the Earl of *Carrick*, satisfied in his own Conscience of the Justice of his Cause, and of the Power confer'd upon his own well inform'd and lawfully ordain'd Confessor, and consequently careless of what the misinform'd, prejudic'd, or perhaps partial Pontiff might do, had, with all the Expedition that could be us'd, set the Crown upon his Head. The Ceremony; say *Engish* Authors,

(a) was perform'd twice in the Abbay of *Scoon*; first, upon the Feast of the Annunciation of our Lady, in Presence of two Earls, two Bishops, that of *St. Andrews* and that of *Glasgow*, the Abbot of *Scoon*, *John of Athole*, *John de Menteith*, and a great many Knights; and eight Days after, being *Palm Sunday*, the 27th of *March*, it was with greater Formality repeated: A little Crown of Gold, (b) made for the Purpose (for it seems that the ancient Crown had been some

Is crown'd King.

Years before carred off, as were all the memorable Monuments of the Nation's Liberty, to *England*) was set on the King's Head by the Countess of *Buchan*, in the Absence and Place of her Brother the Earl of *Fife*, to whom this Office belong'd by Hereditary Right, and the Priviledges of his Family were thought so sacred and essential, that his Sister was, for preserving them, oblig'd to steal away with great Privacy from her Husband. This last was of the Name of

Cumine, and (as all his Clan, Kindred and Friends) an open declar'd Enemy to the new King; for which Reason his Loyal Lady not only stole away from him, but also carried off all his War-Horses along with her: Hence the Barbarous Usage she afterwards met with by King *Edward's* Orders, and hence the infamous Name of Adulterers

fcurrilously given her by the *English*, (c) who without any Ground, at least so far as I can discover, say, *That possess'd with Lust, and shamefully enamour'd with the Air and Shapes of the Mad-man she crown'd, she deserted and dishonour'd her Husband's Bed.* As if no vertuous Woman could be found of a Genius capable to prefer her Duty to her Inclination, or the Father of her Country to that of her Children.

Is calumniated by English Authors.

They add, with equal Probability, and no less Malice, that when the Ceremony of the Coronation was over, and the King return'd to his Lodgings, he said to his Wife, "That Yesterday he was

"but a Earl and she only a Countess, but that henceforth, he was a King and she a Queen. Alas! reply'd she, I'm affraid your Reign shall beas short as the ensuing Summer; or like to a Flower of the Spring, flourishing and beautiful to Day, and to Morrow nothing. No

less can be expected from your Perjury and Breach of Faith, and no Wonder, if by usurping the Title of King, you come to forfeit even that of Earl. Upon this, the *Mad-man*, (so do the same

Authors call him) turn'd furious: He drew his Sword, and had he not been by the By-standers oppos'd, would have kill'd his Wife.

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How-

(a) Pryn. Tom. III. p. 1122. (b) Foeder. Angl. Tom. II. p. 1048. (c) Pryn. ibid.

“ However, he sent her a packing to her Father, the Earl of Ulster, in Ireland, and he remitted her to the King of England?— An impudent Calumny, none but Mr. Pryn; or one of his Kidney would have been at the Trouble to have repeated, much less to have given for a Truth. The Queen was more dutiful, and the King had more Judgment, than to betray so much Vanity, and more Honour than to act so mean and so brutal an Extravagance.

When he caus'd the Diadem to be set on his Head, he had no doubt, good enough Opinion of his Parts, his Fortune and Cause; to hope he would be able to restore it to its ancient Lustre: His Subjects had the same Thoughts; but he was at first most unhappy, and most of them, judging of future by present Events, unsteady. To say the Truth, few or none in the World, besides himself, could have seen the Turn his Affairs took in the Beginning, and yet have the Courage to look for a fortunate Issue. The Cumines were dispersed all over the Kingdom, and their fast Friends, the Earls of March and Angus, the Lord Lorn, the Lord Abernethy, the Lord Brechin, the Lord Soules, Duncan Mackdougall, &c. commanded the most Part of Galloway, the Merse, the Western Highlands, Angus, &c. in so much, that there were very nigh as many Rebels in the Nation, as Loyalists; but Scots Rebels, tho' more numerous, are seldom observ'd to stand their Ground, in Opposition to a Loyal Party, ever by their own Honesty encourag'd, and never, as the former by a secret Sense of their Guilt intimidated. Wherefore the King had certainly made quick Work with them, had he had none else to oppose him. He began with these of Galloway (a) whose Country he ravag'd, and laid Siege to I know not what Castle, which held out some Time, in Hopes of being succour'd from Carlisle.

In the mean time King Edward was not idle: He had now reign'd and triumph'd thirty five Years, was sixty five old, an Age that requir'd Rest, and he had flatter'd himself, that henceforth he should sit and sleep securely in the Shade of his Laurels: From Scotland at least; (so often over-run and twice subdu'd by his Arms) he expected nothing but Peace and Compliance; and it gall'd him to the very Heart, to think that so much Treasure and Blood had been mis-spent, such and so numerous Difficulties conquer'd in vain; and that the Title of Conqueror, he had so long and so indefatigably struggl'd to gain, should, even in his own Life-time, be effac'd. He resolv'd it should not be so, and therefore made haste to send (b) Aymer de Valence Earl of Pembroke, with Robert Clifford and Henry Percy into Scotland, upon the Head of an Army sufficient to crush the threatenng Insurrection in the Bud. But lest these Generals, as all others he had formerly employ'd in the same Service, should fail of Success, he determin'd himself to follow in Person; not doubting but that he, and he alone, was destin'd to curb that proud, and, as he call'd them, perfidious People. With this View, he summon'd all his Forces to rendezvous at Carlisle fifteen Days after Mid-summer; and to shew how earnest

Is oppos'd
by a great
Army of
Scots.

King Edward makes
great Preparations
against King
Robert Bruce.

(a) Tyrrel, Vol. III. p. 171. (b) Tyrrel, Vol. III. p. 171, 172. Echard, Book II. p. 321.

earnest he was in the Matter; and how very much he had that Expedition at Heart, he call'd by publick Proclamation all the Youth of the Kingdom that had Right to be Knights, and could live up to their Quality, to appear at *Westminster* on the Feast of *Pentecost*, in order to receive that Military Honour, and the Ornaments suitable to it. They came in such Numbers; that, because the Royal Palace could not receive them, they were fain to cut down the Apple Trees in the Orchard of the New-Temple. In it these intended Knights pitch'd their Pavilions, and in the Church belonging to it kept their Vigil. The Prince of *Wales* did the like in the Abbay Church of *Westminster* with a glorious Attendance of young Noblemen of the highest Quality. The next Day the King Knighted the Prince, and out of his own Wardrobe provided three hundred young Gentlemen, the Sons of Earls, Barons, &c. with Scarlet Cloath, fine Linnen, Belts embroider'd with Gold, &c. and the Prince, so soon as he himself receiv'd this Honour, went to the Abbay Church to confer the same upon his Companions. When he return'd to the King with this noble Retinue, that Monarch made a solemn Vow in their Presence, that he would march with them in Person to revenge the Death of the Lord *John Cumine*, and to punish the Perfidy of the *Scots*, adjuring the Prince and all the great Men there present, by the Fealty they ow'd him, that if he should chance to die before he could effect his intended Expedition, they should carry his Corps with them into *Scotland* (a *Bizarre*, and in my Opinion, irreligious Command, by which he betray'd a great deal of Vanity and an unrelenting Malice) nor should bury it, till a compleat Victory was obtain'd over that perfidious Usurper, and his perjurd Nation.

This mighty Parade, and zealous Incentives to Wrath, had the design'd Effect: All the Nation was thereby affected with the same Spirit of Revenge and Hatred, that possess'd their King. The People, the Clergy, the Merchants, contributed largely towards the Charges of the Prince; and all the Nobility promis'd, upon Honour and Conscience, to perform his Highness's Commands, whether he liv'd or died. Nor were the *Scots* (I mean those that adher'd to the *Cumines*) less animated against King *Robert*: They strove to out-do the *English* in their Forwardness to ruine him: And there was no Contest between them but one, and it was, who should fight against him with greatest Fury. Their united Forces, under the Command of the Earl of *Pembroke*, surpriz'd the King and his small Army at *Methwen* in the Night, and, before he could put his Men in a Posture of Defence, forc'd and made themselves Masters of the Camp. The Slaughter, say *Scots* Authors, was not great; for the raw and unexperienc'd Commonalty presently fled and were not pursu'd: The Reason was this. The King and the Gentry about him, stood their Ground and fought but too long and too well; insomuch that being on all Sides envelop'd, 'twas a Wonder that any of them got off. The King was thrice dismounted from his

Battle of
Methwen.

King Robert
Bruce dis-
hors'd, and
very near
taken.

Horse, and as often re-mounted by the unexampl'd Gallantry of Sir *Simon Fraser*. Nay, (says *John Barbour* (a), a very valuable Author,) he was very nigh being made a Prisoner by Sir *Philip Morbray*, a Scotsman, by whose Contrivance the whole Scheme of that Engagement had been laid. The Scots Cavalry had disguis'd themselves by putting on Linnen Scarfs or Shirts above their Armour, that by this Means they might know one another in the Dark, and be unknown to the Enemy; but it seems that Contrivance did not hinder Sir *Philip* from discovering the King; He seis'd the Bridle of his Horse, and cry'd out, *Help, help, I have the new made King*. Sir *Christopher Seton*, by good Luck was at Hand, and had the Honour to rescue his Master. At length the Horse having an Eye upon one another, made a great and successful Effort to get through the Squadrons of the prevailing Enemy, yet severals of them were taken, namely, the young Sir *Thomas Randolph*, Sir *Alexander Fraser*, Sir *David Barclay*, Sir *David Inchmartin*, Sir *Hugh Hay*, Sir *John Somervail*, one *Hutting*, by English Authors (b) design'd the Standard-Bearer of the Mock-King, and one *Hugh* his Chaplain. All these, add they, and several others, they scorn to vilify their Writings by naming, were immediately hang'd, and the Priest, because such, was made to shew the Way to the rest. Some nevertheless, as Sir *Thomas Randolph* were spar'd; but then they were constrain'd to take an Oath of Fidelity to the King of England.

Elyes to the
Highlands.

The whole Kingdom was by this unhappy Essay extremely discourag'd: The Commonalty, a Set of Men never to be depended upon by the vanquish'd, retir'd to their respective Habitations, and submitted anew to the Yoke, they conceiv'd it impossible to shake off: And the King himself, with no more than 500 Men, with great Difficulty escap'd to the Shire of *Argyle*, where he propos'd to himself, or to lurk for some Time, with his Brother-in-law Sir *Neil Cambel*, or by the Assistance of that brave Gentleman and his worthy Friends to recruit his shatter'd Army: But if he had a trusty Friend, he had also an inveterate and more powerful Enemy before him, *John Lord Lorn*, a near Relation to the slaughter'd *Cumine*.

That Lord, upon Intelligence that the King was in the Neighbourhood, gather'd together about 1000 Foot all arm'd with Axes, which in that Mountainous Country, gave them a great Advantage over the Horse: They met at a Place, call'd *Dalree*, where the Highland-men made it their Business to strike at and kill the Horses of the Loyalists, and thereby to dis-enable their Riders. The King perceiving this, and willing to preserve the Lives of that Handful of Gentry on whose Loyalty and Courage he could only rely, commanded them to ride off to a Strength at no great Distance. They obey'd, and he himself is said to have been the last Man upon their Rear, and to have often fac'd about, as Sir *William Wallace* had done before at *Falkirk*, and with his own Hand to have cut off severals of the

(a) P. 27. (b) Matth. Weikminkt. Walling. cited by Pryn Tom. III. p. 112.

the most forward to pursue : Among the rest, three Brothers of the Name of *Mackindorset*, who, in a narrow Pass betwixt a Lake and a steep Hill, thought to have over-taken and kill'd him. This extraordinary Piece of Courage so charm'd one of his Enemies, the Baron *Macknaughtan*, that, to the great Displeasure of the Lord *Lorn*, it gain'd him over to favour the Royal Cause. But,

The Royal Cause seem'd quite undone, and that small Party that had till now kept together, beset with Enemies on all Sides, and miserably staraitn'd for Want of all the Necessaries of Life, found it impracticable to do so any longer. For which Reason, the King thought fit to send the Queen his Wife, together with some other Ladies that waited upon her, and his own Brother *Sir Neil Bruce*, and the Earl of *Athole*, to the strong Castle of *Kildrimmy* in *Mar.* With her he also sent away all the Horses that belong'd to himself and his Retinue, and with only 200 Men wander'd through, and lurk'd among the Mountains; but not long. For even there he was not secure, nor could these wild Places Mankind had never inhabited, either afford Subsistence to his few remaining Friends, or guard him against the diligent Search made for him by his indefatigable Enemies. One stated as he was, cannot be too lonely : As there was a *Judas* among twelve, so another *Menteith* might have been found among two hundred. He therefore dismiss'd even those few Followers, and, says *Buchanan*, continu'd to be attended with only two of his oldest and fastest Friends, *Malcolm* Earl of *Lennox* and *Gilbert Hay*; Names, adds *Pere D' Orleans*, History is so much the more oblig'd to preserve and transmit to Posterity, because Friends of their Character are so seldom to be met with. But, to say the truth, some others prov'd no less useful, and by Consequence were as faithful as they. *Sir Neil Campbel* left him for some Time, but 'twas to provide Victuals and Shipping for his Use. And now Winter was drawing on, and the Main-land untenable, he retir'd to the Isles, where *Angus* one of their Lords receiv'd him kindly and entertain'd him honourably. From thence he came to *Kintyre* with some Islanders in his Company (a), about the beginning of *October*, and, while there, sent some Trustees to his Earldom of *Carrick*, with Orders to raise what Rents they could get among the Tenants. This could not be so privately executed, but that the Lord *Henry Percy* got Intelligence of it, and presently march'd to the Place where the King lay; but to his Cost: For instead of surprising, he was himself surpris'd by the King, who (happy on this only Occasion) kill'd a great many of his Men; seiz'd upon his Plate and Baggage, and forc'd himself to take Refuge in the Castle of *Kintyre*. This was all he could do that Time; for King *Edward* sent quickly a Detachment to the Relief of his General, and King *Robert* was once more oblig'd to abscond. He sail'd over to the Isle of *Raughbrine*; and the Hardships he underwent in thus shifting from Place to Place, were undoubtedly such as had broken the

Is in great Danger and Want.

Beats the Lord Percy.

Is oblig'd to abscond.

G g g g g g g

Spirit,

Spirit, and ruin'd the Health of any less strong either in Body or Mind than himself. But after all, these were tolerable Evils, if compar'd to those he suffer'd at the same Time, in the Persons of his nearest Kindred and dearest Friends.

His Wife,
Brothers,
Kindred
and best
Friends, ta-
ken, carried
to England,
and Imprison'd or Ex-
ecuted.

Not long after the Battle of *Methven*, King *Edward* the Prince his Son enter'd *Scotland*, each upon the Head of great Armies. The Prince march'd Northward without Opposition as far as *Max*, where he besieg'd and took the Castle of *Kildrimmy*. He found in it the brave *Christopher Seton*, and his Lady, a Sister of the King. He thought also to have got the Queen; but she had left the Place before his Arrival, yet to no Purpose; for while she fled for Safety to the Shrine of *St. Duthac* in *Ross*, she was taken with her Daughter, by *William* Earl of that Country, and deliver'd up to the *English*. After this prosperous Expedition, the Prince of *Wales* return'd with his Army to *Dumfermling*, where he attended his Father, and both stay'd there, till by their active Parties, all, or most Part of King *Robert's* Friends and Favourers were brought Prisoners to them. As the barbarous Usage they met with, will be an indeleble Stain upon the Memory of that Monarch, so it will teach all After-ages, that Tyranny can never thrive, and that the ready Way to lose one's Conquest, is to let the Conquer'd be too much sensible that they are so.

William Lamberton Bishop of *St. Andrew's*, and *Robert Wishart* Bishop of *Glasgow*, had been taken in Armour, say *English* Authors, and were thereafter put in Chains of Iron, and sent close Prisoners to *England*; and, had it not been for Fear of disobliging the Pope, would certainly have been put to Death. But that was not to be allow'd: For which Reason King *Edward* contented himself to desire that his Holiness might suffer them (a) to be banish'd, and others plac'd in their vacant Sees. He also intreated that the Monastery of *Scour* (b), because seated in the Midst of a perverse Nation, might be translated to some other Place. As for the Abbot, he treated him, as the two Bishops, most despitefully, and wrote earnest Letters to *Haquin* King of *Norway* (c) intreating that he would cause seize, and send to him, under a Guard, the Person of the Bishop of *Murray*, a notorious Rebel, who, he says, was Excommunicated for consenting to the Slaughter of *John Cumine*, and had fled to the Isles of *Orkney*, with Hopes of avoiding Justice.

After this Manner did he deal with the Clergy, but with the Laity much worse. His Age, says *Mr. Echard*, (d) his Rage and Desire of Revenge made him almost inexorable. *John* Earl of *Albole*, tho' of the Royal Blood, and allied to himself, was dishonourably prefer'd to a higher Gallows than any of the rest; King *Robert's* three Brothers, *Neil*, *Thomas*, and *Alexander*, his Brother-in-Law *Sir Christopher Seton*, *John Seton*, Brother to *Sir Christopher*, *Sir Simon Fraser*, *Walter Logan*, *Herbert Norham*, *Thomas Boys*, *John*, or rather *Adam Wallace*, Brother to the matchless *Sir William*, and a vaste many more of all

(a) Foeder. Angl. Tom. II. p. 1027. (b) Ibid. p. 1030. (c) Ibid. p. 1048. (d) Book II. p. 321.

all Ranks were, after various and most exquisite Torments, at different Times, and in different Places of both Kingdoms, especially at *London*, put to most inhumane, but, say *English* Authors (a) most deserved Deaths. Good God! what is it Prejudice and Partiality do not vindicate? Nay, what Iniquity will they not approve of? Nor was the Sex and Quality of some Loyal Ladies able to protect them from the most offensive Insults and horrid Cruelty: Witness the Lady *Mary*, one of the Sisters of King *Robert*, Sir *Niel Campbells* Lady, and the Countess of *Buchan*. They were both; the Lady *Mary* at *Roxburgh*, and the Countess at *Berwick*, (b) put in wooden Cages shap'd like a Crown, and in that tormenting Posture hung out from high Walls or Turrets, to be gaz'd upon, and reproach'd by the meanest of the Populace. To be short, (c) after the strictest and severest Inquisition that could be made, who ever were found to have consented, or to the Slaughter of the *Cumins*, or to the Coronation of the King, were immediately executed; only the King's own Wife and Daughter met with some Regard: The last was detain'd in a Religious House in *Lincoln-shire*, and the first, tho' also kept in close Custody, yet was us'd civilly, and, if not like a Queen, at least as a Person of the highest Quality.

Thus did King *Edward* a third Time triumph over the conquer'd Nation, and dispose of the Lives and Fortunes of all his Opposers, arbitrarily and cruelly, as his Temper inclin'd him to, while the hitherto unfortunate King *Robert*, despoil'd of all Earthly Comforts but Hope, a good Cause, and an undaunted Courage, lurk'd in the Isle of *Raughbrine*, safe, only because no Body thought he was so: For after all the Inquisition made for him, he was concluded to have perish'd somewhere, and for that Reason was no more sought for. But what contributed to his present Security, was like to destroy his after-Designs: Wherefore in the Beginning of the Spring, he thought it highly expedient to let his Well-wishers know, that he was still alive, and still in Hopes. With this View, he sent Sir *James Douglas* and Sir *Robert Boyd* to the Isle of *Arran*, and these brave Gentlemen upon their landing, had the good Luck to meet with a Convoy of the Enemy design'd to Victual the Castle of *Brathwick*: They cut off the Convoy, and the Garrison immediately deserted the Castle, and thinking to fly by Sea, were for the most Part drown'd. This small but fortunate Beginning encourag'd the King to come over himself, the rather, because there was a great deal of Cloathing, Arms and Provisions of all Sorts found in the Isle, and his Men stood very much in need of such Necessaries. From *Arran* he sent Spies to *Carrick*, with Orders to raise a Fire near his own Castle of *Turnberry*, in Case there appear'd an Opportunity of acting with Advantage. The Spies did their Duty, and that Place was luckily surpriz'd, the Garrison put to the Sword, the Spoil divided among the Assailants, and the Lord *Percy*, who had been made Governour of that County, necessitated to make his Escape into *England*. Thus

A.D. 1397.
Leaves his
Retirement

Surprizes
the English
at Arran.

G g g g g g g. 2.

with a Handful of Men, in all; not above four hundred, was that glorious Campaign open'd, which brought all the Victories of King *Edward's* Reign to dwindle away into nothing. That Monarch had held his Parliament, and, to be the nearer at hand to suppress all Commotions, if any should happen, had pass'd the Winter at *Carlisle*. He heard of these Attempts with Concern, but hop'd that the Army he had left in *Scotland*, and the *Scots* of his Party, would be able at least to retard the Enemies Progress, till he should again draw the whole Power of *England, Ireland, &c.* to the Fields. But Providence was, it seems, resolv'd to humble him ere he died, and thereby, no doubt, to prepare him for the great Account he must very soon make of all the Blood-shed, Devastations and Calamities his Ambition had occasion'd.

Retreats to
the Wood of
Glentrole.

Before the Holy-days of *Easter* were over, (a) King *Robert* had something like an Army: He lay at *Gunnock*, when he was advis'd that the *Earl of Pembroke* and the *Lord Lorn*, by both whom last Year he had been defeated, were marching against him, with Forces much superior to his own. (b) Nevertheless he determin'd himself to venture upon an Engagement, but chose well his Ground; and, that he might Fight with the greater Advantage, retir'd to the Top of a high Mountain. From thence he discovered the vast Superiority of the Enemy's Numbers, and found, that the *Lord Lorn*, with his *Highlanders* was taking a Compass about the Hill, in Order to fall on his Rear, whilst his Front was attack'd by the *Earl*. He herefore divided his Party into three, and having told them where to Rendezvous at Night, he order'd them to fly three several Ways. They met accordingly; tho' 'tis said, the King himself had much ado to get out of the Scent of a Slouth-hound that followed close upon his Steps, but the Hound lost his Scent, some say at the Passage of a River; others, that he was kill'd by the great Skill of a *Scots* Archer. They all rally'd in the Wood of *Glentrole*, and were there again attack'd by the *English* General, but stood their Ground; nay repuls'd the Aggressors with considerable Loss of their Men. This Success, and the continual Accession of those in the Neighbourhood, (for all *Scotsmen*, but the *Cumines* and their Friends, were so irritated with the horrid Cruelties of late committed upon the Persons of their best Patriots, chose rather to venture any Thing, than to be thus Subject to *English* Laws and *Neronian* Punishments.) this Success I say, and the continual Resort of fresh Numbers to the King's Party, encourag'd him to come to the open Fields. All *Kyle* and *Cunningham* presently submitted to his Obedience, and *Sir James Douglas*, by lying in Ambush with but sixty Men at *Netherford* in *Cunningham*, found means to put 1000 (tho' commanded by an experienc'd Officer, *Sir Philip Moubray*) to Flight. These Troops re-joyn'd the *Earl of Pembroke*, who, on the tenth of *May*, with 3000 Men, thought fit, say *Scots* Authors, to attack the King at *Lowdon-hill* in *Kyle*. But that Prince, whose Party did not amount to above 600 Souldiers, had before hand fortified his

(a) *Tyrrel*, Vol. III, p. 177. *Richard*, Book II, p. 322. (b) *Barbour*.

his Camp so artfully, by Means of a Morass on the one Hand, and, where that was wanting, with Fosseys and Dykes, that the Access to it was very uneasy; and where he was attack'd, he made such a noble Resistance, that the Enemy, after a sharp Engagement of some Hours, retreated in Disorder. The *English*, (a) on the contrary, tell us, that King Robert was the Aggressor, and that having gather'd together the scatter'd Remains of his Army, he suddenly attack'd the Earl of *Pembroke* and gave him a great Defeat. They add, (b) that three Days after, he did the like to *Ralph de Momtheamer* Earl of *Glocester*, and, that this last was oblig'd to fly to, and shut himself up in the Castle of *Air*: King Robert followed, and instantly laid Siege to that Fortrefs, but ineffectually. For,

Defeats two
English Ge-
nerals.

King *Edward*, who was still at *Carlisle*, enrag'd at the daily Advices he receiv'd of his Rival's Success, had, before this Time, under great Penalties commanded all that ow'd him Service, to attend him three Weeks after Mid-summer; and now some of them were, in Obedience to his Summons, come up; those he sent presently forward, with Orders to relieve the Earl of *Glocester*. Upon the Approach of these Forces, say *English* Authors, King Robert left the Siege, and with a flying Army, of about 10000 Foot, retir'd into his wonted Covers, the Boggs and Mountains. He had Reason; for he was soon after inform'd that King *Edward* was following these Detachments in Person, and that he was upon the Head of as formidable an Army, as his large Territories and great Treasure could raise, and King Robert could not pretend to meet him in the open Fields, and therefore wisely retreated. But Providence interveen'd, and the Face of Affairs came to change on a sudden.

Just as King *Edward* was about to set out from *Carlisle*, he was taken with a Dysentery; yet did set out, and moving by easy Journeys towards *Scotland*, arriv'd at a small Town call'd *Brugh* upon the Sands, where, finding his Malady increase, he piously broke forth, say *English* Authors, (c) into this memorable Ejaculation, O Lord, if thou thinkest it good for these thy People, to have me continue longer with them, I am ready to venture my Life for them; but, if otherwise, thy Will be done. To say nothing of the *English* (whose Blood and Wealth he squander'd away in the Prosecution of his ambitious Designs) nor of the *Welsh* (whose Country he enslav'd, and whose Princes he kill'd) he had been a terrible Scourge, at least to the *Scots*, during the Space of eleven Years. The Justice of God was now satisfied; and he was so merciful, as not to think it good for that People, to continue longer their Scourge among them: So the mighty Monarch died upon *Friday* the 7th of *July*, in the thirty fourth Year of his Reign, and sixty eight of his Age; insensible, it seems, of the unjust Quarrel he had so obstinately pursu'd, and consequently regardless of the Account he was about to make of those innumerable Lives his Cruelty had taken upon the Scaffold, and his Ambition in the Fields.

King Ed-
ward I.'s
Death.

H h h h h h h

Yet

Yet most Writers of his own Country, daz'd with his great Victories, majestick Air, profound Policy and uncommon Bravery; and for these his Qualifications willing to forget that he aim'd at Arbitrary Power, and, when he durst, exerc'd it in Spite of all his repeated Oaths to the contrary; that out of a Desire to obtain what he had no Right to, by his frequent calling of Parliaments and begging of Money towards the Charges of his never ending Wars, he weakn'd and depress'd the Royal Prerogative, beneath what it had been thought in all Reigns but his own and his Father's; that never any King before, did draw so much Wealth from his impoverish'd Subjects, nor ever any before or since, shed so much Christian Blood in the Island, and after all to no Purpose, since he had the Mortification to see, even in his own Lifetime, another King within it besides himself. The Writers, I say, of his own Country, daz'd with his great Successes and eminent Parts, and therefore willing to forget his enormous Failings, do generally dismiss him with a fair and noble Character, and, to use the Words of Mr. Camden, say, (a) *That in his valiant Breast God seem'd to have pitch'd his Tent*: An Hyperbolick Expression, by which, or nothing at all, or too much is meant.

Upon the Death of the great King *Edward I.* his eldest Son *Edward of Caernarvon*, now 23 Years of Age, tho' far inferior in all Respects to his Father (b), succeeded him with a general Applause, says Mr. *Echard* truly; not so much by his own Hereditary Right, as by the unanimous Consent of the Nobles, says *Walsingham* (c), most falsly: For who could, or at that Time durst question his Hereditary Right? He was not present at his Father's Death (d), as the same *Walsingham* supposes, no doubt, to have an Occasion of aspersing him, for not executing the dying Commands of that Prince, particularly that ridiculous one of carrying about his Corps into *Scotland*, till the *Scots* (unable to stand before the terrible Nothing) should be subdu'd.

The Corps was upon his Arrival (for he hasten'd to do that last Duty, by Advice of the Nobles and Bishops about him) carried back to *England*, and appointed to remain at the Abbay of *Waltham*, till further Orders could be given about solemnizing the Funerals. This done, he immediately march'd into *Scotland*, and being at *Dumfreis* (e), receiv'd the Homages of a great many in the Country, then leaving the Earl of *Pembroke* (f) with Power to pardon all those that could be brought to Submission, he return'd to *England*; indeed too soon: For he had no sooner got to *York* (g), but Advice was brought to him, that King *Robert*, who (conscious of the Weakness of his little Army) had wisely kept out of the Way for a Time, had attack'd his Friends in *Galloway*, and laid all that Country under Contribution. He had very good Reason; for but

(a) *Echard* ad Ann 1307. (b) *Echard* Book II. p. 323. (c) *Edit. Francofurt. Ann. 1652. p. 95.* (d) *Tyrrel Vol. III. p. 179.* (e) *Tyrrel Vol. III. p. 224.* (f) *Foeder. Angl. Tom. III. p. 7.* (g) *Ibid. p. 14.* *Tyrrel p. 224.*

but last Winter (a) *Duncan Mackdougall*, a great Man in those Parts, had cut off 700. Men, commanded by *Thomas* and *Alexander Bruce*, both his Brothers, *Reginald Crawford*, *Malcolm Mackail* Lord of *Kintyre*, and two *Irish* Noblemen. The last three were kill'd upon the Spot, and their Heads sent, with the Persons of the three first nam'd, to *Carlisle*, where King *Edward* resided; and how inhumanely that Prince treated these illustrious Prisoners, I have already told. To make some Attonement to their Ghosts, King *Robert* laid hold on the Opportunity King *Edward's* preposterous Return afforded him, and that Prince to be even with King *Robert*, nam'd his Cousin-German (b) *John* of *Britany* Earl of *Richmond*, to be Guardian of *Scotland*, in the Room of *Aymer de Valence* Earl of *Pembroke* (whose Defeat in the beginning of the Campaign, had, it seems, lessend his Reputation) and appointed him as such (c), to march upon the Head of a fresh Army, to the Relief of those in *Galloway*. Some write (d), that the new Guardian was successful, and that he engag'd with, and put King *Robert* to Flight. It may be so, tho only one ancient Author is brought to vouch it: But 'tis certain, that if the King was worsted on this Occasion, he soon recruited his Forces, and retriev'd his Losses: For 'tis own'd (e) that not long after, he re-enter'd *Galloway*, and his Arms were so prosperous, that King *Edward*, being now return'd to his Capital, issu'd out his Orders, on the 28th of *October*, to the Sheriffs of the City (f), requiring them to buy up all Manner of Provisions and Ammunition; to be furthwith sent to *Berwick*, in order to enable his *English* Army to oppose the Progress of *Robert Bruce* (no higher Title was yet, nor long after, allow'd him by the *English* Court) and his Accomplices in *Scotland*.

King *Edward* had all the Reason in the World to encourage and thank his Friends in *Scotland*, for their Fidelity to him. As they were but too faithful to him, and too constant in their Enmity to their King, and consequently to their Country, so they were still too numerous: For besides all the different Branches of the *Cumines*, Authentick Records (g) inform us, that at this Time, and long after this, the following Persons were deeply engag'd in the *English* Interest, *David de Strathbogy* Earl of *Athole*, a Man of a very different Character from *John*, (probably his Father or Brother) who but so very lately had suffer'd upon an *English* Scaffold, *Robert de Umfraville* Earl of *Angus*, *Patrick Dunbar* Earl of *March*, *Patrick* his Son, *William* Earl of *Ross*, *Hugh* his Son, *William Ross* of *Hanelack*, *David Brechin*, *David Graham*, *Reginald Cheyne*, *Henry Sinclair*, *Robert Keith*, *John Kingston*, *Adam Swyburn*, *Henry Haliburton*, *John Mowbray*, *Alexander Abernethy*, *John* of *Argyle*, and, the formerly brave and honest, *Sir Adam Gordon*. I have nam'd them with Reluctancy; but as a great many of them gloried in their Treason, while alive, so 'tis just their Memories, when dead, should be

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(a) Matth. Westminst. p. 464. (b) Foeder. Angl. p. 10. (c) Ibid. p. 14. (d) Tyttel p. 225. (e) Tyttel p. 226. (f) Foeder. Angl. p. 16. (g) Ibid. p. 81, 82, 94, 222.

transmitted to Posterity, with the Reproaches they deserv'd; besides, 'tis necessary to let my Reader know, what a divided People we then were, and what terrifying Opposition our Immortal Deliverer must needs encounter.

Winter was come on, but the Campaign was not ended: The indefatigable King had recruited his Forces, regain'd his own Lands and Castles, defeated two *English* Armies and their respective Generals, escap'd the imminent and irresistible Danger that was threaten'd, first by King *Edward* the Father, and then by the Son, and sufficiently punish'd his Rebellious Subjects on the Borders. This was, I humbly conceive, Work enough for one Summer, and therefore am apt to think, that he did not go North (as is insinuated, but not positively asserted, by any Author I know) till about this Time; when considering that all, or most Part of the Lowlands, from *Galloway* to *Inverness*, were over-power'd, or by the *English*, or by the *Scots* in the *English* Interest; insomuch, that his numerous Friends, especially in the North, where he had a plentiful Estate, could not join him. He resolv'd to rowse their Courages, by shewing himself among them, yet did not abandon his Conquests in the West and South. On the contrary, he left Sir *James Douglas* (a) with a competent Force upon the Borders; and that Gentleman was so successful, that he drove all the *English* out of *Douglasdale*, *Atrick Forrest*, and *Jedburgh Forrest*, and re-took Sir *Thomas Randolph*, the King's Sister's Son, who, since his Captivity at *Methuen*, had serv'd the Enemy, and with him Sir *Alexander Stewart* of *Bonkil*.

Subdues the
North of
Scotland.

The King was no less busied in the North; the first Accounts brought of him since his Retreat, advis'd (b) that he had surpris'd the strong and well fortified Castle of *Inverness*, and that his Army grew every Day more and more Numerous. He met with no remarkable Opposition in his March from the Shire of *Murray* to that of the *Mearns*: For all the interveening Castles yielded to him upon his first Approach, and he, unwilling to diminish his Numbers by putting Garrisons in them, and, since not garrison'd, to prevent their being re-taken by the Enemy, he caus'd them to be demolish'd. Master, by this Means, of all that Tract of Land I have mention'd, he was stop'd in his Progress at *Glenesk*, by a great Shew of a tumultuary Army of some *English*, and more *Scots*, the Earl of *Buchan*, now the principal Man of the Name of *Cumine*, had with great Expedition gather'd together to cross his Designs. The Earl, to make the greater Appearance, upon *Christmass-day*, (c) drew his Men out at large, and took up a great deal of Ground: But the King was not to be frighted by Shews; he was advantageously Post'd, and kept close within his Bounds, so that the Enemy, not daring to attack him; sur'd for, and obtain'd a Truce.

Some few Months after this, the King (wearied with perpetual Toil, and the Hardships of all sorts he had undergone) came

(a) Barbour (b) Ibid. (c) Boeth. Buchan. &c. in vit. Reg. Extract. e Chron. Scot.

to be affected with, I know not what, lingering Malady; and the Earl of Buchan, John Mowbray, and others of that Faction, thought fit to lay hold on the Opportunity of establishing themselves in the good Opinion and Favour of the King of England. But as infirm as the King's Body was at the Time, his Mind was strong and his Judgment sound: He very well knew how much the Fate of Armies depends on the Conduct of the Commander in Chief, and therefore (tho' he could not fight himself) would not be absent, while his Men fought for him. Some say that he caus'd himself to be carried in a Litter to the Field of Battle; others, that supported by two Men he sat on Horse back, and thereby inspir'd both Officers and Souldiers with so much Courage, that they were never known to have express'd more upon any Occasion whatever. On the contrary, those commanded by Cumine and Mowbray never shew'd less: All their Hopes of Victory proceeded from the Report of the King's Illness; and finding themselves by his Presence disappointed, they could by no Means be prevail'd with to stand their Ground. Some few were kill'd upon the Spot; all fled, and in the Chace a great many were taken, but by the King's Orders most civilly us'd and graciously pardon'd. As this Victory, (a) King Robert gain'd near Inverury, on the Feast of the Ascension of our Lord, 1308, contributed very much to his perfect Recovery, so it gave a noble Beginning to these repeated Triumphs that adorn'd the rest of his Life; for henceforth Victory seem'd attach'd to his Sword, and Success to his Will.

A.D. 1308

Gains the
Battle of
Inverury.

The Consequence of the Battle of Inverury, was what the King had hop'd it would be, (b) the Reduction of most Part of the North, particularly of the Castles of Brechin and Forfar. From thence, unwilling to lose Men and Time in more Sieges, and for many Reasons desirous to make himself Master of the Lands possess'd by the Cumines and their Allies, he march'd straight to the Shire of Argyle. (c) The Lord Lorn endeavour'd to stop his Progress, by posting 2000 Men upon a high Mountain, over which 'twas necessary to pass; but the King having got Advice of this, sent a Detachment under the Command of Sir James Douglas, Sir Alexander Fraser, and Sir Andrew Gray, with Orders to fetch a Circuit about, and by this Means to get up the Hill, by Ways the Enemy had not taken Care to guard. The Stratagem succeeded, and the Highlanders found themselves charg'd by the main Body of the King's Army, and the Detachment I have mention'd, at once. The Lord Lorn, after having seen his Men cut to Pieces, fled, and escap'd by Sea into England, but his Father Lord Alexander Mackdougall was forc'd to give up both his own Person and his Castle of Dunstaffage to the King's Mercy. Others (c) seem to make no Distinction between the Father and Son, but say in general, that the Lord of Argyle capitulated upon these Terms, That he should not be oblig'd to do Homage to King Robert, but that he should get a safe Conduct, and be allow'd to retire

Drives the
Lord of Ar
gyle out of
the Country

iiiiiii

retire to *England*, where afterwards we shall find him a very active Man, and in great Favour with King *Edward*.

One *Donald* of the *Isles*, was another Enemy to the righteous Cause: While the King was busied in *Argyle*, he fell down upon his Brother the Lord *Edward Bruce* in the *Low-lands*: They met at the River of *Deir* on the 29th of *June*, and a sharp Engagement ensu'd: (a) *Donald* was worsted and made Prisoner; and one *Ronald*, a bold Man and a good Officer, was, with a great many of the inferior Sort, left dead on the Spot. After this the two Brothers reunited their Forces, (b) march'd to *Galloway*, as they had done the Year before, and wholly subdu'd that rebellious Country,

Victory
gain'd by
Lord Edward
Bruce.

That which very much contributed to these Successes, was this: King *Edward* had been taken up for some Time with his Marriage formerly agreed to by his Father, and *Philip the Fair*, King of *France*, whose beautiful Daughter *Isabel* he married with extraordinary Magnificence at *Boloign*; but as soon as he return'd to *England*, he resolv'd to come to *Scotland* in Person, in Order (as he express'd himself in all his Writs) to reduce the Traitor *Robert Bruce* and the Rebels his Accomplices. With this View, he wrote a Letter of Thanks (c) to the Nobility of his Faction, for the Fidelity they express'd to him, and exhorted them to continue in their Duty, till he should come with an Army to their Relief. Nay, he trusted them so far, as to appoint two of their Number, (d) *Robert Umfraville* Earl of *Angus*, and *William Ross* of *Hamelack*, to be conjunct Guardians of the Kingdom till his Arrival. He promis'd to be at *Carlisle* on the 15th of *August*, and among other Provisions, commanded a great Quantity of *Salmond*, to be got ready for the Entertainment of the Officers and Courtiers about him; but he was not so good as his Word. He had one foible, even Age and dear bought Experience could never remove; the Tendernefs he had for his Favourites was excessive; the People charg'd him with making Mistresses of them, and the Quality could not suffer them to be, what they aim'd at, their Masters. *Peter Gaveston*, a young Gentleman of *Gascony*, was by this Time become the Object of King *Edward's* Love, and, for that very Reason, of the Nation's Hatred; who, while they contended about disgracing or preferring that one Man, gave thereby an Opportunity to the more nobly employ'd King *Robert*, to go on as he did, from Victory to Victory. Fame had already proclaim'd his great Successes and glorious Actions beyond Seas, and *Philip King of France* had heard of them with Pleasure. That politick Prince did not think that it consisted with his Honour to make an open Breach with his Son-in-Law; but he conceiv'd it, as it certainly was, his Interest to favour and support his ancient Allies. Wherefore in the Beginning of *March* 1309, he sent *Oliver de Roches* his Envoy to *Scotland*, (d) who, passing through *England*, obtain'd a safe Conduct from King *Edward*, and was by him empower'd to treat about

A.D. 1309.

Philip the Fair King of *France* favourable to King *Robert*.

(a) Ibid. Boet. Holinshed, in Vit. Reg. (b) Tyrrel, p. 230. (c) Foedet. Angl. Tom. III. p. 81. (d) Ibid. p. 94. (e) Ibid. p. 127.

about a Peace with *William Lamberton*, lately Bishop of *St. Andrews*, liberated from his Confinement in *England*, and therefore (as *King Edward* thought) in the *English* Interest, and with *Robert Bruce* (so he still call'd *King Robert*;) and so he imagin'd that the King of *France* would call him also. He was so much perswaded of this, that in one of his Writs (a) he asserts (as his Father was wont to do before) that the King of *France* did not at all own the *Scots* as his Allies: And, in another, complains to *King Philip*, (b) that one of that Prince's Envoys, *Mathen de Varennes*, had with the same Bearer sent two Letters to *King Robert Bruce*, the one open, directed to the Earl of *Carrick*, t'other clos'd and seal'd up in a Box, directed to the King of *Scotland*. 'Tis true that the King of *France* did not think fit to own above-board the *Scots* as his Allies, in Opposition to his Daughter and Son-in-Law; but that he very early acknowledg'd *King Robert* to be King, is evident from a Letter (c) he wrote the next Year to *King Edward* himself, wherein he calls him King of *Scotland*. Nor could his Ambassadors, nor those of any Prince else in the World, as I shall afterwards shew, have been admitted to his Presence, without yielding that previous Acknowledgment. However *de Roches* was admitted, and very kindly entertain'd: What his Instructions were, I cannot well tell, but I find that towards the end of *March* (d) a great many Earls and Barons (conveen'd at *St. Andrews* in the Name of the whole Community of *Scotland*) wrote a Letter, "To the most Christian and most Victorious *Philip* King of *France*, signifying, " That they had recogniz'd *King Robert's* Right to the Crown: That " in a Parliament held at *St. Andrews*, they had with great Joy receiv'd the Letters of Credence, sent to them by his most Christian Majesty: That they very much applauded the pious Designs he had to endeavour the Recovery of the Holy Land; that they had a feeling Sense and just Value for the Favour he had done them, in commemorating the Ancient Leagues between the two Kingdoms of *France* and *Scotland*, in taking Notice of the many Wrongs and great Oppressions they had sustain'd; and more particulary in his expressing his singular Affection to the Person of *King Robert* and the Kingdom of *Scotland* and her Liberties. They added, That, how soon they could retrieve their Misfortunes and re-settle the Nation, their King and they would, with all their Hearts and Strength, join and assist him in the holy Enterprize he had undertaken."

Letter of the Nobility of *Scotland* to the King of *France*.

Much about the same Time (e) certain *Nuncios* came from the Pope, (a more equitable one than his Successor *John XXII.* as I shall afterwards have Occasion to tell) who having some time before absolv'd *King Robert* of the Sentence pronounc'd against him after the Slaughter of Lord *John Cumine*, now exhorted him to make Peace with *King Edward*, and to content himself with what he had already won from the *English* in *Scotland*. He had made the same Overture at the Court of *England*; that is, if I take it right, he would have

King Robert absolv'd by the Pope, and sollicit-ed to Peace

Several
Treaties set
on Foot.

had them both to agree to a Truce, till by Process of Time a Peace could be effected. But King *Robert* was still a Loser, and therefore had no Regard to these Proposals, but went on, says Mr. *Tyrrer*, conquering more Places in *Scotland*, during the greatest Part of the ensuing Summer. What Places these were, by Reason of the unchronological Accounts of *John Barbour*, the only one Author that has enter'd into the Detail of King *Robert's* Actions, I dare not venture to condescend upon: But I find that in *August*, a Truce was again propos'd; *Richard de Burgh* Earl of *Ulster* (a) first, and then (b) *Robert* Earl of *Angus* and some others, were nam'd Plenipotentiaries for the King of *England*, and *Sir Neil Campbel* (c) and *Sir John Monteith*, for the King of *Scots*. But it seems the Treaty did not yet take effect: For in the following *December* King *Robert* besieg'd (d) *Rutherglen*, and *Gilbert de Clare* Earl of *Glocester*, a little before made Captain-General of King *Edward's* Forces in *Scotland*, was appointed to raise Men with all Expedition towards relieving that Fortrefs. He came probably too late; the Reason I have to think so, is this:

A Treaty being again set on Foot in *February* 1310, a Truce was agreed to, and some Prisoners liberated, particularly the Lady *Mary Bruce* (e) King *Robert's* Sister, and the Wife of *Sir Neil Campbel* the same who had been, by *Edward I.* so inhumanely shut up in a Cage at *Roxburgh*, was exchange'd for *Walter Cumine*. But this Truce was ill kept, and, if we may take King *Edward's* Word for it, the *Scots* broke it. He said so in all the Writs he issu'd out this Year for raising of Men and Money to be employ'd against those he call'd his perfidious Enemies, and complain'd to the King of *France* (f), that the *Scots* kept neither Word nor Write, nor Faith nor Oath to him, tho' taken upon the Body of *Christ*, and Relicks of the Saints; and that in the Midst of the Truce granted to them at his (the King of *France's*) intreaty, they had surpris'd Castles, taken Towns, over-run Provinces, and put a great many, both *English* and *Scots* in his Service, to the Sword. King *Philip* made Answer (g), That if it be true, that the *Scots* have had so little Regard, or to his Honour, or to their own, he was heartily sorry, and would instantly send Ambassadors to them, and check them for it; but that he should not enlarge upon this nor any other Subject till Meeting; and he intreated, that according to Agreement, they might meet as soon as possible. King *Edward* could not keep that Appointment; the desperate State of his Affairs in *Scotland*, call'd him thither. He made all the Preparations necessary for his intended Expedition: *John de Caunton* was sent before him (h) with a Fleet to *Perth*, and Orders to repair the Fortifications of that Town; and another Fleet commanded by *Simon de Montacute* (i), was order'd to join that of *John* Lord of *Argyle*, and others his faithful Subjects, and then to attend him some where in *Scotland*. Thither he

(a) Foeder. Angl. p. 163. (b) Ibid. p. 192. (c) Ibid. p. 163. (d) Ibid. p. 192. (e) Ibid. p. 204. (f) Ibid. p. 217. (g) Ibid. p. 215. (h) Ibid. p. 211. (i) Ibid. p. 223, 224.

he himself went upon the Head of a great Army: Towards the beginning of *September* (a) he enter'd the Kingdom, and march'd without Opposition as far as the Firth of *Edinburgh*, say *English* Authors; as far as *Renfrew*, say the *Scots* (b); and Winter approaching he return'd to *Berwick*, but was follow'd close by King *Robert*, who, as the *Scots* were wont to do on the like Occasions, had upon his Approach with such a superior Power, ravag'd the Country before him, and retir'd to certain Fastnesses he could not force; but returning to the open Fields upon his Retreat, fought all Opportunities of distressing, harrassing and lessening his Army. This made him again to march backward into *Scotland* with fresh Provisions, and as numerous Forces as before, but in vain. King *Robert* was not so imprudent as to suffer himself to be drawn to a general Engagement; and the Season of the Year did not permit King *Edward*, nor to encamp in the Fields, nor to march far into the Country. He therefore, with the *Earl of Cornwall*, thought fit to stay some Time at *Roxburgh*, to secure those Parts from Incursions, while the *Earl of Gloucester*, for the same Purpose, lay with sufficient Forces at *Norham*. King *Edward* did more, in Imitation of his Father, who had always observ'd, that the *Scots* seldom fail'd to recover, by brisk and sudden Onsets, in the Winter, whatever superior Forces had gain'd from them in the Summer: He resolv'd to pass that rigorous Season in the Country, and accordingly took up his Lodging and kept his Court, with the Queen his Wife, and the Flower of his Nobility, at *Berwick*. When in this Place, he was inform'd that King *Robert*, ever intent upon fit Expedients for carrying on the War with Advantage, had found Means to get his Army frequently supplied with Victuals, Arms and Horses from *England*, and that he had of late form'd a Design upon the Isle of *Man*, and had given Orders to the Commanders of his Fleet, that lay in the *Æbuda* or *Out-Isles*, to sail from thence to the Isle I have mention'd. To prevent this Mischiefe, and remedy the other, King *Edward* emitted a Proclamation (c) strictly forbidding all his Subjects to keep any manner of Correspondence with the *Scots*; another (d) commanding to seize upon the Persons of certain Malefactors of the Isle of *Man*, who he heard were in the Interest of *Robert Bruce*, and resorted to several Places of *England*, *Ireland* and *Wales* (e); and a third desiring those of the North of *England* to give all the Assistance in their Power to *Gilbert Mackaskell*, Steward to *Anthony* Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, towards fortifying and defending the threatened Island. He also wrote to the Pope and to the Cardinals, a great many different Letters (f) but all to the same Purpose; intreating that his capital Enemy the Bishop of *Glasgow*, whom, at his Holiness's desire he had sent to the Court of *Rome*, might meet with no Favour, but be, for his Unworthiness degraded, and for his many Perjuries and Acts of Rebellion, for ever banish'd from *Scotland*.

Edward II.
invades *Scotland*
by Sea
and Land.

Who passes
the Winter
in *Scotland*.

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(a) Tyrrel p. 239. (b) Extract. c Chron. Scot. (c) Foeder. Angl. p. 233. (d) Ibid. p. 239. (e) Ibid. p. 238. (f) Ibid. p. 245 246.

land, England, &c. and to the Archbishop of Canterbury (a), requiring a voluntary Grant from the Clergy of that Province, towards enabling him to put an End to that calamitous War, the Traitour Robert Bruce had commenc'd against his Father, and continu'd against himself, to the Disgrace and Detriment of the Crown, Kingdom and People of England. In a word, he omitted nothing (tho the English will not allow that he ever did enough) that could contribute to depress his odious but invincible Enemy.

A. D. 1311. He was so forward in his warlike Preparations, that about the beginning (b) of March 1311, he was able to open the Campaign and march into Scotland; but for Want of Forrage and other Provisions, say English Authors, could do nothing considerable. But 'tis certain, that he did what he could; for he detach'd the Earl of Cornwall with the Flower of his Army to Perth, and the Earls of Gloucester and Surrey to the great Forrest of Selkirk: Yet none of these Generals had the Success they expected. King Robert was always on his Guard, and never to be taken at a Disadvantage. When he had not Forces to fight, he had the Prudence to retreat; and what his Arms could not do, he took care that Hunger and Scarcity should effect. King Edward soon perceiv'd, that to vanquish an Enemy of this Character, 'twas necessary to raise fresh Forces, and to provide them with the Necessaries those hitherto employ'd had wanted. Wherefore he order'd Provisions to be brought about by Sea, gave the Command of his Fleet (c) to a Scotsman, the Lord of Argyle, whom he order'd to make a Descent in his own Country and in Incebegall: And to back him, or to make a Diversion in his Favour, he, not long after, viz. on the 4th of July, commanded all that own'd him in Scotland, and all (d) that ow'd him Service in England to attend him, where he still continu'd to reside at Berwick. How well he was obey'd, I know not; 'tis certain, that his Designs were baffl'd, and he found himself oblig'd to leave Scotland in the following August, and return, after he had to no purpose stay'd in it about a Year, to London. King Robert laid hold on the Opportunity, drew all his Forces together (e), and about the Middle of the same Moneth, by Solway Firth enter'd England in his Turn. He met with little or no Opposition, and therefore, after having wasted the Country of Gillesland and a great Part of Tyndale, brought back to Scotland a rich Booty, and an Earneft of richer: For in September next he return'd again by Redesdale, over-run the Country as far as Corbridge; from thence turn'd aside into Tyndale, seiz'd upon whatever he had left in those Parts before, and made himself so terrible to the neighbouring Inhabitants of Northumberland, that they sent Messengers to him; and to obtain a Truce, but till Candlemas following, gave him 2000 pounds sterl. in ready Money.

Invasions
Scotland a
third time
by Sea and
Land.

King Robert's
first
Expedition
into Eng-
land.

As

(a) Foeder. Angl. p. 258. (b) Tyrrel ubi sup. (c) Foeder. Angl. 265. (d) Ibid. p. 271. (e) Tyrrel p. 248.

As these Successes were equally honourable and advantageous to King Robert and his Loyal Subjects in Scotland, so they were inexpressibly grating to King Edward and his Court. The Scots, sometimes subdu'd, and for the most Part upon the Defensive, had of late made many great and noble Efforts at Home, or to re-gain, or to keep their own; but since the Days of their glorious Guardian Sir William Wallace, they had never dar'd to attempt any Thing out of their own Country; and now, tho they were not as yet entirely Masters of it, they had the Courage to invade England it self, and had done it with that Success, that enrich'd them, and made their Enemies more miserably poor than ever they had been. King Edward could not hear the Clamours of his impowerish'd Subjects without Sorrow, much less bear the Affront he conceiv'd to be put upon himself; He could not forbear expressing his Resentment, both to the Pope (a) and King of France (b). He entreated that the first would excuse the necessary Absence of the Bishop of Durham, from the Council of Vienne, because, said he, the Scots, who (while he was among them, lurk'd like Foxes in their impenetrable Recesses) had since his Return done more Mischief than ever, invading England as far as Durham, destroying the People, ruining the Country, and Alas! not sparing even the Ecclesiastical Liberties. He concludes, that therefore the vigilant Bishop should stay at Home. As for the King of France, he tells him, that for the same Reasons he cannot wait upon him as he design'd, being necessitated to march forthwith against the prevailing Rebels.

He did it notwithstanding the Rigour of the Season, and was at Everwyk (c), near York, in January 1312; but, when there, found it more reasonable to treat about a Peace, than to prosecute the War. For that Purpose he nam'd among others, David Earl of Athole, Alexander Abernethy, and Adam Gordon, his Plenipotentiaries. But it seems the Treaty come to no Effect; for I find, that while he yet stay'd at York, in the following April, he was alarm'd (d) with the Accounts he receiv'd of King Robert's designing to besiege Berwick. To prevent which, and to crush all Projects of the same Kind, he wrote, not only to his Nobility in England, Wales, and Ireland, but also to the Count de Foyz, (e) and indeed to all the Free-holders in Gascony, (their Names are upon Record, and are very numerous) desiring them to be ready with their Horses and Men, to come over and assist him towards supporting their own and his Honour. He was, it seems, but ill serv'd, and as the Groans of the People had call'd him North at a Time, when, to say the Truth, he could not enter upon Action, so now when he could, the Discontents of his Nobility recall'd him to the South.

A.D. 1312

His Rival King Robert had better Subjects: They flew whither he directed them, and forcing all Opposition, reduc'd this Year (and I believe about this Time of the Year) the Castles of Bute, (f) Drum-

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freis

(a) Feder. Angl. p. 283, 294. (b) Ibid. p. 295. (c) Ibid. p. 300. (d) Ibid. p. 313. (e) Ibid. p. 315. (f) Scot. Chron. Scot.

His second Expedition into England most successful.

Freis and *Dalsmynton* in *Scotland*, then joining together made up a great Army, and about the Middle of *August* invaded *England*, (a) burnt the Towns of *Hexam* and *Corbridge*, wasted all the Western Parts, attack'd the Town of *Durham*, laid a great Part of it into Ashes, and forc'd the People of that Bishoprick to compound with them for 2000 Pounds. Upon receiving that Sum, the Scots granted them a Truce till Mid-summer next ensuing; but with this Proviso, that whenever they should think fit to march farther into *England*, they might have free Passage through the County. The Inhabitants of *Northumberland*, fearing the like Consequences, paid 2000 Pounds more, and upon the same Conditions. Those of *Cumberland* and *Westmoreland* ask'd and obtain'd the same Terms, but they had not ready Money to lay down, and therefore were forc'd to give Hostages for what remain'd unpay'd. This done, King *Robert* return'd triumphantly into *Scotland*, upon the Head of an Army, enrich'd with Treasure, burden'd with Plunder, and nobly attended with a Train of Captive Enemies. But he had no Mind that those Men, whom Hardships of all Sorts, and even Subjection it self could not depress, should by Ease and Plenty degenerate. To keep them awake, he form'd a Design upon *Bermick*, and thought to have surpriz'd that Town by Means of certain scaling Ladders of Ropes, which were hung by Hooks upon the Walls; but the barking of a Dog alarm'd the Garrison, and the Assailants were oblig'd to retire with some Loss. He had better Success elsewhere: *Perth* or *St. Johnstoun*, a large, and, by the *English*, admirably well fortified Town, in the very Bowels of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, was still in the Hands of the Enemy. In the midst of the Winter, King *Robert* surpriz'd, and by Means of the like Ladders took it. By the Rules of War, he might have put all within it to the Sword, and accordingly gave Orders to give no Quarters to the Scots of the *English* Side, but generally spar'd the *English* themselves, and not only sav'd their Lives, but granted them Liberty to retire to their own Country.

He takes St. Johnstoun.

A.D. 1313.

The next Campaign was no less prosperous, Sir *James Douglas* open'd it very early, and nick'd his Time very opportunely; for upon *Shrove Tuesday* or *Fasten's Eve*, while the *English* Garrison in *Roxburgh* (b) were, as was usual, feasting and drinking to dedamage themselves before Hand of the Austerities of approaching Lent, he drew near to the Castle, assaulted and took it without Opposition. The valiant *Thomas Randolph*, by the King his Uncle lately made Earl of *Murray*, made the like Attempt upon the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and had no worse Success. He besieg'd it regularly, but could not win it without a Stratagem: He discover'd a narrow Passage that led to the Top of the Rock, but that Passage was in the Eye of the Defendants; and he, to draw them elsewhere, made a feign'd but vigorous Attack on the opposite Side. Thither the whole Garrison run to oppose the Assailants, and in the mean time a small Detachment from these last clamber'd up the Rock by the Passage, I have mention'd, clapp'd scaling Lad-

Roxburgh taken by Sir James Douglas.

(a) Tyrrel, p. 257. (b) Buchan, in Vit. Rob. Extract. e Chron. Scot. Barbour, &c.

Ladders to the Walls, and so made themselves Masters of the Place. The Isle of *Man* was taken not long after, and the Earl of *Murray* made Lord of it. To be short, all the strong Places the Enemy had hitherto possess'd in *Scotland*, but *Stirling*, *Dumbar* and *Berwick*, were this Summer reduc'd; and, to save Charges, and hinder superior Armies from seizing them anew, for the most Part demolish'd. These three had numerous Garrisons and Abundance of Provisions; but *Stirling*, because in the Heart of the Kingdom, could not be so easily succour'd; for which Reason *Edward Bruce* the King's Brother laid Siege to it, and, despairing of taking it by Force, agreed with its Governor *Philip Mowbray* (a *Scotsman* born, and therefore the more obstinate Enemy) that all Hostilities should be laid aside (a) till Mid-summer next; and that, if the Castle was not by the *English* reliev'd before that Time, it should be deliver'd up to the *Scots*. King *Robert* was very much dissatisfied with this Agreement, but would not so far mortify his Brother, as not to stand to what he had done. In the mean time, the *Scots* of the *English* Faction made loud Complaints that they were abandon'd: They sent (b) two of their Number, *Patrick* Earl of *Dumbar* and *Adam Gordon*, to *London*, to inform King *Edward* of their Condition, and intreat that speedy Succours might be sent them. That Prince gave them, what they too well deserv'd at his Hands, (c) comfortable Answers and fair Promises, and did what his present Circumstances allow'd him towards their Relief. He try'd first what could be done by Way of Negotiation, gave his safe Conduct (d) to *French* Ambassadors, who, in Order to bring about a Treaty, were on their Road to *Scotland*; nam'd Commissioners, and among the rest the Earl of *Angus*, (e) to treat about a Truce or Peace; sent another *Scotsman* (f) *Sir Alexander Abernethy*, together with *Bertrand* Earl of *Champaign*, and *Walter Maydenstan* a Clergy man, on an Embassy to the Pope, in Order to gain to, or fix the spiritual Father in his Interest; ask'd Money by Way of Loan from all the Bishops (g) and Convents in *England*, and towards the End of the Year (h) summon'd all the Forces his Dominions could raise, to attend him into *Scotland*: For now he resolv'd he would over-power, and with one Blow quite undoe that turbulent Nation, that had put so many and so signal Affronts upon his Father and himself.

With this View he came to *York* in *May* 1314; (i) the rather because he had but a little before, (k) receiv'd Advice that the *Scots* had enter'd *Cumberland*, spoil'd the Country, kill'd severals of the Inhabitants, taken some Towns, and assaulted (but in vain, because of the great Concourse of People who had fled thither for Refuge) the City of *Carlisle*. Upon this Account, I say, King *Edward* hasten'd his intended Journey to *York*: When there, he caus'd publick Prayers to be offer'd up for the Success of his Arms; and because he heard that the *Scots* Army consisted chiefly of Infantry, and that King

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Robert

And *Edinburgh* by *Sir Thomas Randolph*.

The Isle of *Man* reduc'd

Stirling besieg'd, but not taken.

A. D. 1314.
K. Robert's third Expedition into *England*.

Edward II's 4th Expedition into *Scotland*.

(a) *Fœder. Angl.* p. 481. (b) *Ibid.* p. 458. (c) *Ibid.* p. 458. (d) *Ibid.* p. 410. (e) *Ibid.* p. 411. (f) *Ibid.* p. 436. (g) *Ibid.* p. 428, 432. (h) *Ibid.* p. 463, 475, 476, 478. (i) *Ibid.* p. 479, 481. (k) *Tyrol.* p. 260.

Robert had no Mind to meet him upon the Frontiers, but had posted himself before *Stirling* in a moorish Ground, where Horses could not be very serviceable, he order'd as many strong and tall bodied Men, capable to serve on Foot, to be rais'd, as was possible. *York-Shire* alone afforded no less than 4000, and all the Counties of the Kingdom in Proportion. The Earl of *Ulster* was appointed to command the *Irish*, (a) and the Earl of *Pembroke* (b) the *English* upon the Borders, till he himself should come up with the rest of the Army; an Army so great, that the like was never seen before nor since that Time in *Britain*. *Scots* Authors, particularly *Boethius*, (c) say, that it was compos'd of more than 300000 Men of all Nations, in Amity with, or subject to King *Edward*, namely of *English*, *Irish*, *Welsh*, *Gascons*, *Fleemings*, *Dutch*, &c. and that from all Parts of the Neighbouring Continent, as well as *England* it self, huge Numbers came down upon *Scotland*, as to a Country, which, for a Reward of their certain Victory and undoubted Conquest, they were to divide among themselves, and to transmit to their Posterity. *English* Authors do not deny, but that their Army was as great as it could be; for *Walsingham* tells us, (d) that all but the four Earls of *Lancaster*, *Warwick*, *Warren* and *Arundel*, that ow'd Service to the Crown, join'd King *Edward* at *York*, *Newcastle* or *Berwick*. Mr. *Tyrel* (e) says the same Thing: And I humbly conceive, that (to say nothing of the *Irish*, *Welsh* and *Gascons*, all whom we find upon Record, to have been before this Time summon'd to fight against *Robert Bruce* and his Adherents) if but all the *English*, that ow'd Service to their King, did, as is own'd, attend him on this Occasion, they would make an Army of 100000 Men. I say so the rather, because, as I have before from *English* Authors related, *Edward I.* brought more than once that Number to the Fields against the same Enemy: And I do not find that ever he made or needed to make so great Efforts for raising of a numerous Army, as his Son *Edward II.* did on this great and necessary Occasion. Nor do I believe what *Scots* Authors generally write, that the *English* Army, as confident as they were of Success, kept no Order nor Discipline; for the Authentick Records, I have already cited, evidently shew, that King *Edward* was perfectly well inform'd, even before he enter'd *Scotland*, of the Strength, Design, Discipline and Situation of the *Scots*, and that he took his Measures accordingly, caus'd publick Prayers to be put up for Success, and great Numbers of Foot to be levied through all the Kingdom. A Proof, I take it, that whatever the *Scots* Commanders may have given out at the Time to encourage their own Men, 'twas not literally true, that the *English* Army was nothing but the Refuse and Rascality of all the different Nations from whence they came, or that they had no Skill of War, observ'd no Discipline, but that, drunk with Presumption, and sunk in Sensuality, they were confounded by the Commixture of Men, Women and Children, their Clamour, Noise, and Diversity of Language. Nevertheless, that they very much depen-

(a) *Foed. Ang.* p. 478. (b) *Ibid.* p. 477. (c) *In Vit. Rob.* (d) p. 104. (e) p. 250.

depended upon their Numbers, (and 'twas no Wonder, considering their vast Superiority to the *Scots*) is, so true, that one *Robert Baffon*, a *Carmelite* Friar, and Prior of a Monastery in *Scarsburgh*, was, by Reason of the Talent he had of making barbarous Verses, in that unpolish'd Age thought witty, brought along with the Army, in Order to describe the Battle and sing the Victory. He did both; but sung to another Tune than that he had thought on.

On the other Hand the *Scots* Army consisted of no more than 30000 Men; but they were well appointed; advantageously posted, flush'd with Successes, hardn'd with continual Use of War; and by reason that on the Points of their Swords and Spears they carried along with them all their Hopes of Life, Liberty, Honour and Wealth, unspeakably resolute and fierce. Besides, they had on their Head a Leader who alone was worth Multitudes: Nothing escap'd the Depth of his Penetration and Fore-cast; he foresaw and prepar'd himself against all Inconveniencies, could lay hold on, and make Use of all Advantages, was seconded by several Officers, particularly his own Brother *Edward Bruce*, his Nephew *Thomas Randolph*, and Sir *James Douglas*, inferior, either for Conduct or Courage, to none living but himself; and there was not a Souldier in the Army, but very well knew, that he, equally loath, or to expose their Lives, or to hazard his own Reputation and Crown in vain, would have retreated to the Mountains, as he did on several Occasions before, but for the Assurance he had of Conquest and Victory. They were not mistaken: For, as often before they had seen him out-do all or most Chiftains they had seen, heard or read of, so now they found that he out-did himself. He took up his Ground with the greatest Prudence imaginable, about two Miles to the South of (what

Battle of
Bannockburn.

was chiefly contended for) the Castle of *Stirling*, and just behind a small Brook, call'd *Bannockburn*, over which the Enemy must pass before they could reach him, or succour the Castle. And to render the Passage, which in that Season of the Year (being Mid-summer) is very easy, as dangerous as could be, on his Side of it, he caus'd deep Pits and Trenches to be made, and those he fill'd with sharp Stakes, and cover'd over with Hurdles or green Turfs, so artfully, that the advancing Enemy could not with the Eye distinguish them from solid Ground, and when upon them, were sure to sink down by the Pressure of their own Numbers or Horses Weight, and by Consequence to fall upon the killing Stakes, and to ly helpless in the devouring Pit. After this Manner did he guard his Front, against the first and fiercest Onset of the *English* Horse; and to render them elsewhere intirely useles, as also to intangle their Foot, he was flank'd on one side with inaccessible Rocks, and on the other with a moorish Spot of Land. Thus situated, he us'd even the Rays of the Sun to his Advantage; for as these gave but necessary Light and Heat to his Men, so by being emitted directly in the Faces of the Enemy, they dazl'd their Eyes and embaras'd their Motions. Nor did he believe, what is by too many thought, and by some

said,

said, that God Almighty, regardless of the Cause, is always to be found on the Side of the Strongest. By his own Piety, and that which he inspir'd to others, he made Heaven propitious; for he spent a great Part of the Night, that preceeded the Day of Battle, in Prayer, and, by his Example and Command, made the whole Army to receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist the next Morning. Nay, we are told (a) that the great Victory he was about to gain, was presag'd by no less than a Miracle: He had a particular Respect for *St. Fillan*, whose Arm he had for that Reason commanded his Chaplain to bring along with him to the Army; but this last, fearing the Loss of the Relick, in case of the Loss of a Battle, brought only the small Silver Chest in which it us'd to be enshrind; but, to the Admiration of all present, while the King was at his Devotions, the empty Chest, he had plac'd upon the Altar, open'd and shut of its own Accord; and the Chaplain, upon inspecting the Chest, found the Arm had got into it, and cry'd out, *A Miracle! a Miracle!* His word was taken for it; and the Story, being presently handed about among all the Officers and Souldiers of the Army, equally inflam'd their Courage and Piety; they no longer doubted of the Event of a Battle, the Lord of Hosts had pre-determin'd in their Favour: And lest their Fervour should relent, or Confidence waver, the Abbot of *Inchaffrey* (who, early in the Morning had said Mass on the Top of a high Hill, and administred the Sacrament to the King and great Officers about him, as others of the Clergy did to the rest of the Army, when they were to join Battle) advanc'd before the foremost Ranks with a *Crucifix* in his Hands. The whole Army follow'd, as is usual in Processions, and when in a fit Place, fell down upon their Knees, both to receive the Priest's Benediction, and to implore the Protection of the Object represented to them upon the Cross. The approaching Enemy was hard at Hand, who, seeing this uncommon Humiliation, they knew not the Reason of, concluded, that the vast Inequality of their Numbers, and pompous Shew of their glittering Weapons had frightn'd the *Scots* into Submission, and that by thus kneeling, when they should have been ready to fight, they meant to ask Mercy, and to beg their Lives. But this Error lasted not long; for the *Scots* got soon to their Feet, and, with Countenances that had nothing in them but what was Fearless and Manly, stood to their Arms, and seem'd rather impatient of Delay, than apprehensive of being charg'd.

King *Robert* set himself (b) upon the Head of the main Body, his Brother *Edward Bruce* upon the right Wing, and his Nephew *Thomas Randolph* on the Left; besides all which, there was also a fourth Battle, (c) commanded by *Walter*, Lord Great Steward of *Scotland*, then but a Youth of about 20 Years old, and the Lord *James Douglas*, who were both that Morning Knighted by their discerning Sovereign.

The

(a) Boeth. Holinshed. Reign of Robert I. (b) Buchan. in vit. Reg. Rob. I. Tyrol Vol. III. p. 260, 261. (c) Barbour.

The *English* Generals likewise drew up their Army in three Bodies. The Center consisted of Pike-men and Archers, and the Horse were plac'd on their Flanks. A great many of these last were arm'd *Cap-a-pe*, and their foreign Cuirassiers were very numerous. The Battle was commenc'd by the Right of the *English*, who advanc'd with great Swiftness upon the Left of the *Scots*; but before they could get up to a close Engagement, great Numbers of them fell head-long into those Ditches King *Robert* had plac'd in their Way. This, to be sure, would occasion a terrible Disorder, and universal Surprize; and *Thomas Randolph* fail'd not to improve the Accident he had foreseen and look'd for, into a total Rout of Men, over-power'd by those things they hop'd would have been their Safety, their great Numbers, their brisk Horses and weighty Armour. What fell out, as the main Bodies of both Armies were about to engage, tho' at first View of no great Moment, had nevertheless a great and happy Consequence. The King was riding before and leading on the foremost Ranks of his Men, when one of the Enemy, Sir *Richard Bohun*, to whom he was not unknown, thinking to determine the Quarrel and Fate of the Day, made a sudden Push with a Spear at his Body; but he wav'd the Blow with great Dexterity, and, by the Swiftness of his Horse getting up to the Aggressor, gave him so smart a stroke with his Halbert, that he laid him dead on the Spot. The Boldness and Vigour of this Action inspir'd the *Scots*, who beheld it, with that irresistible Courage that never fails to conquer. They fell in upon the Enemy's Ranks and broke them in a Minute, yet were themselves very much gall'd by the Arrows of the *English* Archers who flank'd them; but the Lord *Edward Bruce* came very opportunely upon their Backs with about 1000 Spear-men, and cut them to Pieces. A mistake the *English* fell in at the same Time, finish'd their Overthrow; for seeing a great Number of the *Scottish* Servants and Boyes of the Camp, drawn up on the Side of an adjoining Hill, they took them for fresh Troops just ready to fall down upon them; upon which the foremost turn'd their Backs, and, in their Flight, disorder'd those that stood behind them. *Gilbert*, the young and brave Earl of *Glocester*, King *Edward's* Nephew by his Mother, enrag'd to see his Countrymen (a) every where worsted, made a noble Effort, upon the Head of his Military Tenants, towards renewing the Battle: He is said have done great Execution with his own Hand; and 'tis certain, that he went on so far, that he could not come off, but chose rather to die with his Sword in his Hand, than to ask Quarters. In fine, great Valour, says *Pere D'Orleans* (b), was seen on both Sides; but that of the *Scots* was more general, better manag'd, and in the End more fortunate; insomuch, adds Mr. *Echard* (c), that *England* receiv'd on this Occasion the greatest Overthrow, that Nation did ever sustain. If *Scots* Writers may be credited, no less than 50000 Men were kill'd either in the Chase or Field of Battle; whereas on their Side,

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not above 4000 were kill'd, and of those none of Note but two, Sir *William Wepont*, and Sir *Walter Ross*. The *English* have not thought fit to tell us precisely their Losses; but how prodigiously great they must needs have been, we may easily conjecture from the unsuspected Acknowledgement of *Thomas Walsingham* (a), who tells us frankly, that henceforth the *English*, or, as Mr. *Echard* (b), is pleas'd to translate him, the unhappy Borderers became so dishearten'd, that a hundred of them would fly from three Scottish Souldiers.

Besides the Earl of *Glocester*, a great many Noblemen of the highest Rank, 700 Knights and Bannerets, and great Numbers of Gentlemen were Slain. The most eminent were (c) *Robert Lord Clifford*, the Lord *Pagan Tiptot*, the Lord *William Marisbal*, the Lord *Giles de Argenton*, the Lord *Edmund de Maule*, &c. Nor were the Prisoners less conspicuous either for Merit or Quality; *Humphry Bohun* Earl of *Hertford*, the Lord *Ralph de Mounthermer*, the Husband of the Countess Dowager of *Glocester*, King *Edward's* Sister, *Henry Lord Percy*, the Lord *Nevil*, the Lord *Scroop*, the Lord *Lucy*, *Atton*, &c. were among them. Nay, King *Edward* himself escap'd with the greatest Difficulty imaginable: He stood to the last, says *Walsingham* (d) (more truly than *Buchanan*, who tells us, without any Warrant I know of, that he fled among the first) and did not give over fighting, till compell'd against his Will by his Friends about him to fly. King *Robert* gave Orders to Sir *James Douglas* upon the Head of 400 Horse to pursue him; and had not *Patrick Dunbar* Earl of *March* been an unrelenting Traitor to both Kings, *John Baliol* and *Robert Bruce*, the latter had on this Occasion been honour'd by a Royal Captive: But that Earl receiv'd him, and, they say, fifteen Earls with him, into his Castle of *Dumbar*. Sir *James Douglas* could not besiege it; but he rode by and waited some Time betwixt it and the Borders, in hopes that King *Edward* with his numerous Retinue would venture out, and attempt to make their Way by Land to *England*; in which Case he had certainly intercepted and taken him, or died on the Spot. King *Edward* to avoid this Danger, chose to undergo another, less great indeed, but more dishonourable: He went on board a certain Vessel (some Authors say a Fisher Boat) which was all the Shipping to be found at *Dumbar* on that Juncture; and by this Means got to *Berwick* by Sea. *English* Authors conceal those aggravating Circumstances that attended their Overthrow: But how much their King was put to it, we may learn from the Vow he then made, and afterwards perform'd, to give a House in *Oxford* (e) to 24 *Carmelite* Friars Divines, in case it should please God to favour his Escape. It seems he had a particular Value for those *Carmelites*; but the Prior of *Scarburgh*, whose Poetick Genius, he thought, would immortalize his Name and Victories, did not answer Expectation. He was found among the Prisoners, and commanded to shew his Parts upon the

Subject

King Ed.
and II. with
great Diffi-
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Subject intended. He did it, but was in a melancholy Mood at the Time, and if his barbarous Verses signify any Thing, they signify so much ; for he begins thus,

*De planctu cudo metrum cum carmine nudo,
Risum retrudo, dum tali themate ludo, &c.*

A Scots Monk, as little acquainted with the *Nine Sisters*, as the *English Friar*, made a Poem upon the same Battle, but in a gayer Strain, and better, only because more intelligible, but both these, some Authors (a) have been at the Pains to transmit to Posterity, were in my Opinion out-done by a scoffing Ballad (b), made at the same Time, and by the Vulgar sung no doubt with great Pleasure: It begins as follows ;

*Maydens of England sore may yee mourn,
For your Lemmons you have lost at Bannockburn,
With here a low !*

*What ha ! send the King of England,
So soon to have won all Scotland,
With a Rumbylow !*

'Tis but too natural, and therefore ordinary to Victorious Nations to mock and insult over the Vanquish'd: This is certainly one of those Infirmities attach'd to feeble and unthinking Man, who, injudiciously swell'd with present Prosperity, does not reflect upon the uncertain and un-forseen Vicissitudes which attend all Things on Earth, especially the Events of War. But if Boasting and Scoffing were at any Time tolerable, the Scots; on this Emergency, deserv'd some Grains of Allowance. They had baffl'd one of the greatest Potentates in the World: They had the bewitching Pleasure of being glutt'd with Revenge; and of a poor, and therefore disregarded and undervalu'd People, were, by the immense Treasure and plentiful Provisions found in the Enemies Camp, become in a Minute opulent and easy. But as their incomparable Monarch had receiv'd the hardest and fiercest Stroaks of adverse Fortune with Patience; so now he us'd his Prosperity with unprecedented Humanity and Moderation. By this Means, says *Pere d'Orleans* (c) he foil'd even *Edward I.* and added to the Character of the Scots Hero, what had ever been wanting to that of the *English*, Humility in Triumph, and Mercy in Power. He very much lamented the Death of the Lord *Giles de Argenton*, because of old his intimate Friend and Familiar Acquaintance; and as he order'd all the Slain (d) to be decently buried, so he took a special Care of the Body of that Gentleman, which was with great Honour (e) interr'd in *St. Patrick's Church* near *Edinburgh*. Those of (f) the

*K. Robert's
generous
Behaviour
after the
Battle.*

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Earl of *Glocester* and the Lord *Clifford* he sent to King *Edward*, when at *Berwick*; and because of his former Friendship with the Lord *Mounthermer*, generously dismiss'd him without Ransom. The Rest of the Prisoners he also us'd with uncommon Civility; and the most eminent among them, particularly the Earl of *Hereford* and his Train were soon after suffer'd to return to *England*, upon certain Conditions they agreed to, and King *Edward* thought fit to ratify; that is, they were exchange'd for *Elizabeth* King *Robert's* Wife, *Marjory* his Daughter, *Christine* his Sister, *Donald* Earl of *Mar*, *Thomas Murray*, and *Robert* Bishop of *Glasgow*, the Scotsman in the World both the *Edwards* hated most heartily, and persecuted so far as they could most feverely. All these we find, (a) after a long and irksom Confinement of about eight Years, were, by King *Edward's* Orders, convoy'd safely from Place to Place to the Borders, where, by *Walter*, Lord Steward of *Scotland*, and a gallant Band of the young Nobility, they were joyfully receiv'd, and splendidly attended to *Stirling*, by this Time surrender'd, in Pursuance of the Capitulation, I have more than once mention'd, to the King. As for the Heroick and much injur'd Countess of *Buchan*, what came of her I cannot tell; 'tis probable that the inhumane and shameful Usage she met with, had before this Time occasion'd her Death.

King *Edward* stay'd but as long at *Berwick*, as was necessary to provide for the Safety of that important Frontier. He made one *Petre Spalding* Governour of it, and (taking along with him the Children of some of the wealthier Burghers, as Hostages for the Fidelity of the Rest) went to *York*, in Order to meet and advise with his Parliament, which was to sit down on the 15th of *August* (b). The Lord *Edward Bruce* and Sir *James Douglas* follow'd him close upon the Heels: They march'd by *Berwick*, invaded *England*, waisted *Northumberland*, rais'd great Contributions in the Bishoprick, took many Prisoners, and drove away a great Booty of Cattle from *Yorkshire*, burnt *Appelbey*, *Kirkwold*, &c. Nor did they sooner return to their own Country, but another Body of Scotsmen enter'd *England* again by *Redesdale* and *Tindale*, drove off the Cattle, set Fire to the Towns, ruin'd the Inhabitants, then fell upon and Conquer'd all *Gilesland*, insomuch that the People in all those Parts swore Allegiance to the King of Scots, and paid him Tribute: The County of *Cumberland* alone paid 600 Merks (no inconsiderable Sum in those Days) for its Share. All this the King and Parliament of *England* assembl'd at *York*, sat and saw; yet so impotent or so dispirited was that glorious Nation become on a sudden, that nothing material was concluded concerning the present Posture of Affairs; save only, that they agreed to the Exchange of those Prisoners, I have nam'd, and that Abundance of Inclination was express'd towards setting a Treaty of Peace on Foot. The King of *Scotland* was hopeful, it seems, that now the *English* would see that 'twas not practicable to re-gain the Crown he had won and wore with so much Honour and Justice, he therefore

Great Havock made by the Victorious Scots in *England*.

wrote

untimely Fate, but that he waged near a three Years War in that Country, and had probably continu'd Master of it, had he been Master of his own Passions; I mean had the Heat and Vehemency of his Martial Temper been allay'd, as when in *Scotland*, by the Moderation and Prudence of his Brother's superior Genius.

While the new King of *Ireland* was making considerable Advances towards his Settlement, the King of *England* was courting his Parliament at *Lincoln*, (a) in Order to obtain their Assistance against his Enemies the *Scots*. He promised to observe all the favourable Ordinances the Prelates and Great Men had forc'd from his Ancestors and himself, and they granted to him, in Aid of his War with *Scotland*, out of every Town in the Kingdom, one stout Foot-man to be furnish'd and arm'd with Swords, Bows, Arrows, Slings, Lances, and other Armour fit for Foot-men, at the Charge of the Towns: The Cities, Burghs and King's Demesnes were excepted; but then the Knights, Citizens and Burgeses, granted for the same Service a fifteenth Part of all their Moveable Goods; and all the Militia of *England* being, in Pursuance of these Resolutions, summon'd to be at *Newcastle* fifteen Days after Mid-summer, the Earl of *Lancaster* was appointed to command them in Chief. That Earl came to *Newcastle* accordingly, but did nothing considerable, either, say *English* Authors, because of his own Mis-understandings with the King his Master, or by Reason of the great Scarcity of Provisions. I find another, and perhaps a better Reason for his Non-action: A Treaty of Peace was again set on Foot in the Beginning of this Summer, (b) and *Robert Umfraville*, Earl of *Angus*, was one of the Plenipotentiaries nam'd by King *Edward*; wherefore the Army formerly appointed to draw together at Mid-summer, (c) was countermanded, and order'd to be in Readiness against the 10th of *August*. But the Treaty came to nothing; and the *Scots* always before-hand with the *English*, fail'd not to invade *England* about Mid-summer, the very Time formerly condescended upon for the *English* Army to march against them (d). They enter'd *York-Shire*, and wasted the whole Country as far as *Richmond*, and had laid the Town in Ashes, had not the Gentlemen of the Country, who retreated into the Castle, compounded with them for a Sum of Money. From thence they continu'd their March through the rest of *York-Shire*, Westward; and having burnt and plunder'd the whole Country for about sixty Miles, return'd with a large Booty and many Prisoners to *Scotland*, leaving behind them such a Scarcity, that a Quarter of Wheat was sold in those Parts for forty Shillings. After this fortunate Expedition; by which King *Robert* made it in a great Measure impracticable for an *English* Army to march through those desolate Provinces, he went over to *Ireland*, where he stay'd with his hitherto successful Brother, King *Edward*, till *Whitsuntide* the next Year.

A. D. 1316.

Great Havock made by the *Scots* in *England*.

King *Robert* joins his Brother King *Edward* in *Ireland*.

The

(a) *Tyrrel*, Vol. III. p. 265, 266, 267. (b) *Fœder. Angl.* Tom. III. p. 553, and 557. (c) *Ibid.* p. 562 (d)

Tyrrel, p. 267.

The King of *England* had no sooner Advice of the Absence of his over-topping Rival; but he hastn'd to the North, and doubted not but he should now have an Opportunity of doing something to Purpose, in Opposition to the few Forces he suppos'd were left in *Scotland*. When at *York*, at which Place (tho' most if not all *English* Historians pass over in Silence this Expedition, as they do a great many more unsuccessful ones both of this King and his Father) he arriv'd (a) before the end of *August*, he issu'd out his Writs commanding all his Power to attend him about the beginning of *October*. He assur'd himself, as he says in express Terms (b) that in such an Exigency, there was no *Englishman*, whether Laick or of the Clergy, but would put his Hand to the Work. And that nothing might be wanting to compass what he intened, he wrote with great Earnestness to his Officers in *Gascony*, desiring them (c) to send over in all haste the Money, that transmarine Province had granted him. Sir *James Douglas*, one of the Guardians of the Marches for *Scotland* was aware of these Preparations, and took his Measures so well, says *Buchanan* (d), that he met with and overthrew King *Edward's* Forces no less than three Times. *Holinshed* (e) seems to reduce these three Engagements to one, where he insinuates, that the King of *England* was in Person, and tells us, that in this Battle three notable Captains were Slain, viz. Sir *Edmund Lylan* a *Gascoign*, Sir *Robert Nevil*, and a third who had the Honour to die by the Hand of Sir *James Douglas* himself. But what the King of *England* could not effect by Land, he attempted by Sea; and with this View sent his Fleet to the Firth of *Edinburgh*, with Orders to land on either Side of it as his Commanders should think fit. He was obey'd accordingly, and *Duncan* Earl of *Fife*, inform'd of the Mischief done by the *English* in his Neighbourhood, rais'd about 500 Men, in order to drive them back to their Ships; but when he came in their view, he was frightn'd by the Superiority of their Numbers, and was marching back again, when he met with that Loyal and Martial Prelate, *William Sinclair* Bishop of *Dunkeld*, and his Retinue, consisting of about 60 arm'd Men. The Bishop blam'd the Earl for the little Courage he had express'd, and taking a Lance in his Hand, and putting the Spurs to his Horse, cry'd out, *Who loves Scotland, follow me.* All did as he desir'd them, and they charg'd the vagrant Enemy with that Vigour (f), that at the first Onset 500 of them were kill'd: The rest fled with great Precipitation to their Boats which lay at *Dunnybrissel*, and enter'd them in such a Hurry and Confusion, that one of them, overlet by Numbers, sunk down in the River, before they could get to their Ships.

The *English* Army thrice defeated on the Borders by Sir *James Douglas*.

William Sinclair Bishop of *Dunkeld* defeats the *English*.

This *William Sinclair*, a Son of the ancient Family of *Rosline*, (from whence the illustrious and potent Earls of *Orkney* (g) and *Caitberf*s not long after descended, as does still the present *Henry* Lord *Sinclair*, Successor to *William* Son and Heir (h) to *William* Earl

N n n n n n n 2

Earl

(a) Feder. Angl. Tom. III. p. 568. (b) Ibid. (c) Ibid. p. 569. (d) In vit. Reg. (e) Hist. of Scotl. p. 32 (f) Holinshed, p. 321. (g) Torfæus Hist. Orcad. p. 174. (h) Charta penes Wil. Wilson Clerk to the Seignior

Earl of *Caithness*) had been several Years before this Time a noted Patriot, and had, to the King of *England's* great Dissatisfaction, shew'd himself to be such, when at the Court of *Rome* (a) in 1271. For these Reasons 'twas, and no Wonder, that King *Robert* had a peculiar Regard for him, and commonly call'd him, *His own Bishop*.

Had he or any Body else been able to prevail so far with that Court, as to make them but hearken to Reason, he had done the most valuable Piece of Service, King *Robert* could receive. Pope *Boniface VIII.* who had given himself the Trouble to enter into the Merits of the Cause, declar'd himself openly in Favour of the *Scots*, notwithstanding they were at the Time, by the prevailing Ascendant of King *Edward I.* reduc'd to the last Extremity: But he was

A. D. 1217.

Pope *John XXII.* partial in Favour of *Edward II.*

dead long ago; and I do not find, that, till about this Time, his Successors did much concern themselves with the State of *Britain*. But now *John XXII.* was promoted to the Pontifical Throne, the King of *England* (unable either to offend *Scotland*, or to defend *England* it self, much less *Ireland* by the Force of his own Arms) su'd for and obtain'd from him such other Weapons, as he thought the *Scots* would not dare to resist. 'Twas the Height of the Ambition and most earnest Desire of all the Popes in those Days, to have the Glory of recovering the Holy Land, long since lost to, and reconquer'd by the Infidels. For this great End they stuck almost at nothing; and the Christian Princes, sensible of their Weakness in this Respect, never fail'd, when they found their Favour necessary, to put on the Cross and take an Oath to go to *Jerusalem*, and with all their Power to fight for its Relief. *Edward I.* had more than once trick'd the Holy Father into his Measures by this Stratagem, but never so effectually as his Son *Edward II.* did on the present Occasion. He made the new Pontiff to believe, that nothing kept him from accomplishing his Vow, but the Rebellion of *Robert Bruce* and his Associates; and that they were Rebels he prov'd by producing the Documents of their Submission to his Father. Pope *John* was the more inclinable to credit what was so confidently asserted, and so apparently true, because the King of *England* (to say nothing of the Treasure he squander'd away among the Court Parasites) was so mean, as to give way to his usurping a Power of giving the Law to Kings in Matters Temporal, and (b) of commanding not only *Robert Bruce*, but also himself to lay down their Arms, and observe a Truce prescrib'd at *Avignon*, where the Pope then resided. The truth is, that Truce was sought for by himself, and design'd for his Advantage; and when the two Cardinal Legates *Guacelin* and *Luca* came over to *England* with the imperious Bull, they were welcom'd and receiv'd, as if they had been Angels from Heaven; but were not assur'd of the like Entertainment in *Scotland*, and therefore sent Messengers before them, the one a Bishop, t'other a Clergyman of Reputation; to prepare their Way.

These

(a) Foeder. Angl. Tom. III. p. 203. (b) Ibid. p. 594.

These Messengers went from *Durham* by different Roads to the Borders of *Scotland* (a), whither they got safe but with much Difficulty. From thence they were conducted to *Roxburgh*, where the King, now return'd from *Ireland*, was at the Time. He receiv'd them graciously and civilly, as themselves own, (for I shall here insert nothing but what I have from their own Relation to the Pope and Cardinals) but having produc'd their Letters, directed, *To Robert Bruce Governor of Scotland*, he would not suffer those that were seal'd to be made open, "Because, said he, they must needs be written to some other than to me; there are more than one *Robert Bruce* in my Kingdom, who govern it in Conjunction with the rest of the Barons, to be sure their Eminencies have directed these Letters to one of them." *The Letters of the Pope, because open, he suffer'd to be read, and heard them with great Shew of Reverence, but said,* "That they contain'd Matters of so great Importance, that he could make no Answer to them, nor could he allow the Cardinal Legates to enter his Kingdom, till he should advise with his Barons: That, for that Purpose, he should instantly call them together, and that before the first of *October* they should know his Resolution. He added, That nothing could be so agreeable to him as a solid and lasting Peace, and that he should take it kindly from whoever would be instrumental in bringing it about. His Courtiers spoke more plainly; they told the Bishop "That had his Holiness given him the Title of King, he had presently enter'd upon a Treaty, and would have been far from declining the Mediator. For the same Reason an Express, sent by the Pope to acquaint the Scots Clergy of his Accession to the Pontifical Dignity, had been denied Access into the Kingdom, and after three Months delay, was yet upon the Borders. The Bishop intreated the King to grant his safe Conduct to this Express; but, by his Silence and the Alteration of his Countenance, receiv'd a Denial. Upon this the Bishop told the King and his Council, that the Church, because the Mother of all Christians, did not use to prejudge the Interest of any of her Children, and that for that Reason the holy Father had not thought fit to give him the Title of King, till the Contention between him and the King of *England* should be ended; and that to effect this, he had sent the Cardinal Legates, with Overtures of, and Orders to bring about a Peace so necessary to all Christendom, and more particularly to the Holy Land, lost by Reason of the Divisions of *Europe*. The King with a smiling Countenance and an agreeable Air reply'd, "That he had a most dutiful and filial Respect, both for the Church as his Mother, and the Pope as his Father; but that it seem'd his Parents had not those Eyes for him they had for others: That if to give him the Title of King, was to prejudge the King of *England*, to refuse it was to prejudge him: That he had good Right to, and was actually in Possession of the Kingdom: That

Remarkable Discourse between *R. Robert* and the Pope's Messengers.

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(a) Foeder. Angl. Tom. III. p. 661, 662. Vid. the Cardinal's Letter to the Pope.

“ he was own'd by all other Kings and Princes in the World, and
 “ that had the Bishop brought such Letters to any other Court, but
 “ his own, he very much doubted if he had return'd with so civil
 “ an Answer as he had given.

The Pope
 commands a
 two Years
 Truce to be
 observ'd by
 the two
 Kings.

As civil as it was, neither the Pope nor Cardinals were satisfied with it: 'Tis true they had Patience till the Time condescended upon was elaps'd, but then finding that no Access was to be allow'd to any who would not, as a Preliminary, acknowledge the Title of King *Robert*, they resolv'd to unsheath the spiritual Sword, and to use that pretended Authority, weak Heads and scrupulous Consciences were terrify'd by, but to which the Learn'd and Wise did never yield but when acted by some By-end of their own. With this View, they sent one *Adam Newton* (a), Guardian of the Minorites of *Berwick*, to *Scotland*, with Orders to publish the Truce, and to declare both the King and Kingdom Excommunicated, if they did not instantly desist from Hostilities. The zealous Friar left his Convent, and boldly ventur'd to go as far as the Village of *Old-Camus*, where he found the *Scots* Army was encamp'd; and (tho it was in the end of *December*) very busily employ'd in cutting of Wood, and making various Engines in Order to besiege the Town and Castle of *Berwick*. He was terrified at this Sight, and thought not fit to advance farther without a safe Conduct, which was granted him in the King's Name by *Walter* Lord High Steward of *Scotland*, *Sir Alexander Seton*, and *William Montonferth*. The King would not see him; but these Gentlemen desir'd that he would deliver his Letters to them, and promis'd to return them immediately. He did it with some Reluctancy, and had Reason; for they were no ways acceptable, and therefore were re-deliver'd with Contempt. Upon this the Friar had the Courage (at least he afterwards said so) to proclaim the Truce, to the hearing of a great many of the Army; but no Body took Notice of it. The next Day he was dismiss'd without a safe Conduct, and in his Way to *Berwick* (for he durst not venture to go farther into *Scotland*, tho he much inclin'd in hopes of working upon the Minds of the bigotted Clergy, if any such had been found) was robb'd by four Men, appointed as 'twas suppos'd, to Way-lay him, and bring back the Pope's Bulls and Cardinals Instructions to the King.

D. 1318.

King *Robert*
 and
 Kingdom of
Scotland Ex-
 communi-
 cated.

All this the Court of *Rome*, equally exasperated by the great Largeesses and continual Complaints of the more obedient and dutiful King *Edward*, consider'd as the greatest Affront that could be put upon the Apostolick See; and henceforth the Pope did not so much as put on the Air of a common Father, but on all Occasions acted like an open avow'd Enemy, both to the King and Kingdom of *Scotland*. The last he laid under an Interdict; and the first, together with all his Accomplices, he order'd to be declar'd Excommunicated every Sunday and Holiday (b), not only in all the Churches of *England*, *Ireland* and *Wales*, but also of *Flanders* and *France*.

(a) *Fœder. Angl.* Tom. III. p. 683. (b) *Ibid.* p. 707, 799, &c.

France. Nay, he turn'd so unconscionably inexorable, that at the Sollicitation of King *Edward*, (a) he caus'd imprison some *Scotsmen* King *Robert* had sent to his Court, in Order to allay his Resentment, by informing him (as 'twas easy to do, would he but have listn'd to Reason) how Matters really stood.

Pope *John* was not the only foreign Prince King *Edward* endeavour'd to fix in his Interest: He had long before made heavy Complaints to the Earl of *Flanders*, that the *Scots* had been, from the Beginning of the War, supply'd (b) with Ammunition of all Sorts by his Subjects; and that in one Day, (c) no less than thirteen Ships loaden'd with Arms and Victuals, had sail'd from his Port of *Delfswyn* for *Scotland*. He had also complain'd to the Magistrates of *Genoa*, that (d) the Subjects of that Republick had assisted his Enemy *Robert Bruce*, to whom also they gave the Title of King, with Arms and Gallies; and now again he wrote (e) to the Earl of *Flanders*, the Duke of *Brabant* and Magistrates of *Newport*, *Ipres*, &c. and told them, that to his great Prejudice, and the Scandal of Christendom, the *Scots* Rebels, who had never ceas'd imposing upon and begging Succours from all Neighbouring Nations, tho now, for their Disobedience to the Holy Church, excommunicated, were nevertheless kindly receiv'd and powerfully assisted by their Subjects. The Duke of *Brabant*, (f) who was Nephew to King *Edward*, and the Magistrates of *Ipres*, (g) made answer, that they knew nothing of the Matter, but should henceforth take Care that no such Thing should be done. These of *Bruges* were not so complaisant: (h) They irritated the Earl of *Flanders*, who, in his Return to the King of *England*, (i) plainly told him, that tho he valued his Friendship more than that of the King of *Scotland*, yet he could not hinder his Merchants from carrying on their Trade, and that *Flanders* had ever been open to all Nations whatever. *Haquin V.* King of *Norway*, (k) was, as much, if not more in the Interest of King *Robert*, as the *Fleemings*, *French*, or *Genoese*: He had sent a solemn Embassy to him, in the Year 1312, and not only own'd him King, but also renew'd the Treaty, concluded in Anno 1266, between their Predecessors King *Alexander III.* of *Scotland*, and *Magnus IV.* of *Norway*; so that the *English* Sollicitations were almost no where prejudicial to the Interest of *Scotland*, but at the Court of *Rome*, where they should have been least so. But,

Edward II. endeavours to gain over all foreign Princes to his interest.

The Earl of *Flanders* and *K. of Norway* favourable to *K. Robert*.

Tho King *Robert* was hugely mortified, yet he was not at all daunted by the Pope's Partiality: He depended upon his own good Conscience, and the Assurances given him by his own Clergy, who, as they themselves continu'd, notwithstanding the Interdict, to celebrate Divine Worship, and administrate the Sacraments, (l) so they made the People to know that the Pope was mis-inform'd and prejudic'd: That he had nothing to do with the temporal Affairs of Prin-

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ces,

(a) *Ibid.* p. 61. (b) *Ibid.* p. 386. (c) *ibid.* p. 403. (d) *ibid.* p. 563. (e) *ibid.* p. 795. (f) *ibid.* p. 706. (g) *ibid.* p. 771. (h) *ibid.* (i) *ibid.* 770. (k) *Torfae Hist. Orcad.* p. 198. (l) *Foeder. Angl.* p. 794.

ces, unless admitted as a Mediator, and that his Thunder could hurt none but these that had unjustly procur'd it, to favour their otherwise impotent Malice, and in vain contended for Usurpation. The King perswaded of these Maximes (even the Church of Rome did never condemn) and back'd by his Loyal and discerning Subjects, sat down before *Berwick* on the 2d of April, (a) and took it, say some, by the Treason of *Peter Spalding* the Governor; others, by Storm; yet was so far from retaliating the Barbarities committed by the *English*, when about twenty Years before they made themselves Masters of the same Place, that on the contrary, he suffer'd none to be kill'd, but such as were so mad as to resist. The Conquest of *Berwick* was follow'd by that of the Castles of *Werk*, *Harbottle*, *Midford*, and indeed of all *Northumberland*; but *Newcastle* and some few Fortresses. This was not all: For in the following *May*, another Body of *Scots*, under the Conduct of *Sir James Douglas*, again enter'd *England*, and penetrated farther than ever they had done before. They burnt the Towns of *Northallerton* and *Burrough-bridge*, plunder'd *Rippon*, set Fire to *Scarburgh* and *Skipton*, then return'd with an immense Booty, and a considerable Number of Prisoners they found lurking in Woods, and, says *Mr. Tyrrel*, drove before them like so many Sheep.

Had King *Edward Bruce* been this Year as successful in *Ireland*, (and 'twas his own Fault that he was not so) the Glory and Happiness of *Scotland* and *Scots-Men* had been compleated; but that Prince, naturally forward, by Success emboldn'd, and desirous to win a Battle before his Brother King *Robert* (who again went over to his Assistance) could join him (so say all *Scots* Authors) unfortunately lost it, together with his Crown, his Life, and the blooming Liberties of the again dispirited *Irish*. However the King of *England* was not so much elevated by the Success of his Arms in *Ireland*, as he was mortified by the repeated Losses and irretrievable Ruine of his People in the North of *England*. To dedammage them (b) so far as he could, and to guard them from further Mischief, he came in Person to *York* towards the End of the Campaign, and order'd the whole Country (c) to be arm'd and upon their Guard, in case they should be invaded, during the ensuing Winter.

He kept his Christmases at *Beverly* in *York-Shire*, (d) and stay'd in that Country till *August* 1319, when being joyn'd (e) by all his Forces; and having order'd publick Prayers to be put up to Heaven (f) for the Prosperity of his Arms, he march'd upon the Head of a mighty Army, and on the first of *September* invested *Berwick* by Land and Sea. *Walter* Lord Great Steward of *Scotland*, who, for his high Birth, vast Estate and incomparable Qualifications both of Mind and Body, had been married some Years before with Princess *Majory*, the King's only Daughter, was Governor of the Place; and by the noble Defence he made, shew'd himself worthy to be what he was, the Father of the Great King *Robert II.* the first of the Royal *Stewarts* that ascen-

Great Har-
rock done
in England
by the Scots.

Edward K.
of Ireland de-
feated and
kill'd.

A.D. 1319.

Berwick be-
sieg'd by
Edward II.
and defen-
ded by *Wal-
ter* Lord
Great 'Ste-
ward of *Scot-
land*.

(a) Holinshed p. 321. Tyrrel, Vol. 3. p. 272. (b) Foeder. Angl. p. 741, 742. (c) Ibid. p. 748. (d) Tyrrel, p. 273. (e) Foeder. Angl. p. 774. (f) Ibid. p. 786.

ascended the Throne. Should I enter into the Detail of this memorable Siege, as Mr. *Simson* has done, (a) from *Barbour* and other good Authors, I should do but Justice to the unequal'd Valour the Besieg'd in general, and the Governor in particular express'd; but I design Brevity, and am loath to enlarge but upon such Transactions as are not so vulgarly known. King *Robert* had at the Time an Army (b) of about 20000 Men, whom (not daring to attack the superior Enemy in their well fortified Camp) he sent, under the Conduct of the two great Captains, the Earl of *Murray* and Sir *James Douglas*, into *England*. They wasted the whole Country before them, and thought to have surpriz'd and taken the Queen of *England* in the very City of *York*: But that Project fail'd them; she got Notice of it, and retir'd in Time; but *William de Melton* Arch-bishop of the Place, together with the Bishop of *Ely*, a vast Number of Clergymen and others, griev'd at the repeated Losses of the impoverish'd People in those Parts, would needs signalize their Zeal upon this Occasion. They drew a raw and undisciplin'd Army together, and were so mad as to give Battle to the *Scots* at *Mitton* upon *Swale*, about twelve Miles from *York*. Their Presumption cost them dear: They were broken upon the very first Onset, and the *Scots*, who had engag'd, as they were generally wont to do, on Foot, immediately remounted their Horses, in Order to follow the Chase. They did not spare (and they were certainly in the Right) the Monks or the Priests, but kill'd all they could overtake, to the Number of 4000 Men, and among the rest the Mayor of *York*, besides 1000 who were drown'd in the River. Upon the News of this Defeat which the *English* receiv'd on the 21st of *September*, their King finding all the Assaults he had given to the Town of *Berwick* successless; and seeing all his Engines (particularly a great one call'd the *Sow*) destroy'd by the Defendants, thought fit to raise the Siege, with Design (say *English* Authors) to intercept and fight the *Scots* Army, as they return'd to their own Country: But their Generals took another Course, and got Home with many Cattle, much Plunder and more Glory; yet were not so satiated with Victory, but that in the following *November* they pass'd the Borders anew, wasted all *Gilleshland* as far as *Burrough* under *Stanmore*; and then returning through *Westmorland* and *Cumberland*, did the like in both these Counties.

Scotland was now become exceedingly rich, and *England*, at least the North of it, miserably poor; wherefore both Nations were equally desirous of a Respite from War; the one in Order to enjoy the Fruits of their long Toil and great Victories, t'other to retrieve their Losses, and recruit their Forces. Both Kings were sensible of the Dispositions of their Respective People; and *Edward*, content to smother his Resentment, which was very great, for a Time, (c) by the common Advice of his Barons, was at length prevail'd with to make a Truce for two Years. King *Robert* did the like, and it commenc'd

Great Har-
vock done
in England
by the Scots.

Battle of
Mitton.

Siege of
Berwick
rais'd.

North of
England
over-run.

Two Years
Truce a-
gree'd to.

pppppp

on

(a) Life of *Walter IV.* Lord High Steward of *Scotland*. (b) *Tyrrel*, Vol. III. p. 273, 274. *Holinsh.* p. 323.
(c) *Tyrrel*, Vol. III. p. 275.

on the 21st of *December* 1319, and lasted, without any Breach made by either Side, so far as I can see, till *Christmas* 1321 (a). The Terms of it allow'd each Party to prosecute such peaceable Measures as they thought best to serve their Interests. As the King of *England*, by his Ambassadors and repeated Applications (b) wearied the Court of *Rome* (of it self not at all favourable to the *Scots*) with daily Complaints against; and sham Stories of his own Claim and Sovereignty over them; so the King of *Scotland*, tho not in the least troubled in his Conscience, yet uneasy and loath to continue at Odds, with whom he believ'd the spiritual Father of all Christians, made it his Business to undeceive the Pope, and dispose him to act, as he ought to have done, impartially. With this View, he sent *Odard de Mambousson*, and *Adam de Gordon* (perhaps the same brave Man who had been so fix'd in his Loyalty to King *John Baliol*, that he was, for many Years after, disloyal to King *Robert Bruce*) to *Avignon* (c) where the Pope still resided, and with them, that bold, loyal, judicious & pious Letter, (d) written in Name of the Nobility and Community of *Scotland* at *Aberbrothock* the 6th of *April* 1320. It contains in Substance an Account of the Origine of the *Scots* Nation, of their Conversion to, at least Confirmation in the Christian Faith by *St. Andrew*, the Brother of *St. Peter*; of the uninterrupted Succession of 113 Kings in the Royal Line, who, say they, reign'd over them without the Intervention of an Alien; of their Liberty and Independency, never disputed till of late, and ever preserv'd; of their lamentable Circumstances and insufferable Oppressions under the Tyranny of *Edward I.* King of *England*; of the great Merit and Valour of their Deliverer King *Robert Bruce*; of the Right of Succession undoubtedly lodg'd in him, by the Laws and Customs of the Land, and the due Consent & Assent of the Community. To him continue they, as well upon the Account of his Right, as by Reason of his Merit, we will adhere: But if he desists from what he has begun, & goes about to subject us or our Kingdom to the King or Kingdom of *England*, we will expell him as our Enemy, and the Subverter of his own and our Right, and we will set another King over us, who shall be able to defend us: For so long as but an hundred *Scotsmen* remain alive, we will never be subject'd in any Manner of Way to the Dominion of *England*. In fine, they tell him, that if his Holiness will not suffer himself to be undeceiv'd, and continues to favour their injurious & calumniating Enemies, they are perswaded, That the Almighty will impute to him the Destruction of the Souls and Bodies, and all the Hostilities which the *English* shall commit upon them, and they upon the *English*. So true 'tis, that our Ancestors in those Days very well understood both the Pontificate and Regale; and that they neither thought themselves oblig'd to acknowledge a King, tho an Hereditary one, and otherwise indisputably lawful, who would, by giving up his own and their Right to a forreign Power, Un-king himself; nor to submit the same

Right

Admirable
Letter of
Barons of
of *Scotland*
to the Pope.

Right to the Arbitrement, even of him whom they fil'd and believ'd to be in spiritual Matters, *God's Vicegerent* upon Earth.

I do not find that the irritated Pontiff was yet willing to be convinc'd: 'Tis true, that he delay'd prosecuting King *Robert*, as he had done before, with (a) his Citations and Censures, and that he wrote pressing Letters (b) to King *Edward*, exhorting him, for the good of both Kingdoms, of all Christendom, and particularly of the holy Land, which so much stood in Need of his Presence, to entertain serious Thoughts of a lasting Peace. But when a Treaty was set on Foot, as it was soon after, for that End, his Nuncio's, who would needs be present at it, were (as it appears from King *Edward's* many Letters of Thanks to the Pope and Cardinals (c), for their good Offices) evidently Partial in his Favour: And it seems the Ambassadors of *France* were no less so in Favour of the *Scots*; at least King *Edward* himself was of that Opinion; and 'twas with Reluctancy that he suffer'd them (d) to assist at the Congress. To be short, the Treaty took no Effect, and both Monarchs spent a great Part of the ensuing Year 1321, in Preparations for renewing the War.

The Pope still Partial.

France as favourable to the Scots

A. D. 1321.

King *Edward* began it with so much the more Resolution, because, as he himself wrote to the Pope (e) he had lately vanquished and prosecuted to Death a rebellious Faction of his own Subjects, headed by his Kinsman the Earl of *Lancaster*, who had taken Arms against their Sovereign for no other Reason, that I can see, but because their Sovereign was pleas'd to Honour two Favourites the *Spencers*, Father and Son (insolent indeed and covetous, as most Men in high Favour are wont to be) with more Regard than they would allow of; and who, to support their Rebellion against the King, had likewise so far betray'd their distress'd Country, in whose Favour they nevertheless pretended to act, as to enter into a secret Alliance with its open and avow'd Enemies the *Scots*: Witness those mysterious Letters (f) written in the *French* Tongue by the Earl of *Murray* and Sir *James Douglas* to their Chiftains, and directed, partly to King *Arthur*, the Name assum'd by the Earl of *Lancaster*, partly to *Ralf de Nevil*, *Roger Clifford*, &c. so natural 'tis for Rebels to destroy, what they most set up for, their native Country, and so usual it has been in all Ages to foreign Princes to foment Abroad, what they most detest and fear at Home, Rebellion and Civil War. Never had a Prince more Reason to make use of that Piece of Policy than King *Robert*, and yet I wish, for his Honour, I could say that he had scorn'd to do it.

English Rebels combine with the Scots.

King *Edward* resolv'd to be even with him; and the *English* Nation, willing to think that the Success which had till then attended the *Scots*, was not owing so much to their Valour, Conduct or good Fortune, as to the Treachery of some of themselves, the Backwardness of their great Men, and the Male-administration of

A. D. 1321.

Ppppppp 2

their

(a) Feeder. Angel. Tom. III. p. 848. (b) Ibid. 846. (c) Ibid. p. 883, 884. (d) Ibid. p. 853, 854. (e) Ibid. p. 944. (f) Ibid. p. 926.

their King or his Ministers, now unanimously agreed to grant large (a) Subsidies, and to raise an Army sufficient not only to repel, but to conquer their hated Foes. These last had renew'd their Hostilities, and invaded *England* in *February*; that is, a Month after the Truce was expir'd (b). They had done the like in *June* (c), and now they had Advice that he was at *York* (d), but that his Army was not yet ready to march against them. King *Robert*, to be a third Time before Hand with him, put himself upon the Head of a choice Party of his Men (e), enter'd *England* near *Carlisle* in the Beginning of *July*, burnt a Mannor that formerly belong'd to himself at *Ross* and *Allerdale*, spoil'd the Monastery of *Holm*, wasted the Country of *Conland*, and passing over *Doden-Sands*, and then to *Cartmle*, beyond *Leven-Sands*, he advanc'd to the Town of *Lancaster*, where he was join'd by the Earl of *Murray* and Sir *James Douglas*, with another Body of his Army, and with them advancing Southwards, he came to *Preston* in *Anderness*, eighty Miles in *English* Ground, having ravag'd and laid waste all behind him, except the Abbay of *Fourneis* a Priory of black Chanons in *Cartmle*, another of black Monks, and a House of preaching Friars in *Lancaster*, and another of Friars Minors in *Preston*. From thence he return'd with many Prisoners, great Riches and much Booty of all Kinds; and coming to *Carlisle* encamp'd near that Place five Days; during which Time Detachments from his Army destroy'd the Corns and all Things else in the Neighbourhood. All the King of *England* could do in the mean Time, was to Order the Country People to drive their Cattle, and carry their best Effects out of the Reach of the Invaders (f), and to write to the Pope and Cardinals (g), earnestly desiring them to prosecute the Scots with the utmost Severity; but at length when his Fleet (h) and Land Army were ready to enter upon Action, he set out from *Newcastle* (i) in the Beginning of *August*, and enter'd *Scotland* upon the Head of such a formidable Army, as the wiser King *Robert* did not think fit to oppose in the open Fields. He therefore retreated to the North of *Forth*, whither he commanded all his Subjects, by South that River, to follow with their Cattle and valuable Moveables. His Orders were punctually obey'd, and he very well knew that his Enemy's Numbers would in an abandon'd Country prove their Bane, that they could not subsist long, and unless they sat down before, and offer'd to besiege some strong Place, (in which case he would have rais'd all his Power and given them Battle, or made a Diversion by re-entering *England*) they could do but little Harm. What they could, they did: They advanc'd as far as *Edinburgh* pillag'd the Abbays (k) of *Holy-rood-house* and *Melross*, burnt the Monastery of *Dryburgh*, kill'd some Monks, whom in the Night time they found sleeping in their Cells, riss'd some Churches, and even the Altars where

North of
England fre-
quently wa-
sted by the
Scots.

Edward II.
vades
Scotland.

(a) Tyrrel. Vol. III. p. 299. (b) Foeder. Angl. p. 930. (c) Ibid. p. 959. (d) Ibid. p. 961. (e) Holinshed 323. (f) Foeder. Angl. p. 962. (g) Ibid. p. 967, 971. (h) Ibid. p. 955. (i) Ibid. p. 971. (k) Extract. e
arop. Scot.

where the consecrated Host was preserv'd and by them worshipp'd, then return'd ingloriously, without Honour, Booty or Prisoners. Retires without Success.

In this Manner did King *Robert* vanquish without fighting: But this was not enough; he follow'd close upon the Heels of his Enemy (a), harrass'd his retreating Army with brisk Onsets and sudden Incurfions, took *Norham* Castle, and, marching forwards, destroy'd several Towns in the North-Riding of *York*. Nay, on the 14th of *October* he surpris'd and attack'd King *Edward* himself at the Abbey of *Byeland* in the Forrest of *Blackmore*; (*Holinshed* (b) says, that 'twas a fair Battle, to which both Kings prepar'd themselves with Deliberation) and had taken him Prisoner, had he not sav'd himself by Flight to *York*, to the very Gates of which he was pursu'd, and that City insulted by *Walker*, Lord High Steward of *Scotland*. Is pursu'd and defeated at Byeland.
His Cousin *John* of *Britany* the Earl of *Richmond*, had not so good Luck: His Men were totally routed, and himself, together (c) with *Henry* Lord of *Sanly*, the *French* Envoy was, taken, as was also King *Edward's* whole Plate, Furniture and Money. York and York shire insulted.

The victorious *Scots* continu'd in the very Sight of *York*, till they had ravag'd the whole Neighbourhood, burnt *Rippon*, compounded with *Beverly* for 400 pounds; and had not the Season of the Year been so far advanc'd, I know not what 'tis that they might not have attempted. But King *Robert* did not at all aim at Conquest: He invaded and ravag'd *England*, but to save *Scotland*, and to convince King *Edward* and all his Successors, that they had best lay by their unjust Pretensions to a Superiority they could not keep. The impoverish'd and distress'd Inhabitants of the North; nay, some of the best Patriots *England* had, were so sensible of this, that finding their King equally unfortunate and relentless, they began to entertain Thoughts of forcing him to Reason, and accordingly enter'd into a clandestine Treaty with King *Robert* (d) to that Effect. *Andrew de Hercla* Earl of *Carthle*, was the Person principally concern'd in it, and was therefore arrested, condemn'd and executed in *February* 1323 for the treasonable Fact; and I cannot but acknowledge Earl of Carthle Executed, and for what. deservedly; tho by the Treaty it self 'tis plain, that tho he made bold to encroach upon the Rights of Sovereignty, and thereby affronted his King and Government, yet he meant no Prejudice either to the Honour or true Interest of his native Country: And this is perhaps the first, if not the only Instance I can give, of a Man who acted illegally against his Sovereign, when at the same Time he prov'd an earnest Friend to his Country.

The King of *Scotland*, satiated with Glory, and desirous of Peace and Ease (now he was drawing to old Age) but more particularly concern'd at the implacable Prejudice of the Pope, to whom, while the war lasted, he could get no Access, laid hold on the favourable Dispositions of the *English* Nation. He caus'd the Earl of *Rich-*

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(a) Tyrrel. Vol. III. p. 299. (b) P. 324. (c) Fordex. Angl. Tom. III. p. 978, 982. (d) Tyrrel Vol. III. p. 301. Fordex. Angl. p. 983.

Richmond to be us'd, conform to his high Quality, with much Respect, but he himself convers'd familiarly with the Lord *de Sully* or *Sanly*. That Gentleman undertook, upon his being remitted to *England*, to mediate, if not a Peace, at least a long lasting Truce, and was as good as his Word: But the King of *England* worded it in such a Manner as was disagreeable to King *Robert*; upon which this last wrote in *French* to the Lord *Sanly* as follows (a):

Truce re-
jected by K.
Robert, and
why.

“ You may remember, Sir, that before you left *Scotland*, We told you, that We were willing to enter into a Treaty with the King of *England*, provided that the Kingdom of *Scotland* should remain Free and Independent to Our selves and Our Heirs, and that our Allies should suffer no Prejudice: And now We have receiv'd a Transcript from that King, bearing, That he grants a Truce to the *Scots* in Arms against him.----- A way of speaking very strange: For in all former Treaties, altho he did not give Us the Title of King, yet he nam'd Us as Chief and Principal on the one Side, as he did himself on the other: Whereas now he makes no more mention of Us, than of the meanest of Our People. Wherefore be not surpris'd that we cannot agree to this Truce, as it is worded; yet We shall ratify it, if he thinks fit to express himself otherwise. If he does, he must also send a safe Conduct to Sir *Alexander Seton* and Sir *William Mountfichet*, whom We design to send to *England*, in Order to take his Oath, that he shall faithfully observe the Articles agreed to: But know that We are to stay in this Place no longer than till *Wednesday* after *Easter*. Wherefore let Us have an Answer in all Haste. *Berwick* 21st *March* 1323.

“ Yours came to Our Hands but Yesternight.

What King *Robert* quarrell'd was quickly amended as he desir'd; and this short Truce brought on a long one, which was concluded at *Thorp* near *Everwyck* (b) on the 30th Day of *May*, by *William* Bishop of *St. Andrew's*, *Thomas Randolph* Earl of *Murray*, Sir *John Monteith*, Sir *Robert Lawder*, &c. Plenipotentiaries for the King of *Scotland*; and *Aymer de Valence* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Hugh le Despencer*, the Son, &c. for the King of *England*. This last ratified it at *Bishopsthorp* (c), on the 1st of the ensuing *June*, and the former at *Berwick* (d) on the 7th of the same Month. It was to last full 13 Years, that is from the 12th of *June* 1323, till the 12th of *June* 1336.

A Truce of
13 Years
concluded.

As the grand, if not the only Motive that had induc'd King *Robert* (e) to lay by his victorious Arms, before he had forc'd a positive Acknowledgement of his Title from his contending Rival, was to have an Opportunity of reconciling himself and his Subjects with the Pope; (for after all, 'twas not at all desirable in those Days to be

(a) *Foeder Angl.* Tom. III. p. 1093. (b) See the Articles in *Foeder Angl.* Tom. III. 1022. (c) *Ibid.* p. 1025. (d) *Ibid.* p. 1030. (e) *Tyrrel* Vol. III. p. 301. *Edward* Book II. p. 331.

be at Variance with one the Christian World believ'd to be the Head of the Church, and Center of Unity among them) so now he sent his Nephew the Earl of *Murray* (who, it appears by all the Negotiations of this and the Beginning of the after-Reign, was as great a States-man as a Captain; that is, he was, beyond most great Personages that have had a Being in the World, eminent in the Arts both of Peace and War, to *Avignon* with Orders to soften if possible the harsh Humour, and remove the Prejudices his Holiness was possess'd with. To effect this, he did all that could be expected from one of his consummate Prudence and winning Behaviour. It seems that he did not take upon him the Character either of an Envoy or Ambassador from King *Robert*: For 'tis probable that as such he had not got Access; but, personating a private Man, he told the Pope, (a) that he had vow'd to go in Pilgrimage to the Sepulchre of our Lord and Saviour, in Order to fight against the Infidels. He beg'd leave to accomplish that Vow, and ask'd the usual Indulgences granted by the Apostolick See to himself, and such as were to accompany him. The Pope answered, that the Design was in it self holy and good, but that neither he nor his Country-Men, while they lay under the Sentence of Excommunication, could merit thereby; yet if he would reconcile himself to the Church, and endeavour a lasting Peace (so much wish'd for, and so necessary to all the World) between the *Scots* and *English*, his Services would then be acceptable. The Earl said, That in Order to obtain a Reconciliation, Ambassadors were on the Road from *Scotland*, and desir'd that a safe Conduct might be sent to them. The Pope promis'd to deal with the Princes, through whose Territories they were to pass, for that End: Then the Earl, continuing his Discourse, told him, That the King his Uncle, inform'd that *Charles* King of *France* design'd to go with a great Power to the Recovery of the Holy Land, resolv'd to do the like, and to act, either in Conjunction with that Prince, or by himself, as should be thought expedient. As this was in it self true, (for the King had really that Design) so it was the most probable Means, that could be thought on to flatter the Holy Father, who, whatever he thought of the Stubborness of *Scotsmen's* Temper, could not but have a good Opinion of their Valour. He added, That nothing could obstruct the Effects of his Uncle's Zeal, but his being under the Censures of his Holiness; but that, if his Holiness would write exhortatory Letters to him concerning the Holy War, and in them, give him the Apellation of and Honour due to a King, he was very sure that these Letters would meet with a hearty Compliance, and all the grateful Returns that could be desir'd; that thereby the Rights of the King of *England*, if he had any, could be no ways prejudg'd, since they still lay open to Debate and Examination: But if this was refus'd, he was affraid his private Endeavours towards either a Peace with *England* or a Reconciliation with *Rome*, would prove ineffectual. Pope *John* was himself much

A. D. 1322

The Earl of Murray endeavours to remove the Prejudices of the Pope against King Robert.

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of

(a) Pope's Letter to King Edward II. in Feder. Angl. Tom. 4. p. 28.

of the same Opinion; but whether he did condescend to the Preliminary requir'd or no, I cannot precisely tell; 'tis certain, that he very much inclin'd to yield that Point, and as true, that King *Edward* did all in his Power (a) to hinder him, and that by Remonstrating that the *Scots* had yet given no Satisfaction for their Contempt of the Pope's Decrees, that they would give none; and that tho' (b) he was most willing to submit all Differences to the Determination of his Holiness, they would not: He so far prevail'd that King *Robert's* Ambassadors (c), unable to move the inflexible Pontiff, return'd without having obtain'd, what they chiefly insisted upon, a Relaxation from his *Anathemas*.

They were more successful at the Court of *France*; for *Charles IV.* Sirnam'd *the Fair*, did now above Board, what his Father and Brothers, because of their near Relation to King *Edward*, (his Queen was a Daughter of *France*) had done but by half, and would not publickly own. He not only receiv'd the *Scots* Ambassadors (and these were *Thomas Randolph* Earl of *Murray*, *Robert Keith* Marshal of *Scotland*, and *Adam Murray*, Doctor of Law) with Civility and Kindness; but, notwithstanding the Alliance made by King *Philip the Fair* with his Son-in-Law King *Edward*, was not broken; and tho' the King and Kingdom of *Scotland* continu'd under the Sentence of Excommunication, he nevertheless renew'd the old League, which of late seem'd to be interrupted; insomuch that in *April 1326*, a Treaty was finally concluded, (d) by which King *Robert*, his Successors and Heirs Kings of *Scotland* were obliged to make War upon the Kings and Kingdom of *England*, as often as requir'd by *Charles King of France*, his Successors and Heirs, and never to make Peace nor Truce with the saids Kings of *England*, without comprehending the Kings and Kingdom of *France* in the same; or if any such Peace or Truce should be made, they were declar'd to be of themselves void and null. The King of *France* oblig'd himself, his Heirs and Successors, in the very same Terms, with Respect to the Kings of *Scotland*, which had he not undertaken, and some Years after as faithfully perform'd both *Scotland* and *France* had been probably, by the prevailing Arms, (I may safely say Injustice, at least with Reference to *Scotland*) of another King of *England*, *Edward III.* to all Intents and Purposes undone. Such Turns as these were no doubt in View at the Time; yet so just was King *Robert*, that by an express Clause he kept himself free from his Engagements, till the present Truce he had previously agreed to should be expir'd. In the mean time a Treaty towards a final Peace (e) had also been set on Foot in *England*, but to no Purpose: And now the last Act or Part of King *Edward's* Tragical Misfortunes was drawing near: I have not Leisure to enter into the Detail of them: His Subjects, his Parliament, his Wife and Son conspir'd his Ruine; and the guiltless Monarch, I say guiltless,

(for

the old
League with
France re-
new'd and
clar'd per-
tual.

D. 1327.

(a) Foeder. Angl. Tom. 4. p. 46. (b) Ibid. p. 141. (c) Ibid. p. 176, 177. (d) See it at full length in p. 189. (e) Tom. I. Des Traites de paix, de Treve, d'Alliance, &c. Imprim. a' Amst'rd. 1700. (g) Foeder. Angl. Tom. IV. p.

(for he had no Fault, but that of doating upon, and being over-
 rul'd, tho not greatly to the Detriment of any Body, (a) by worthless
 Favourites) was taken, imprison'd, deposd, or rather perswaded
 to resign; and in fine, inhumanely murder'd by Means of a red hot
 Iron, thrust up through a ductile Pipe into his Bowels and Body:
 A Barbarity hitherto unprecedented in *Britain*, at least since the *Bri-
 tains* ceas'd to be Barbarians; for which the infamous Actors after-
 wards suffer'd (and 'tis to be fear'd, still do) what the Enormity of
 their Crime deserv'd; and such, as had not the like or greater Indig-
 nities been afterwards put upon succeeding Monarchs, Posterity would
 not believe. Before the Villany was compleated, *Edward III.* (a
 Youth of great Hopes, but for want of Experience and Reason, mise-
 rably mis-led by his wicked Mother Queen *Isabel*, as she was by her
 Gallant (so 'twas generally believ'd) *Roger Mortimer* a Traitor, not
 long before for his Rebellious Practices arraign'd and imprison'd)
 was advanc'd to the Throne in *January* 1327; and immediately after
 Writs were issu'd out (b) to all the Sheriffs in the Kingdom, to pro-
 claim the new King's Peace, and to declare to the People, *That his
 Father, the late King, had by the Advice and Consent of the Nobility and
 Community of the Realm, made a free and voluntary Resignation of his
 Royal Dignity to him, as being his eldest Son and Heir to the Kingdom.*
 This was a plain and obvious Falshood: But Lying is the Life of
 Usurpation, and who ever goes about to pull down a lawful Go-
 vernment must build a new one upon Slander and Calumny; a feeble
 Foundation, and therefore the unsolid Superstructure is easily sha-
 ken, and seldom lasting.

Fatal E

Edward II
King of En-
land.

The thir-
teen Year
Truce bro-
ken.

In the night of the same Day, on which King *Edward III.* was
 crown'd, *English* Authors tell us, (c) that the *Scots* broke the Truce,
 and thought to have surpriz'd the Castle of *Norham*; but were dis-
 appointed and repuls'd by the Vigilance and Conduct of the *English*
 Governor *Sir Robert Manners*. How true this is, I cannot tell, such
 a pitiful little Trick, I am apt to believe the King knew nothing of:
 'Twas below the Grandeur of his Soul to steal a Castle in Time of
 Peace, after he had won a Kingdom, and so often over-run the half
 of another in open War. Besides, I have shew'd from *English* Au-
 thors, that but two Months before the Truce was agreed to, he had
 fairly besieg'd and taken that same Castle; and I am sure by the Ar-
 ticles of that Treaty he was not bound to restore it. So that 'tis
 probable, the *English* had re-taken it in Time of Peace, and that
 the *Scots* had a mind to be even with them: the rather, because, to
 say the Truth, it seems they were at this Juncture content of a
 Rupture. They had Reason: For why should they think, that an
 unconscientious *Junto*, who had shew'd themselves Villains enough
 to dethrone and imprison their lawful Sovereign, would be so honest
 as to observe the Treaties he had made. 'Tis true that they ex-

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press'd

(a) See his Vindication by Dr. Brady in his Hist. of the Succession, p. 378, 379, &c. by Joshua Barnes in his Hist. of Edward III. p. 21, 22, &c. by Sir Tho. Craig of the Succession, p. 179, 180. (b) Echard, Book 2. p. 101. (c) Holinshed, p. 325. Tyrel, Vol. III. p. 340. Barnes, p. 5.

preis'd a Willingness, (a) not only to keep the present Truce, but also nam'd Plenipotentiaries to treat (b) about a final Peace. King Robert did the same, (c) but soon found, says *Buchanan*, (d) that the *English* were not in Earnest; and that on the contrary, they went about to delude and abuse his Credulity. What 'twas they did, he says is by no Author related; but adds he, to be sure King Robert, now so old and valetudinary that he could not act nor command his Armies in Person, whose Domestick Affairs were not entirely settl'd, and whose Mind was abundantly fatiated with former Victories, is not to be suppos'd to have enter'd upon a War, without a great and just Cause. I am of his Opinion; and the Cause, I take it, was this; he saw by the perfidious Conduct of that Faction by which the young King of *England* was over-rul'd, that how soon they should come to be fix'd in their usurp'd Power, they would have no more Regard to Treaties concluded by the depos'd King, than they had had to his Sacred Person and establish'd Laws. The young King was not really such; for still his Father was alive, and perhaps, says Mr. *Tyrrel*, (e) he meant, at least he pretended to restore this last, to his Crown and Liberty. Had he done it, none would have said that he was thereby guilty of the Breach of a Truce the Prince he fought for had made with him. Be it as it will, 'tis certain, that King Robert could never think himself or his Posterity secure, while the King of *England* kept up his Pretensions to *Scotland*, and he thought fit to lay hold on the Opportunity offer'd of obliging either the Father or Son, or both, to give them up. With this View he improv'd the Quarrels that had fallen out (perhaps without the Knowledge of either of the Kings) upon the Borders; and finding the *English* Ambassadors no ways dispos'd to conclude a Peace on the only Terms he could accept of, he sent them back, and with them, (f) a short and brisk Defiance, telling the young King *Edward*, That he would instantly invade *England* with Fire and Sword. He kept his Word. For,

Towards *Easter*, the often mention'd and ever renown'd Earl of *Murray* and Sir *James Douglas* (g) enter'd *England*, upon the Head of a gallant and experienc'd Army of about 25000 Men, all well mounted; the better Sort on good strong Coursers, and the common Souldiers upon little but approv'd Hackneys and Geldings without Wagons or Carts, and therefore equally fit for sudden Invasion or quick Retreat. To oppose them, King *Edward* sent his Uncle, the Earl of *Northfolk*, and some other Generals to the North, with a select Detachment of Souldiers, and again set a Treaty on Foot, and nam'd (h) Commissioners for that Purpose, but in vain. Wherefore (now assur'd, as he express'd himself, (i) that the *Scots* scorn'd to accept either of Peace or Truce, but upon their own Terms) he summon'd all oblig'd to serve him, from the Age of sixteen to that of sixty

The Scots
invade Eng-
land.

(a) *Fœder. Angl.* Tom. IV. p. 226. (b) *Ibid.* p. 281. (c) *Ibid.* (d) *Ubi sup.* (e) *Loc. cit.* (f) *Tyrrel* *Loc. cit.* (g) *Barnes*, p. 6, 7, 8. *Tyrrel*, *ubi sup.* p. 340, 341. *Echard*, *Book II.* p. 339, 340. (h) *Fœder. Angl.* Tom. IV. p. 287. (i) *Ibid.* p. 292.

sixty Years, to repair to his Standard. He also by his Letters (a) entreated *John* Lord of *Beaumont* in *Hainault*, the Brother of *William* Earl of *Hainault* (by whose Aid the Queen had been in a great Measure enabl'd to dethrone her Husband, and who was but lately gone Home again) to come over to his Assistance. That Lord fail'd not to comply with his Request: He not only return'd, but also brought along with him, or was follow'd by a select Band of a great many Noblemen and Knights from *Hainault*, *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Bohemia*, *Artois*, &c. in all about 2000 Men at Arms. With these and at least 60000 (*Holinshed* (b) says 100000 of his own Subjects) among whom was the whole Flower of the *English* Nobility, did King *Edward* set out from *York* in the beginning of *June*, with Design to seek out and give Battle to the *Scots*. The Smoke of the Houses and Villages they burnt where ever they came (and they had come by this Time about twelve or fourteen Miles beyond *Durham*, and had cut off a disorder'd Multitude of Country Militia, who had dar'd to oppose their Progress) directed him whither to march: But to no Purpose; 'twas impossible for such a numerous Army, embaras'd with their Arms, Provisions, and heavy Baggage, to equal the Pace of, much less to over-take the vagrant Enemy. He therefore gave over the unnecessary Pursuit, abandon'd all that Country to Rapine, and turn'd towards *Scotland*, either to intercept the *Scots* as they return'd to their own Country, or in his Turn to lay it waste. But when he had with much Difficulty come to the River *Tyne*, he found it almost impassable by Reason of the great, round and slippery Stones which very much offended the Horse in their Passage through it, and of the ensuing Rains which quite obstructed that of the Foot. However, hopeful that the *Scots* would return that Way to the Defence of their own Country, he continu'd there with his whole Army, tho in great Want of all Necessaries, the space of five or six Days. But the *Scots* did not return as was expected: Wherefore the King, finding that his Army was unable to subsist longer in that barren Soil, re-pas'd the River in Order to seek them out as before; and by Proclamation promis'd a great and honourable Reward to any that should give certain Intelligence of them; for now they lay somewhere encamp'd, and no Body could tell in what Place. About fifteen or sixteen Knights and Esquires were thereby encourag'd to undertake the Adventure; and some Days after, one *Thomas Rokeby* return'd, and riding toward the King, told him, That the Enemy was encamp'd on a great Hill in *Weredale*, at no more than three Miles distance. "Dread Sir, added he, what I say, I'll maintain for Truth, for I ventur'd so near to take the better view of them, that falling into their Hands, I was carried before their Leaders, to whom I gave an Account of your Majesty's great Desire to meet with them, and of the Reward promis'd to any that should find them out: Upon which the Lords that command

Their wonderful Conduct and Progress.

R r r r r r 2

" their

" their Army, made me promise to make the Discovery, and free-
 " ly quitting me my Ransom, set me at Liberty, upon that Condi-
 " on: For they said they long'd no less to meet with your Maje-
 " sty; and if you please, I shall shew you their Faces within a few
 " Hours." *Rokeby* was honour'd with Knighthood, and rewarded
 with a Yearly Revenue of 100 pound *sterl.* to him and his Heirs:
 And so the Army began to march, and about Noon came in good Or-
 der so near to the *Scots*, that the Front of either Host might perfectly
 view the Arms and Cognizance of the other. But they were divi-
 ded by the River *Were*, which runs a little below the Hill, on
 which the *Scots* were encamp'd: And King *Edward* not thinking fit
 to pass it in their view, (for upon his Approach they had issu'd
 out of their Trenches, and rang'd themselves in three Battles on
 Foot at the Descent of the Mountain) sent them word, " That if
 " they would pass the River, and fight with him in the plain Field,
 " he would freely retire, till he had left them sufficient Space to
 " range their whole Army, that Day, or when they pleas'd; or else
 " upon the like Offer, he would come over to them." Sir *James*
Douglas at first approv'd of the Proposal, but the Earl of *Murray* o-
 ver-rul'd his Heat: And they made this brisk and prudent Answer,
 " That the *Scots* Lords are not wont to take Advice of their Ene-
 " my: That 'twas now known where they were, and what they
 " had done: That they would maintain their Post as long as them-
 " selves should think fit: And if the *English* took this ill, they
 " might correct them if they could." They durst not attempt to
 do it; but for Fear of being themselves surpris'd in their Camp,
 continu'd where they were the Night following, and they were
 forc'd to ly upon the Ground and hard Stones in their Armour,
 without either Forrage for their Horses, or Victuals for themselves,
 nor so much as Fewel to make Fire. But the *Scots*, on the other
 Hand, not at all terrify'd at the Sight and Neighbourhood of their
 formidable Enemy, contented themselves to leave good Watch on
 the Ground they had taken up, retir'd to their Camp, and made
 so many and so great Fires of *English* Wood, especially between
 themselves and the Enemy, as if they design'd to provoke and in-
 sult them, by wasting so prodigally that Fewel they wanted
 and could not get. And now 'twas Mid-night, they made such a
 Noise with perpetual and universal Shoutings and Cries, and win-
 ding of Horns and Clarions, as if they meant not only to frighten
 the Earth, but to rend the Heavens. The next Morning both Ar-
 mies fac'd each other as before; and some detach'd Parties met and
 fought with great Courage and some Slaughter: But neither durst
 pass the River in Order to a general Engagement. However the
English concluded, that at length the *Scots* must needs want Provi-
 sions, and be oblig'd to retire of course; in which case 'twas resol-
 ved, that the Horse should pursue and entertain them, till the Gross
 of the Army could get up. But on the fourth Day, when early in
 the Morning they directed their Eyes to the Enemy's Camp, they
 beheld

beheld, to their Admiration, the Mountain on which they had lye[n] so long, deserted and naked; and afterwards learn'd that they had retreated to another by the same River side, more advantageous for them than the former, by Reason of a great Wood they had on the one Hand, and a large Bogg on the other. Upon this the *English*, in Pursuance of their former Resolutions to starve the *Scots* into a Necessity of Fighting, decamp'd likewise; and lodg'd themselves upon another Hill over against them; but to as little Purpose as before, by Reason of the same River, by which they were still separated. That Impediment did not hinder the incomparable Sir *James Douglas* from forming a Project, which had it taken Effect, (and 'twas a Miracle it did not) would have put an End to the War. *Scots* and *English* Authors relate the Adventure variously; but the *English*, I think, with more Probability: For which Reason, I shall give their Account of it. The next Night after the Removal of the *English* (upon Intelligence, that dreading no more to be attack'd as in the beginning, they kept but a careless Guard,) Sir *James* pass'd the River with a few resolute Men, enter'd their Camp, and, personating an *English* Officer, as if he had been one of the Rounds, cry'd out as he advanc'd, *Ha! St. George, no Watch.* By this Means he got at last to the Royal Tent, and designing or to take the King Prisoner, or to kill him if he fail'd in it, first slew his Chamberlain, and then his Chaplain, who bravely interpos'd his own Body to prevent the Blow aim'd at his Master. This rude Shock awaken'd the Monarch, and his Tent was presently fill'd with such Numbers of his own Subjects, as the *Douglas* was not able to withstand; yet he got off as miraculously as the King had escap'd: So favourable is Fortune to the daring and brave, who court her gallantly. Henceforth the *English* kept better Guard, and the *Scots* continu'd in their view, during the space of about fourteen Days longer; when, being in great Want of Bread, Salt and other Necessaries, and finding that they could gain no more Advantages by Surprise, and not daring to give open Battle to a Royal Army by which they were so unequally out-number'd, they resolv'd to retreat. Accordingly their wary Generals gave out Orders commanding them all to be ready to march under their several Banners. Of this King *Edward* got Notice from a *Scots* Gentleman that was taken Prisoner, brought to him and strictly examin'd: But whither they were to march, or what to do, the Gentleman could not or would not tell. The King's Council concluded from thence, that Famine and Despair had at last determin'd the *Scots* to hazard all at one Blow, and that the ensuing Night they would certainly make an Attempt upon the *English* Camp. The whole Army was therefore divided into three Bodies, and appointed to stand to their Arms all Night. Upon the Approach of the Morning, two *Scots* Trumpeters, that had been but just then taken by the Scout-Watch, were brought to the young King and his Council; and spoke frankly (for they had voluntarily suffer'd themselves to be taken) to this Purpose "Ye Lords of

Edward I
very near
kill'd or
ken Prisoner
ner by S
James Douglas
gl.

“ *England*, said they, why do ye stand thus in vain to your Arms? On
 “ the peril of our Heads your Enemies are march’d off: They began
 “ to move before Midnight, and we’re sure they’re no less than three
 “ or four Miles onward of their Way, only they left us two behind,
 “ to shew you what Course they had taken.” This was very pro-
 voking; but what should the *English* do? ’Twas in vain to pursue
 an Enemy they could not hope to overtake. The Autumn was far
 spent, and they had lost more Men and Horses by constant Fatigue,
 frequent Removals, bloody Skirmishes, Hunger, Rain, Cold, ill
 Lodgings and hard Passages, than a fair Battle had probably cost
 them. They therefore withdrew to their Winter-Quarters: But
 before they broke up, a great many of them had the Curiosity to
 take a view of the *Scottish* Camp, and some no doubt look’d for
 Booty and Plunder: But these were deceiv’d, they only found a-
 bout 400 Oxen and Deer, the *Scots* had kill’d, because they could
 not conveniently drive them away, and meant to render them as
 useless as might be to the *English*. There were also ready stretch’d
 on Stakes over Fire-places 300 Caldrons made, after their way, of
 Skins with the Hair still on them, all full of Water and Flesh in or-
 der to be boil’d; 1000 Spits with Meat ready to be roasted on
 them; 10000 Pair of old Shoes made of raw Leather with Hair
 on them, and five *English* Prisoners fast bound to Trees with their
 Legs broken, that so they might not escape to give Intelligence.
 The wiser Sort of the *English* admir’d the golden Poverty, and
 healthful Parsimony they found in their Enemy’s Camp, and con-
 cluded from thence, that their Kings, tho upon the Head of 60000,
 or 100000 brave Men, had made a nobler Attempt, in but offer-
 ing to conquer 25000 or 30000 *Scots*, than *Alexander* the Great,
 when with 30000 *Macedonians* and *Greeks*, he gave Battle to and rou-
 ted upwards of 300000 of the effeminate *Persians*. And this shews,
 that the Strength of a Country does not so much consist in the
 Wealth of its voluptuous and easy, as in the Frugality and Har-
 diness of its manly Inhabitans. The *Scots* were in those Days,
 says *Froissart* (a Cotemporary Author, perfectly well acquainted
 with their Manners, Courage and Conduct,) so abstemious and pa-
 tient in Time of War, that for a long Time they could live on
 Flesh half boil’d, and drink out of the next River: They needed
 to carry along with them no Pans nor Caldrons to dress their Meat
 in: Those Conveniencies they ever found, where Beasts proper for
 Food were to be had: Nor had they great Occasion for Bread; a
 little Oat-Meal, which every Souldier carried behind him in little
 Bags for the Purpose, kneaded with Water, and laid over a Fire on
 a small Iron-Plate, did serve their Turn. Thus without Money
 their Armies were paid, and without Provisions, but such as they
 purchas’d from the Enemy, entertain’d. The *Scots* High-landers
 have not as yet degenerated, nor from the Frugality, nor from the
 Bravery of their Ancestors: And had they such a Cause, such a
 King, and such Chiftains, ’tis not to be doubted, but they could face,
 and

The admi-
 ble Fruga-
 lity of the
 Scots in
 Time of
 War.

Others more disingenuous, have Recourse to palpable Falshoods, particularly *Walsingham*, who, (a) tho he owns the Peace was made by the Assent of Parliament, yet tells us, that the Articles of it were known to no *English-man*; and Mr. *Atwood*, who asserts (b), contrary not only to History, but to the very Records of Parliament, that it was made without Consent of Parliament: And Mr. *Barnes*, who, to excuse the after-Conduct of his Heroe King *Edward III.* a Province too hard for any Man, has the unprecedented Confidence to say, (c) that notwithstanding all the Articles of the Treaty were with all Expedition perform'd by both Parties, Yet however either of the Kings reserv'd Liberty to himself (after a Truce of four Years) to refuse the Peace, if then he should not like the Conditions. So that according to him, this Peace, one of the most authentick, publick, solemn, and in all its Circumstances most evidently meant to be perpetual, that has ever been made between two Nations, was really no Peace at all, but only a Truce for four Years. To confute all these Authors, I need but to relate the Matter of Fact, and I shall do it from *English* Historians and *English* Records. Before the End of the preceeding Year 1327, (d) King *Edward* nam'd Plenipotentiaries to treat about a Peace with the *Scots*, and gave safe Conduct (e) to 100 *Scotsmen* and their Servants to come into *England* for the same Purpose. Accordingly the Commissioners of both Parties met at *Newcastle*, (f) where certain Articles being propos'd, a Parliament was summon'd to meet at *York*, on the Sunday after *Candlemas* Day, to canvass and examine them; but (because the Assembly was not so frequent as was to be desir'd, considering the Importance of the Affairs to be laid before them) another was appointed to meet three Weeks after *Easter* at *Northampton*, and in this Parliament the following Charter of Renunciation was drawn up and assented to (g).

The K. of
England
with Advice
and Consent
of his Parli-
ament gives
up all his
Pretensions
to Superiori-
ty over *Scot-*
land.

“ To all the Faithful in Christ, *Edward*, by the Grace of God King of *England*, Lord of *Ireland* and Duke of *Aquitain*.---Whereas our selves and some of our Predecessors Kings of *England*, have endeavoured to obtain the Rights of the Dominion and Superiority of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and have thereby occasion'd most grievous, dangerous and long Wars between the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*. We therefore, considering the Slaughters, Butcheries, Crimes, Ruine of Churches, and innumerable Mischiefs those Wars have brought upon the Inhabitants of both Kingdoms, as also the good and mutual Advantages that must needs accrue to both Kingdoms, when fastned together by the Solidity of a perpetual Peace, and thereby more firmly secur'd both within and without against all Rebels or Rebellious Designs, by the common Council, Assent and Consent of the Prelates, Earls, Barons and Commons of our Kingdom assembl'd in Parliament, Will
“ and

(a) P. 128. (b) Anderson's Essay, p. 249 (c) P. 29. and frequently elsewhere. (d) Fœder. Angl. Tom. 4. p. 14. (e) Ibid. p. 325. (f) Ibid. p. 328. Tyrrel, Vol. 3. p. 359. (g) Fœder. Angl. Tom. 4. p. 337. Append. Mr. Tyrrel's Hist. and Mr. Anderl. Essay Extract, e Chron. & Tractatus Scot. in Biblioth. Jurid. Edinb.

“ *and Grant* for our selves, our Heirs and Successors, that the King-
 “ dom of *Scotland* remain for ever, to the most magnificent Prince
 “ *Robert*, by the Grace of God King of the *Scots*, our illustrious Ally
 “ and most dear Friend, his Heirs and Successors, divided from the
 “ Kingdom of *England* by its own Marches, as in the Time of *Alex-*
 “ *ander* King of *Scotland*, of good Memory, last deceas'd, entire, free,
 “ and quiet, without any Subjection, Servitude, Claim or Demand
 “ whatever : And whatever Right we or our Predecessors did in
 “ bypast Times ask or pretend to in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, we
 “ hereby renounce and give up, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, to
 “ the said King of *Scotland* : As also, all Obligations, Agreements
 “ or Compacts, made by or with any of our Predecessors, at any
 “ Time, concerning the Subjection of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, or
 “ its People, both of the Clergy and Laity : And, if any Letters
 “ or Charters, Instruments or Documents concerning these Obliga-
 “ tions, Agreements and Compacts shall be found, We will, that
 “ for the future they be accounted as null, void and of no Value :
 “ In Testimony whereof, &c.

Who ever but peruses this Charter, will, I hope, be satisfied, that the Peace, at this Time concluded, was publick and not private; perpetual and not quadriennial ; Parliamentary, and by Consequence not to be revok'd upon the Account of the Minority of the Sovereign, altho it were true, that he was then under Age. I proceed to the additional Articles : For, 'twas also agreed that Prince *David*,
 (a) only Son and Heir to *Robert* King of *Scots*, should marry the Lady *Jean*, King *Edward's* eldest Sister ; and on the 22^d of *July*, the Marriage was solemniz'd accordingly at the Town of *Berwick* : That no *Englishmen* should henceforth possess any Lands in *Scotland*, but such as would reside in that Kingdom, and renounce their Allegiance to the Crown of *England*. A mortifying Condition, by which all the *Scots* Rebels (I mean those who had been obstinately such, and a great many *English*, *Edward* I. had given great Estates to in *Scotland*) were for ever exil'd : That the *Regalia*, the Jewels belonging to the Crown, the *Black Cross* of *Scotland*, the *Ragman Roll*, and generally all the ancient Monuments of the Liberty and Independency of the Kingdom, together with all the Charters and Remembrances of its late Subjection, should be given up. A material Article indeed, yet such as was never entirely perform'd ; witness the fatal Marble Chair, still to be seen at *Westminster* ; and, to the great Loss of History and Truth, all the *Scots* Records, anterior to the Reign of King *Robert* ; with the Publication of which, Mr. *Rymer* has so generously and ingeniously complimented the Publick. But tho these inestimable Evidences were not actually restord ; yet they were virtually, since such of them as were prejudicial to the Nation are by an express Clause declar'd to be void and null ; and those employ'd by the King (having secur'd

Articles of
the Peace.

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the essential Point, to his and their own indeleble Honour and Glory, against all after-Objections and Pretensions whatever) thought they had done enough at that Time, and probably had not Leisure to cause all the Registers of *England* to be search'd, in Order to the full Execution of the rest: That was a Work of Time, and upon the Main not necessary. They were so well pleas'd with what they had done, that, as an Equivalent for the Grants they had obtain'd, and in Order to cut off all Occasions of after-Claims, they were willing, that the Kings of *Scotland* should for ever renounce their Rights to the Northern Counties and Feudatary Lands, their Ancestors had enjoy'd in *England*; nay, that King *Robert* should pay to King *Edward*, the Sum of 20000 Merks, in Consideration of the Damages his Army had done the last Year in *England*. So say all *English* Writers; but I find that they say not enough; for tho' *English-men* were not to be repossess'd of those Estates *Edward* I. had given them in *Scotland*, yet *Scotsmen* were repon'd to those he had taken from them in *England*. For which Reason the Lands of *Fawdon* in *Northumberland*, (a) that had belong'd to Sir *William Douglas*, before the War first broke out, were now restor'd to Sir *James Douglas* his Son: And because the Pope had, ever since the pretended Disobedience of the King and Kingdom of *Scotland* to the Apostolick See, continu'd partial in Favour of those of *England*; whose Rights, while under Debate, he pretended he could not (by a contradictory Acknowledgement of those of King *Robert*) prejudge; King *Edward* was oblig'd to write distinct Letters, both to him and to the Cardinals, (b) to let them know, that the Debate was ended, and to intreat that the magnificent Prince *Robert* King of *Scotland* and his Subjects, might ly no longer under the Displeasure of his Holiness. To conclude, *This is*, says Mr. *Barnes*, (c) that famous, or rather infamous Peace, justly accounted so dishonourable to *England*, that the Scots themselves, afterward by Way of Triumph, Nick-nam'd their Queen, *Joan Make-Peace*, as if the Realm of *England* had made that Match out of Fear, to rid their Hands of the War.--- They also made many Insulting Rhymes in Derision of our Nation, one whereof is chiefly remembred, viz.

Long Beards heartless,
Painted Hoods witless,
Gray Coats graceless,
Make England thriftless?

In this glorious Manner did the immortal King *Robert Bruce*, after a long Series of surprising Successes, and an almost un-interrupted War of about thirty two Years Continuance, deliver his Country and Crown, not only from Subjection and Conquest, but also from the least Shadow or Ground of so much as a Claim or after-Pretension to

to Superiority over it : So that the King *Edward III.* of *England*, who himself gave up the Claim, did afterwards most unfairly resume it, and in all Senses re-act the Part of his aspiring Grand-father ; yet no Man, in his right Wits, had ever since the Confidence to assert, or that Homage was demanded by any of his Successors (except King *Henry VIII.* who would fain have trump'd up those old Fables, upon which the airy Structure had been built) or paid by the Successors of King *Robert*.

This is unquestionably true, and Mr. *Tyrrel* (a) has been so just as to own it, and so generous as to confute the Impudence of *John Harding* and others, who, by the grossest Forgeries that are any where to be seen, would have cheated their Countrymen into a Belief of the contrary, and consequently into all the Calamities that attend all Wars, especially unjust ones. If so, (and as I have said, no Man of Sense will deny it) in the Name of Goodness, why is all this Struggle and Contention rais'd of late about those Matters? And what would these Men have made of it, if they had been able to prove, what, (God knows)! they never could, that the Kings of *Scotland* had sometimes paid Homage even for *Scotland*, to those of *England*? If they had done so, to be sure they had done it for no other Reason, but because compell'd to it by Force ; and by Force they regain'd their Right. I say their Right: For I hope it will be acknowledg'd, that both the *Saxons* and *Normans* had no other Title, but what the Superiority of their Power might have given them, to so much as an Acre of Land in the Island, much less to the Sovereignty of that Part of it, even the *Romans* did not subject. As for the *Britains*, they were rather subject to the *Scots*, at least at the first Entrance of the *English* into the Island, than the *Scots* to them: And were it otherwise, I mean were it true, that the *Scots* ow'd Homage to the *Britains*, What then? I'm sure neither the *Saxons* nor the *Normans* could derive any Title from them, save what they forc'd by Dint of Sword: And since by the same Means they could not force, or could not keep the Title, I suppose the *Britains* had to *Scotland*, it follows that in their Right they have no Title at all. From all this I conclude, that King *Robert*, by his immortal Achievements, effectually remov'd, not only all Pretensions, but all the Grounds and Occasions of those Pretensions some Kings of *England* had made to the Sovereignty of *Scotland*. Let us now, in a few Words as possible, examine what Right he himself had to it. I say, a better one than even *John Baliol* had before he attain'd to the Throne, and, after his Abdication, another, in all imaginable Respects, unquestionable. To evince this, I need but to acquaint my Reader, with what his Grand-father the Competitor pleaded for himself in Presence of King *Edward I.* and in Face of all the Prelates, Earls and Barons of both Kingdoms assembl'd at *Berwick* in *August* 1291. A memorable and just Plea, yet hitherto unknown

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or

(a) See his Introduction to the III. Vol. of the Hist. of England. p. 9, 10.

or not taken Notice of by any Author that I know in Being: It was in short this, (a) or to this purpose:

David Earl of *Huntington* was the Brother of *William* King of *Scotland*, and he and his Posterity were, while King *William* the eldest Brother and his Posterity existed, by Law and Justice excluded from the Succession; but these last being extinguish'd, the Posterity of Earl *David* came to take Place. That Earl had three Daughters, *Margaret*, *Isabel* and *Ada*; *Dervegild* was the Daughter of *Margaret* the eldest, and *Robert Bruce* the Son of *Isabel* the second, who by Consequence were equally related both to their Grand-father Earl *David*, and to their Grand-uncle King *William*. But *Robert Bruce* was a Male, and therefore fit and capable to govern; *Dervegild* was a Woman, and Women had not hitherto (I mean when the Debate was first mov'd) had the Exercise of the Royal Authority in *Scotland*, tho in their Rights their Male Children had often had it. Had *Isabel* the second Sister been a Man, she had as such succeeded preferably to *Margaret*, because a Woman tho the first born: Nor had this last or any Body else grudg'd at the Injury done her. Now, whatever Right to the Succession *Isabel* the second Sister, if a Man, would have had, her Son *Robert Bruce* by Consequence has, (said he;) and *Dervegild* has no more Reason to grudge his being prefer'd to her, than her Mother *Margaret* would have had in the Case I mention'd but just now. But still *Dervegild*, tho but a Woman, was the Daughter of the eldest Sister, and therefore pleaded, that she ought to be prefer'd to *Robert Bruce*, because but the Son of a younger Sister. The Dispute was in *Alexander II*'s Time entirely new, and could not be determin'd by any Law or Custom, or so much as a Precedent known to *Scotsmen*: That Prince (I speak of *Alexander II*.) had but one Son alive at the Time, in case of whose Death he knew that such a Competition would occasion innumerable Mischiefs: To prevent which he call'd a Council; and, by the Advice and Consent of the wisest Men in the Kingdom, did determine and declare, that, failing Heirs of his own Body, *Robert Bruce* ought to succeed preferably to *Dervegild*. This is so true, continu'd he, that there are many still alive who will attest it; nay, the last King *Alexander III* did, as his Father, consider the same *Robert Bruce*, as, next to his own Children, Heir to the Crown; and he frequently told so much to those he convers'd with most familiarly: But the Suddenness of his Death prevented his ratifying the Determination of his Father by a publick Deed. Nor was that necessary, since what his Father a lawful King had legally done by Advice of the best Men of the Kingdom, (and this was in those Days all that was requir'd to make a Law, or to determine any Controversy whatever, especially if new and unprecedented) was not, one should have thought, to be call'd in Question. Now since by the legal Determination of a lawful King and his lawful Council, (which, by the by, was then what a Parliament is

now

now) *Robert Bruce* was preferable to *Dervegild*, it follows, that he ought still to be prefer'd to *John Baliol Dervegild's Son*: And the rather, added he, because 'tis evident, that *Robert Bruce* is by one Degree nearer in Blood even to the last deceast King *Alexander III.* than *John Baliol*; and all the good Men in *Scotland*, he means no doubt, the Prelates, Earls and Barons, are sworn to acknowledge and receive as King the nearest in Blood to him, in case of the Death of her Daughter. An excellent Plea, in my Opinion, and such as *John Baliol* made no Reply to, as may be seen by his Answers; (a) yet *John Baliol*, by the Sentence of a foreign Invader, who had no Regard to that legal one formerly pronounc'd by the most competent Judge that could be, a lawful King and a lawful Council or Parliament, was prefer'd after the Manner I have already related; but, in the Sentiment of most People then living, unjustly. Witness what the Earl of *Glocester*, a Man of great Prudence and Authority in *England*, is reported to have said at the Time to King *Edward I.* His Words were (b) these, " O King remember, what is done by thee this Day; thy Sentence is unrighteous, and tho it be now hid and cover'd with specious Pretences, and a Colour of Law; yet it will be reveal'd, when the great Judge, that searches the Consciencés and Hearts of Men, shall call thee to an Account at the dreadful Day of universal Judgment. Thou hast now given Sentence on a King, but then shall Judgment be given on thee.

From what I have said (and I could, both from the Pleadings of the then Parties, and the Reasonings of Lawyers, particularly Sir *Thomas Craig* and Sir *James Dalrymple*, say a great deal more to the Purpose) I hope it appears, that the Title of King *Robert Bruce* was (what I call'd it) really better and more legal, than that of the *Baliol*. Both had Reason to contend; but the *Baliol* was cast by the Judgment of those whom all the World must allow not only to have been competent Judges, but also to have known the then Constitution of the Kingdom, better than we can at this Distance of Time. And if by subsequent Laws the Constitution was alter'd, as indeed it was (for now a-days the *Baliol's* Right would be, in all Hereditary Monarchies, but *France* alone, where the *Salique* Law obtains, unquestionable;) yet it does not from thence follow, that it was such in his own Time: But I shall suppose that it was even then as good or better than that of the *Bruce*; nay, I shall allow King *John Baliol* to have been the undoubted lawful and hereditary King of *Scotland*; yet I say, and all the highest Flyers and greatest Abettors of Monarchical Principles in the World will own it, that he ceas'd to be such by that which alone can dethrone a sovereign Prince, the Surrender of his own Sovereignty. He was not depos'd by his Subjects, nor was he compell'd by them, or to abdicate, or to fly for Sanctuary to a foreign Soil. He was vanquish'd by a Foreigner, and to a Foreigner he basely resign'd his Person, his

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King-

Kingdom and Crown; yet was, tho in Chains, adher'd to, acknowledg'd and fought for by his brave Subjects, who, being erroneously Loyal, were willing to palliate his Weakness; and tho he disown'd them, yet would never abandon him, while they could flatter themselves, that he acted by Compulsion and Fear: But at length, when they and their Allies had forc'd his Deliverance, when they knew him to be at Liberty, and found, to their irretrievable Ruine, that he continu'd unwilling to resume his Authority, 'twas then evident that he would not be their King: And had there been none of the Blood Royal extant, they might have fram'd themselves into any Form of Government, Monarchical, Hereditary, Elective, or even Republican, they had a Mind to; for since in that Case none could have pretended, they had thereby done Injustice to no Body. But 'twas God's Will that there was a Pretender, and one who in their Judgment had been wrong'd and illegally excluded from his Right. He set himself up, assum'd the Royal Authority, and, without so much as calling a Parliament, or asking the Consent of either People or Peers, by causing the Crown to be set upon his Head, declar'd himself to be, what by his Birth-right and the Judgment given in Favour of his Grand-father he really was, King of Scotland. 'Tis true, that two Years after the Ceremony of his Coronation was perform'd, viz. in Anno 1308, he held a Parliament at St. Andrew's (a), in which his Title was recogniz'd by the Community, as it was the next Year 1309 by the Clergy in a National Council at Dundee. And the Declaration of both is a full Proof of what I have asserted; particularly, (b) " That when the Controversy was first mov'd between the Lord *John Baliol*, sometime King of Scotland, *de facto*, and the Lord *Robert Bruce* Grand-father to King *Robert*, the faithful People of Scotland did firmly believe, as they had learn'd from their Ancestors, that after the Decease of King *Alexander* and his Grand-child the Daughter of the King of Norway, the Lord *Robert Bruce* had an undoubted Right to the Succession; but that Justice was then, at the Instigation of the Devil, by various Means perverted, and the Kingdom of Scotland betray'd by *John Baliol*, and enslav'd by the King of England. Wherefore they, being unable to bear any longer the continual Calamities, which, by Reason of their Want of a Captain and faithful Leader, attended their Persons and Goods, did, to use their own Words, by the Favour of Heaven, agree and condescend upon *Robert Bruce* the present King, in whose Person the Rights of his Father and Grand-father, in the Judgment of the People, remain'd entire; and he was, by Reason of their being contcious, (c) or ascertain'd of his Right, with their Consent declar'd, and by their Authority solemnly made King of the Scots: With whom all loyal People, add they, will live and die, as with one who by the Right of Blood and his other eminent Vertues is fit to Reign.

These

a) Anderson's Essay p. 253, 254, & the Appendix to his Book N. 12. (b) See the Declaration it self ibid. Ibid. de conscientia & consensu.

These are, as Mr. *Anderson* observes, *very important and comprehensive Sentences*, and evidently shew, what he takes no Notice of, That King *Robert* was made, that is, I take it, *Acknowledg'd King by the People*, because they were *conscious* of his Birth-right, and of the undoubted Hereditary Title he deriv'd from *his Father and Grandfather*; the last of whom, in their Judgment, ought of Right to have been prefer'd to *John Baliol*, who was King say they, but *de facto*; and who doubts, but in Cases like this, the Community of the Kingdom, when destitute of a lawful King, is the proper and only Judge? As for the *Latin Words*, *Assumptus est in Regem, Regno praefectus, and Rex effectus est*, made use of in the Record they do not at all import what Mr. *Atwood* (a) confidently asserts, and others insinuate, That King *Robert* was by the Authority of the People *made or assum'd to be King*; consequently, that the *Scots Monarchy* is not successive in the Right of Proximity of Blood, but meerly elective by the States; and that by this Precedent any Person of the Royal Blood, tho in a remoter Degree, may be by them prefer'd to the Throne. Sir *James Dalrymple* (b) has sufficiently confuted that wilful Mistake. I have but just now done the same, only by transcribing what is expressly set down in the Record, and joining together some Expressions others have on Purpose divided; tho, should I own that the People of *Scotland*, when destitute of a King, (as they certainly were upon the *Baliol's* Surrender of his own Rights and the Nation's Liberties) did meerly upon the Score of Merit, by their own Authority elect King *Robert Bruce*; it would not from thence follow, either that the Monarchy is elective, or that the States may by their own Authority prefer any of his Posterity, tho in a remoter Degree to the Throne, both by him and them entail'd upon the nearest and immediate Heir, but only, that, in case he or any of his Successors, Kings of *Scotland*, should, not only, as the *Baliol* did, Un-king themselves by refusing to reign, but also by giving away the very Kingdom it self to an usurping Foreigner, they may again set up whoever shall be able and willing to make them, what they were before, independent and free from all Bonds, but their Allegiance to himself and the Heirs of his Entail. But this was not the Case of *Robert Bruce*: He deserv'd indeed to be King, tho he had not been born, what he was by the Determination of his Predecessors, lawful Kings of *Scotland*, and in the Judgment of his Subjects, the legal Heir. But not to derogate from his Deservings, all Man-kind as well as his own Clergy and Nobility, will ever extol, 'twas chiefly for this last Reason, and because Justice had been, at the Instigation of the Devil, by various Means perverted, and his Father and Grand-father wrongfully depriv'd of their Right, that he was acknowledg'd, or, if you will, solemnly made King. So indeed does the *Latin Record* express it. Perhaps the then Clergy, unacquainted with the purer Latinity, could not fall upon fitter Expressions: Perhaps they meant thereby to let King *Robert* and his Posterity know, what they afterwards in more

In what Sense the Scots Monarchy was before and after K. Robert Bruce Hereditary.

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express

(a) Preface to Sir Ja. Dalrymple's Collections, p. 29. 30; (c) Ibid.

express Terras wrote to the Pope, That should even King Robert himself go about to subject them and the Kingdom, to the King and Kingdom of England, they would expell him, as one who had subverted his own and their Rights, and in his Room set up another. But that they did not really mean, that he was in a proper Sense made or assum'd to be King by their sole Authority, but that by it he was (and very good Reason) solemnly declar'd and own'd to be such, is evident from the whole Scope and Design, nay, from the plain and often repeated Words of the same Record. Besides, as I have already observ'd, had they said otherwise, they had been guilty of a notorious Lie: For, since there was no Assembly of the People or Parliament call'd before, nor, for ought I can see, for two Years after he took the Administration of Affairs upon him, and caus'd himself to be crown'd; 'tis certain that they neither did nor could make him King, in the Sense of these Authors; but that on the contrary, he made, or rather declar'd himself to be, what he conceiv'd he was before, their lawful Hereditary Sovereign; and then proceeded to make them, what they then were not, a free and independent Nation. So that it cannot possibly be suppos'd, that they did more than what was requir'd of them, viz. That they would gratefully recognize his Title, and declare to the World, that in their Judgment he had done nothing, but what was in it self, and by the Laws of the Land, as understood by them, legal, just and great; and that he reign'd by the prior Right of his Father and Grand-father. This, tho it did not give, yet confirm'd and ratified his Title; and both he and they acted consequentially, and upon the very same Lay did the like Justice to his Brother the Lord *Edward*.

That Prince, since the lawful Son of his Father, had, but for his being the second Brother, as much Right to the Crown as King *Robert* himself, nay, had he been a Woman, would have been prefer'd to him: But King *Robert* was a Man, and the elder Brother, and reign'd accordingly. Upon his Decease, who ought, conform to the then Constitution, to succeed? No doubt the Children of the eldest Brother, if Males; if not, the second Brother Prince *Edward*, because a Male, and as such, preferable to any Woman whatever in the same Degree and Relation to his Father. For this Reason 'twas, that *Robert Bruce* the Competitor was, by King *Alexander's* Determination and the Peoples Judgment, preferable to *Dervegild*; and for the same Reason did King *Robert* and the Parliament (a) he held at *Air*, in the Year 1315, Declare, with express Consent of *Marjory* his only Daughter, that if he should have no Heirs Male of his own Body, the Lord *Edward Bruce* his Brother-German, and the Heirs Male of his Body, should succeed him in the Throne. 'Tis true that the Act it self enlarges upon the great Worth and noble Atchievements perform'd in Defence of the Nation by the Lord *Edward*; and why should not the Parliament put all the just Value they could upon the Successor of their King: Indeed 'twas at that Time high-

Edward Bruce
the Brother
of King *Robert*
prefer'd to
the Crown
before *Mar-*
jory King
Robert's
Daughter,
and for
that Reason

(a) Extract. e Chron. Scot. Ford. lib. 12. cap. 24.

highly necessary, that a Man capable to perfect the great Work begun by King *Robert*, should in case of his Death, be ready to supply his Deficiency. Upon that Account, most Authors think, that, contrary to the Rights of Hereditary Monarchy this Settlement was made; and that, for that Reason, the express and willing Resignation of Princess *Marjory* was requir'd. It may be so, for it cannot be doubted but a Sovereign may relin, if not for his Heirs, at least for himself: Yet to me it seems probable, that in those Days, the Uncle was thought preferable to the Niece; the rather, because, (if we may believe *Boethius*), (a) by the Law even of King *Kenneth III.* Females seem to have been altogether excluded from the sovereign Power, tho their Male Children were not: And 'tis observable, that hitherto none of the Female Sex but one, the late Queen *Margaret*, had ever reign'd in *Scotland*; and by several Records, I have elsewhere hinted at, we find, that it was with no small Difficulty, that her Title was acquiesc'd in; nor was it her Fate to get actual Possession of the Kingdom; nay, upon her Arrival in *Orkney*, there were those who took up Arms, and 'twas fear'd with a Design to oppose her. From all which 'tis plain, that the *Scots* a Martial and turbulent People, of old accusom'd to postpone the immediate Heir of the Crown (tho a Male, when by Reason of his Non-age incapable to govern them) to his nearest Kinsman, and who had never yet seen a Woman fairly establish'd upon the Throne, were still of Opinion, and had no express Law to the contrary, That Men, if but nearly related to the Royal Family, and of Age and Parts fit for Government, ought to be prefer'd to Women, tho by one and perhaps several Degrees nearer. But how soon the King, by the Death of the Lord *Edward*, the only one in Being that could come in Competition with his Daughter and her Heirs, acquir'd an uncontrovrted Power and Freedom of settling a perpetual, and (as 'twas thought) immoveable Standard or Rule for the Succession; then it was, that in a Parliament held at *Scoon* (b) in 1318 the Right of Succession, failing Heirs Male of his Body, was declar'd to be lodg'd in the Person of *Robert Stewart*, his Grand-child, Son to his then deceas'd Daughter *Marjory Bruce*, by her Husband *Walter* Lord Steward of *Scotland*. But it pleas'd God, that the King had afterwards a Son by *Elizabeth* his second Wife, and therefore in 1328, another Parliament met at *Scoon* (c) did Homage to the King's Son Prince *David*, whose unquestionable Title to the Succession they recogniz'd, and failing him, that of *Robert Stewart*, who also failing, they enacted, that henceforth the Heirs Male, descending in a straight Line from the King last deceas'd should succeed; or they failing, the next Heirs Female of the same Line, who if they also fail'd, the next Males of the Collateral Line; and they failing, the next Females also of the Collateral Line; but always with Respect to the *Propinquity of their Blood to the King last deceas'd*. By this Clause, I mean the Respect commanded to be had to the King last deceas'd, the Law made by King

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Kenneth

(a) In vit. *Kenneth*, III. lib. 11. (b) Extract. e Chron. Scot. ad Ann. 1318. (c) Ibid. ad Ann. 1328.

Kenneth III. was explain'd and enlarg'd ; consequently the Hereditary Right of the *Scots* Monarchy, was, by a lawful King and a lawful Parliament, in Order to prevent all after-Contentions of the like Nature, and, to the Prejudice of no Body then living, finally regulated and settl'd on the same Foundation with all other Hereditary Monarchies in *Europe*. This was indeed a Piece of Innovation, in Appearance contrary to those Rights by which the *Bruce* was declar'd preferable to the *Baliol*, and the Lord *Edward* to Princess *Marjory*: But it was an Innovation no antecedent Pretender could quarrel: And, provided that the King and Parliament do not overturn or make void Rights and Liberties previously acquir'd, and by their lawful Predecessors sustain'd, I do not see what 'tis they may not do: I dare say, were all the Male Branches of the House of *Bourbon* quite extinguish'd, the *French* might lawfully either cancel their *Salick* Law, and prefer a Female and her Heirs, whether Male or Female, to the Throne, or if Monarchy were become distastful among them, (as notwithstanding the Weight of Arbitrary Power, under which they're suppos'd to groan, I believe it is not) turn themselves into a Common-wealth.

King *Robert* did not only settle the Hereditary Rights of the *Scots* Monarchy, after the same Manner that he found them establish'd in *England* and elsewhere: He also in some Measure new-model'd the Government after the Form of that not very long ago introduc'd among his Neighbours: For, as in *France* (a), *Germany* (b), *England*, &c. so in *Scotland*, the *People*, properly so call'd, I mean, the Commons or Burgeses had no Share in the Government or Administration of Affairs of State. This I have already taken Notice of more than once, and 'tis evident from the numerous Records or Deeds publish'd by Mr. *Rymer*, and frequently cited by me, in which we frequently find the Subscriptions of the Prelates, Earls, Officers of State, and some few Barons, acting in Name of the whole Community of the Kingdom, but never any mention of a Burges or any other who was not unquestionably a Clergy-man or a Baron and Freeholder; but much more from all the known Laws of all the Kings of *Scotland*, from *David I.* down to *David II.* These Laws, together with those of King *Malcolm II.* have been diligently collected and printed by the learn'd and accurate *Sir John Skeen*, (c); and tho we sometimes see, that the different Kings who made them, acted with Advice and Consent of their Nobles, as well Church-men as others, in Name of the Community of the Kingdom; yet, till the Competition for the Crown, we no where find so much as the Word *Parliament*, nor any Mention made of the *People* but once; and even there we ought to read (d) *Laici* in stead of *Populi*, which only in some Copies is join'd to *Cleri*: But by what Means the Word *Parliament* was introduc'd, during the Usurpation of the *English*, as also for what Reason some

First Institution of Parliaments consisting of the three Estates;

(a) L'Etat des Affaires de France par Bernard de Girard imprim. a Paris, Ann. 1613. feuillet, 200, 201. Hermann. Conring. Exercit. de Repub. Imper. German. p. 81. 84. ubi probat ne urbem quidem ullam a Germanis habitatam ante A. D. 1000. (c) Edit. Edinb. 1609. (d) Reg. Majest. edit. ubi sup, sub initio.

some Burgesſes were at the ſame Time brought into it, I have already related. King *Robert* found it his Intereſt, and perhaps thought it that of the Kingdom, to follow the fashionable Practice, and therefore not only ſuffer'd the Barons and Clergy, when aſſembled together, to call themſelves a Parliament, and to act in Name of the People; but alſo, as *Philip the Fair* had lately done in *France*, (a) and the Kings of *England* ſometime before, (at what Time, and on what Occaſion I have already told) he ſummon'd the People, properly ſo call'd, I mean ſome Burgesſes to the Parliament, and therefore was the firſt to whom we ow that ſo much admir'd Conſtitution of the Three Eſtates.

That this is true appears from an Indenture drawn up (b) between him and the Earls, Barons, Freeholders and Communities of Burghs, *Anno 1326*, in a Parliament holden at *Cambuskenneth*, by which, upon ſeveral Conſiderations therein narrated, the King obtain'd a Grant, during his Life, of the tenth Penny of all the Farms and Revenues belonging to the Laity of the Kingdom, both within and without the Burghs. The Burgesſes then ſat in this Parliament, and ſince they parted with a Share of their Property, 'twas but reaſonable they themſelves ſhould conſider how much they could ſpare: But whether they came as yet to be a Part of the Legiſlature of the Nation, and were permitted to Vote in any thing elſe beſides their own private Concerns, I know not. All the Laws of King *Robert* run in the ſame Strain with thoſe of his Predeceſſors, that is, they are ſaid to be made (c) with *Common Advice and Conſent of the Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, and other Noblemen, and hail Community of the Realm*: But, as no mention is made of any Burgeſs, or Burghs, either as Adviling or Conſenting, ſo I do not find, in any Authentick Record or Law anterior to his Son King *David II.* that there was ſuch a thing as the *Three Eſtates* known or mention'd in *Scotland*. Till, about this Time, our Sovereigns, content with the ancient Demefnes of the Crown, had enough of their own to ſupport their Grandeur and Dignity in Time of Peace; and when Wars broke out, the Subjects were by Law oblig'd to ſerve at their own Charges, their Lands being by King *Malcolm II.* given to them upon that expreſs Condition. But the late Wars about the *Competition of the Crown*, had been more than ordinary expenſive (d), and to reward the Loyal, and fix the Indifferent in their Duty, the King had been oblig'd to alienate the Royal Revenues, inſomuch that he was thereby impoveriſh'd; yet loath to burden the People, as he expreſſes himſelf, without their own Conſent, he choſe to do as his Neighbours, call them frequently together in Order to obtain Subſidies, and in Requital to admit them into that Share of the Government the *Britiſh* Parliaments have ſince ſo much improv'd. A happy Conſequence, when thoſe Aſſemblies (than which the Sun ſees nothing

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(a) *Eſtat des Affaires de France*, Feuillet, 206, (b) See the Original in *Bibl. Jurid. Edinb.* (c) *Vid. Leg. Rob. I.* (d) See the Indenture above cited,

more August or Wise) free from Factions, Ambition and Covetousness, are only intent upon advancing the publick Welfare, lay aside their private Views, keep within Bounds, and take so much Care of the Country as to give *Cæsar* his Due: When, on the contrary, they split in Parties, or unite, but in Order to inroach upon, or depress (what they ought by all Means to support,) the Prerogative Royal, nothing more pernicious to those very Liberties and Rights of the People they pretend to set up for, yet never fail when prevalent to over-turn. But if these necessary Alienations of the Crown Lands gave Rise to an after-Advantage, 'tis certain that they occasion'd a present Mischief: It was this.

The King, sensible of his own Poverty, and therefore desirous to re-annex to the Crown, such Lands as were possess'd by Intruders, at a Time when by Means of a Truce he had Leisure to advert to the Management of Affairs within the Kingdom, appointed a Parliament to meet at *Perth* (a), and requir'd the Barons to produce their Charters. 'Twas more than most of them could do; for which Reason, after long Deliberation upon the Matter, they resolv'd to draw their Swords all at once, and did it accordingly, declaring that these were their Evidences; and that they held in their Hands what gave them Right to their Estates. The King was struck with Amazement, but wisely dissembl'd his Anger, yet not so closely but that the Authors of this rash and illegal Action perceiv'd it; and to prevent Punishment, did yet worse; they enter'd into a Conspiracy against both King and Country, and took Measures for re-delivering *Berwick*, and such other Places as they had Command of, to the common Enemy. But, by good Luck, a Villain in the Habit of a Pilgrim was apprehended, and in his Staff such Papers were found, as made a compleat Discovery of the Plot. To be short, the Conspirators were with great Diligence arrested, and, in a Parliament holden at *Perth* in the Year 1320, afterwards call'd the *Black Parliament*, condemn'd to Death. A great many suffer'd; among whom were eminent, *David Brechin*, so call'd by *Buchanan*, by others, *Abernetby*, tho a Sister's Son of the King, and a Youth, for his admir'd Gallantry, by every Body regrated; the Countess of *Strathern*, *Sir William Soules*, the Governor of *Berwick*, *Gilbert Malyerd*, *Richard Brown*, *John Logie*, &c. had the same Fate, or were confin'd to perpetual Imprisonment. By this exemplary Execution of landed Men, as also by the Forfeiture of the *Cumines* and others in the Enemy's Service, the Crown might have been enrich'd, and the Subjects no ways impoverish'd: Had the King thought fit to make the forfeited Lands a Part of his own Demesnes, and by Act of Parliament to declare them, as in Justice he might have done, unalienable, he had kept in his own Hands a lasting Security against the Designs of his Foes, and an inexhaustible Fund for rewarding his Friends. But he follow'd the Maximes of the Sovereigns his Predecessors and Neighbours, that is, he gave away and (which was

A Conspiracy detected.

The Black Parliament.

(a) Holinshed p. 322. Buchan. Boeth. in vit. Regis.

most plainly impolitick) in Perpetuity too, not only the Estates of Rebels and Traitors, but also a great many of the Crown Lands, to Men indeed very deserving, but who could by no Means be Guarantees for their Children, yet the Posterity of most of his Favourites have in all Ages since evinc'd, that,

*Fortes creantur fortibus, —
— Nec imbellem feroces
Progenerant aquila columbam.*

The chief of them, next to *Edward King of Ireland* his Brother, *Walter Lord High Steward* his Son-in-Law, *Thomas Randolph Earl of Murray*, his Nephew, *Sir Alexander Seton*, also his Nephew and principal Secretary, and the ever illustrious and renown'd *Sir James Douglas*, whose Lives, because of the superlative Heroicism of their Minds and Actions, I shall write, God willing, at Length: The next I say to these, by Records as well as History, seem to have been, the Bishops of *St. Andrew's, Glasgow,* and *Dunkeld*, *Sir Neil Campbel of Lochow*, *Sir Andrew Murray*, *Sir Alexander Fraser*; all three Brothers-in-Law to the King, *Sir Gilbert Hay*, *Sir Robert Keith*, *Sir Robert Ogilvy*, *Sir William Erskine*, *Sir Andrew Gray*, *Sir Adam Gordon*, *Neil Fleeming*, *William Sinclair*, *Robert Boyd*, &c, all great Personages, and the glorious Ancestors of many, in all Respects, as great as themselves; but of these afterwards. Nevertheless, by Reason of the Singularity of the Thing, and to shew the Character of that Age, I cannot forbear taking Notice in this Place, of an Agreement enter'd into by three of the above-mention'd Worthies, *Sir Alexander Seton*, *Sir Gilbert Hay* and *Sir Neil Campbel*. "They met on the 9th of September 1308, the 3d Year of King "Robert's Reign, when he was very far from being fix'd on the "Throne, at the Monastery of *Cambuskenneth*, and there, laying "their Hands on the Altar, and touching the consecrated Sacra- "ment, in their Opinion the Body and Blood of Christ, solemnly "swore, that till the last Period of their Lives, they would defend "the Liberties of their Country, and the Right of *Robert Bruce*, "lately crown'd King, against all Mortals, *French, English* and "Scots." This done, they drew up a Paper (a), to the same Purpose, which, together with their Seals appended to it, is yet to be seen. Another brave Man I ought not, since I have a very good Voucher (b) omit to mention, was *Sir William Sinclair* of *Hermondston*, (whose Family, by the by, is upon Record (c) as old as the Year 1162) he behav'd so very well at the Battle of *Bannockburn*, that the King was afterwards pleas'd to Compliment him with a Sword, on the broad Side of which these Words were engrav'd *Le Roy me donne, St. Clair me porte*. 'Tis a pity such a noble Monument of Vertue should have been lost, as they say it was not above 60 Years ago: What likewise added

King
Robert's fall
Friends,
who they
were.

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(a) Penes Jean. Com. de Mar. (b) Matth. Sinclair de Hermondston M. D. (c) Penes eundem.

Hamiltons
their Trans-
plantation
from Eng-
land to Scot-
land.

to the Glories of this Reign, was, say most Scots Authors, the Transplantation of the *Hamiltons* from *England* to *Scotland*. A young Nobleman, say they, at the Court of King *Edward II.* chanc'd to talk with Honour and Respect of the good Fortune and great Merit of the King of *Scots*. This one of the *Spencers* (as most Favourites of Princes) beyond Measure insolent, could not bear: He drew his Dagger, and with it gave a slight Wound to the braver Youth, who by the Company and good Manners was oblig'd to put up the present Affront; but the next Day kill'd him, and, to avoid Punishment, fled to *Scotland*, where King *Robert*, satisfied of his noble Birth and great Worth, and therefore desirous to make Amends for the Wealth, he had upon his Account forfeited at Home, gave him the Lands of *Kadiow*, or Barony of *Hamilton* in *Scotland*: And from him are descended that glorious Race of Patriots so nearly allied to the Crown, and so deservedly Honour'd and Respected by the Country. This may be true: For 'tis certain, that at that Time the *Hamiltons* were great in *England*, one of the Name having in the last Reign (a) been Lord High Chancellor of the Kingdom; but 'tis as true, that there were of the same Sirname in *Scotland* before; Witness the *Ragman Roll* (b), where *Walter Fitz-Gilbert de Hamilton*, is found among the rest of the Scots Barons who submitted to King *Edward I.* in the Year 1296. and I am told by that worthy Gentleman and judicious Antiquary *William Hamilton* of *Wishaw*, that the same Name may be trac'd much farther back; so that it seems to remain a Doubt, whether we owe the first Rise of the *Hamiltons* to *England*, or *England* to us. And,

Now I have related the material Achievements, politick Transactions, and most remarkable Occurrences of this glorious Reign, 'tis Time to draw it to a Close. King *Robert* was born (c) on the 11th of July 1274; by consequence he was at the Conclusion of the Peace 54 Years old, and had reign'd 23: Worn out with constant Toil and great Infirmity, he could not expect to live long; and therefore, turning over the Management of all Affairs to the undoubted Fidelity, Vigilance and Wisdom of the Earl of *Murray* and Sir *James Douglas*, he made it his only Business to die well. The unjust Sentence of Excommunication pronounc'd by the misinform'd and prejudic'd Pope, *John XXII.* against him, did not at all trouble his Conscience; yet to remove the Scandal, thereby occasion'd, he renew'd his Applications to the See of *Rome*, and humbly intreated that he might be reconcil'd to the holy Father, who, now he saw that even *England* it self had own'd his Title, and, in the most authentick Manner imaginable, acknowledg'd the Injuries done him, was sensible (tho, to say the Truth, too late) of his own Obstinacy, and did all he could to make Amends for it. Witness his Bull still extant (d), which he sent to him, allowing himself and his lawful Successors Kings of *Scotland*, to be Anointed and Crown'd, as the Fashion then was, by the Bishop of *Glasgow*, in case

Feeder. Angl. & Prynd ad Ann. 1296. (b) Ibid. (c) Extract. e Chron. Scot. (d) In Biblioth. Jurid. Edinb.

case the Bishop of *St. Andrews* (who, says the Bull, had till then alone the Right of giving the Royal Ensigns, I think he means of anointing; for the Earls of *Fife* were wont to set the Crown on the Heads of former Kings) could not, or would not perform that Ceremony. The devout Monarch (for he was now sincerely so) pass'd the Time in his solitary Retirement, the Castle of *Cardross*, while his Envoys were compleating at *Avignon*, what alone seem'd wanting to compleat his Desires. Another great Work he earnestly desir'd to set about, was the Reduction of the Holy Land from the Yoke of Infidels: (a) He had long ago taken the Cross upon him for that Purpose; and had the Kings of *England*, his Co-temporaries, who did the same, been as heartily earnest upon the Matter as he, their united Forces had probably effected the glorious Design. But what he could not himself do, he recommended to Sir *James Douglas*, whom he intrusted with his Heart, desiring him to carry it to, and inter it near the Sepulchre of our Lord and Saviour at *Jerusalem*. A noble Employment, that brave Commander thought himself very much honour'd by, and by all Means oblig'd to discharge. To *Thomas Randolph* Earl of *Murray* (than whom he could not pitch upon a fitter Man) he left the Guardianship of his only Son and Heir Prince *David*, who, tho' married, as I have already related, was as yet but a Child not fully eight Years of Age. He had had him by his second Wife *Elizabeth* (b), the Daughter of *Henry de Burgh* Earl of *Ulster* seven Years after the Releasement of that vertuous Lady from her long Captivity. As for his Daughter *Marjory* whom he had by his first Wife *Isabel* the Sister of *Garthenay* Earl of *Mar*, she died some Years before, and had been follow'd by her Husband *Walter* Lord high Steward of *Scotland*; but in Favour of their Son *Robert*, he confirm'd by his Will what he had before declar'd by Act of Parliament; I mean he appointed him, in case Prince *David* should have no Heirs of his Body, to succeed, as he afterwards did, to the Crown. Then calling his fastest Friends and Ministers of State together, he exhorted them to Unity among themselves and Loyalty towards their Sovereign, assuring them that by these Means they would be ever invincible. And, among many sage and politick Instructions, touching the Government of the Kingdom, he recommended particularly, First, that when they should again chance to have Wars with *England*, (for, it seems, he foresaw what soon fell out, that King *Edward III.* would keep the late Peace no longer than he should have an Opportunity of breaking it) they would avoid set Battles, and never hazard their All upon the Fortune of one Field, but keep off the superior Enemy by frequent Skirmishes, brisk On-sets, sudden Incurfions, &c. Next, that they would not henceforth make any lasting Peace, nor any Truce longer than three or four Years with *England*; a Sign that he himself did not make the late perpetual Peace, but because it was absolutely necessary, in Order to obtain a fair and authentick Acknowledgment of the Kingdom's

The Offspring of K. Robert.

His last Will and dying Advice.

Independency, and his own Title to it; And also, That they would be always mindful when there appear'd the least Shew of any War intended from *England*, then to be most wary and circumspect, lest their Enemies should find them unprepar'd for Resistance. Lastly, That one Man should never be intrusted with the Government of all the Western Isles. The Reasons he gave for these wholesom Advices are obvious to every Body, and to be found in most Authors that have written upon the Subject. He surviv'd not long after he had in this Manner prepar'd himself for Death, but was cut off by a Leprosy (in those Days a very ordinary and stubborn Disease) on the 7th of *June* 1329, after an active and triumphant Reign of thirty two Years, two Months and eleven Days.

His Death.

His Character.

Heroick Vertue is a *Je ne scay quoy*, so rare and so fine, that it cannot be defin'd by Words, and but with Difficulty comprehended by Thought: It may be said to arise, says Sir *William Temple*, from some great and native Excellency of Temper or Genius transcending the common Race of Mankind, in Wisdom, Goodness and Fortitude. These Ingredients, adds he, advantag'd by Birth, improv'd by Education, and assisted by Fortune, seem to make that noble Composition, which gave such a Lustre to those who have possess'd it, as made them appear to common Eyes, something more than Mortals, and to have been born of some Mixture betwixt Divine and Humane Race. He afterwards gives us its distinguishing Character, and says, that it seems to be in short, the deserving well of Man-kind; adding, that where this is Chief in Design and great in Success, the Pretence to a Heroe lyes very fair. If so, I dare say, that none of these Worthies, whether Ancient or Modern, Sir *William* has rank'd in the glorious List, deserve that Appellation better than King *Robert Bruce*. Had I a Pen like his, I would in this Place take a Survey of all those he has mention'd in his excellent Essay upon Heroick Vertue; and, after having compar'd all the Circumstances of Time, Place, and Action, leave it to the Reader to judge, whether any, even of the fabulous Ages, can in Reason be thought to have out-shin'd King *Robert* by any one Ray of real Excellency. That that of his Genius or Temper was native, and therefore grew up to such a Height; that it was ennobl'd by Birth, (*He was born to a Throne*) cultivated by Education, (*he witness'd the most memorable Actions of the greatest King and the greatest Chiftain in the World, Edward I. of England, and Sir William Wallace*) and by Fortune assisted and preserv'd to Maturity, must be own'd by every Body. And if to free one's native Country from Usurpation, Slavery and Perjury, be to deserve well of Mankind, sure he had also that distinguishing Character of a Heroe, which, in Sir *William Temple's* Opinion, was wanting both to *Alexander* and *Cæsar*. His Atchievements, if rightly consider'd, were in the Design, Execution and Event as great as theirs, or as any the Sun did ever behold; but, says *Buchanan*, altho he was, after Fortune had been satiated or rather wearied with the Mischiefs she did him, by a perpetual Course of Vi-

Stories

stories (He was worsted thirteen Times, and fifty seven Times came off with Conquest) extremely ennobl'd; yet he was by far more wonderful in Adversity. Whose Spirit had not been broken by such and so many Calamities as at once assaulted him? Whose Constancy had not been shaken by the very Thoughts of those real Evils he overcame? His Wife, his only Daughter, and two of his Sisters were captivated; three of his Brothers, all young Men of admirable Beauty and most shining Valour, were executed upon a Scaffold; the only one remaining, when assur'd of a Throne, was kill'd in Battle: His Fastest Friends and dearest Kinsmen were all put to cruel Deaths, or banish'd, and forfeited: He himself, was not only depriv'd of his own Paternal Estate, but also of his Hereditary Crown; and instead of living in the Splendor of a Camp or Court, constrain'd to lurk in dark Caves and hidden Recesses, where even the Means of Subsistence and Necessaries of Life were wanting: Yet all this while he never ceas'd to hope, never entertain'd so much as a doubtful Thought, or of his own Restoration, or of that of the Liberties of his Kingdom; neither did he ever do or say ought unbecoming the Soul of a King. In this more Heroick by far than those celebrated *Romans*, who, as *Cato* and *Brutus*, unable to bear the Weight of lesser Misfortunes than his, cut themselves off; or, as *Marius*, exasperated by Affliction, grew savage and fierce. King *Robert Bruce* on the contrary, was generous even to his Enemies, and when a Conqueror, merciful. To be short (for I hasten to an End, and am satisfied that I have not a Genius capable to set that of this Monarch in its true Light: He was, in an eminent Degree;) Master of all the Qualities both native and acquir'd, that enter into the Composition of a Heroe; and had few or none of these Blemishes that have made others, like him, Prodigies of Valour and Fortune, to fail of the Attribute or Honour. 'Tis true, he has been blam'd by the *Scots*, for changing Sides, while yet in a private State, and sometimes fighting against them, in Conjunction with the King of *England*; and by the *English*, for breaking of Truces and killing the *Cumine*: Nay, there have been some so unjust as to suspect, that by him Sir *John Menteith* was set on to betray Sir *William Wallace*. I do not indeed think, that all the Actions of his Life were squar'd by the Gospel Rule; but as I have already shew'd, if not the Legality and Justice, at least the Necessity he lay under, of shifting Sides, and making away with his perfidious Rival; so I am not bound to believe, upon the bare Assertion of his Enemies, that he incroach'd upon the Faith of Treaties, much less that he was instrumental in the Death of Sir *William Wallace*. If History may be credited, Sir *William Wallace* was no Enemy to his Title, at least he express'd himself otherwise after the Battle of *Falkirk*; and 'tis certain, that his own Brother, and most if not all those Loyalists who fought under his Conduct for the *Balliol*, very readily join'd the *Bruce*, how soon he asserted his own Right and their Liberties: But the *Bruce*, when King, receiv'd Sir *John Menteith* into Favour: 'Tis true, for I find, that he or one of his Name, assisted at

his Coronation, and was afterwards frequently employ'd upon Affairs of the greatest Importance; so that it seems he was, for his great Parts and numerous Kindred, an useful Man, and had the Prudence to make early and seasonable Attonements for the Villany he had committed. Had *Judas* repented in Time, even *Judas* had been forgiven; and if *Cromwel* had been beforehand with *Monk*, I believe the Royal Clemency would have pardon'd that Monster of Nature and Son of Sin. The Treason of Sir *John Menteith* was indeed very great; but he had not dipp'd his Hands in the Blood of a King, and he made no small Attonement for what he had done, by his early Appearance in Favour of, and the powerful Assistance he gave to his lawful Sovereign. I know that *Scots* Authors tell the Story otherwise: They say, that he thought to have betray'd King *Robert*, as he had done Sir *William Wallace*, and was not reconcil'd to him till after the Battle of *Bannockburn*: But I beg pardon for dissenting from *Scots* Authors; I must always do it, when I find that they dissent, as in this Matter, from authentick Records, which shew, or that there was another Sir *John Menteith* besides the Betrayer of *Wallace*, or that the Betrayer of *Wallace* gave such large and so early Proofs of his Repentance, that he merited and obtain'd Pardon, as soon as King *Robert* could grant it. And may all who do amiss, as he did, to their Country, chuse rather with him to make Amends by serving their Sovereign, than, as the Earl of *Atbole*, *Angus*, &c. to persist in their Rebellion to both. Another Imputation charg'd upon King *Robert*, was his Disobedience to the See of *Rome*: 'Tis needless at this Time of Day to offer a Vindication upon that Score: As this Age will very readily admire and applaud his Conduct, with Reference to the Pope, so the Wise of that Age did. But that he was a Man of Conscience and a sincere Christian, all *Scots* Authors acknowledge; and 'tis evident from his Assiduity in Prayer, especially before entering upon Action; from the great Pains he was at, towards a Reconciliation with his spiritual Father, as he believ'd the Pope to be; from his earnest Desire to visit the Sepulchre of our Lord; and from his Retirement at *Cardross*, where he so seriously predispos'd himself for Death. In fine, if we may credit some Authors, Heaven wrought Miracles in his Favour: To say the Truth, his whole Reign was, if not one continu'd Miracle, at least an uninterrupted Series of Wonders. And I hope I may now conclude, as I began, by saying with Mr. *Speed*, that in the baffl'd Efforts of the three *Edwards*, towards gaining a Kingdom they had no Right to, and in that amazing Chain of unexpected Events, which fix'd King *Robert Bruce* and his Posterity on the *Scottish* Throne, *The World may see God's Hand*, and be convinc'd, that *the Disposing of Kingdoms is a Point of his Prerogative*.

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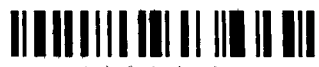
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