James Walker

1145

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Scotish Wars,

FROM THE

BATTLE OF THE GRAMPIAN HILLS, IN THE YEAR 85, TO THAT OF CULLODEN, IN THE YEAR 1746:

IN WHICH ARE INCLUDED

THE CONFLICTS OF THE CLANS, AND THE FEUDS OF THE GREAT FAMILIES.

THE SECOND EDITION,

WITH GREAT ADDITIONS AND ALTERATIONS.

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PREFACE.

NOTHING tends more to expand the mind than a well wrote History, wherein the manners and actions of men are exposed to view, their true characters are, or ought to be, so painted, that the vicious parts may excite horror, and their opposites admiration. By this means, youth are naturally led to imitate the glorious actions of their progenitors, who have nobly fought and bled for the honour of their country, and all that is dear to mankind.

In the account of the following Battles, the public will have a short comprehensive view of the spirited exertions which the Scotch made first against the Romans, who, though victorious over all other nations, cannot be said to have made a conquest of Scotland, and did not long retain what they had conquered in it. The furious battles between the Scotch and Picts are also briefly related. Likewise the glorious victories over the Danes, those once fierce, barbarous, and

cruel people, who poured in like a flood upon Britain; and, though they got possession of England, were never able to gain much footing in Scotland. But, above all, the noble, courageous, and undaunted stand they made against the English nation, even when in all her glory, under the Edwards and Henrys, and though they were sometimes borne down by superior numbers, and unhappy divisions among themselves, yet, like the phœnix, they rose superior to all their tyrannical schemes of conquest, and bravely maintained their freedom, till they gave a king to their potent rival.

The reader will observe, that, in this second edition, much pains have been taken in correcting those errors that had got into the first. The dates have been carefully examined and corrected; and much additional information added, besides a number of facts, which will serve to throw more light on this important History.

ALPHABETICAL INDEX.

HISTORY

OF THE

SCOTISH WARS.

GRAMPIAN HILLS BATTLE.—*Anno* 85.

THIS battle was fought during the time Agricola had the command in Britain. It is one of the most remarkable engagements we read of in history. Agricola having defeated the British in former skirmishes, closely pursued them, till they came to the Grampian hills, where, notwithstanding their former defeats, they made a bold stand. After each general had harangued his men, in elegant and animated speeches, the Romans, says Tacitus, while their general was speaking, appeared full of ardour; but, when he had done, they freely vented their joy by running to their weapons. As they were thus animated and running forwards, he put them in order of battle, posting 8000 auxiliary foot in the center, and 3000 horse in the wings; the legions he ranged before the trenches, supposing it would add much to his glory if he could gain a victory without the effusion of Roman blood, or, at least, keep them as a reserve, in case of a repulse. The British general drew up his men on the higher ground, chiefly for show and terror; the foremost battalions stood on the level, the rest rising one

above another along the hill; the chariots and horsemen filled the middle of the hill, whirling up and down with a hideous noise. Agricola, perceiving their numbers superior to his, widened his ranks, that he might not be charged in flank and front, so that his army became thinner, as well as more extended. Some advised him to order his legions to advance; but he, being a courageous man, and resolute in danger, alighted from his horse, and fought on foot before the ensigns.

The battle began at a distance, which the Britons managed with great dexterity and resolution, and, with their short bucklers and great swords, warded off the missile weapons of their enemies; at the same time poured upon them a shower of darts, till Agricola encouraged three Batavian and two Tungrian cohorts to fall upon them sword in hand, which they, being old experienced soldiers, performed with great advantage; for the Britons, who bore little shields and large swords without points, were a very unequal match for them.

The Batavians, making dreadful havock with their swords, striking their enemies even with the bosses of their bucklers, bruising their faces, and pushing some aside, who, upon even ground, opposed their passage, advanced up the hill; the other cohorts, ashamed to be outdone by them, slew all about them; and, often to accelerate the victory, they left men half dead behind them, and others untouched. In the mean time, the horse fled, and the chariots, mingling with the foot, occasioned new consternation: but their career was stopped by the unequal ground and their close ranks. Keep-

ing their ground, they bore all down before them by the weight of their horses; but wandering chariots, with frighted horses, without riders, trample down friend and foe, making prodigious havock.

The Britons, on the top of the hill, disdaining the small force of the Romans, began gradually to descend, and would have surrounded their victorious troops, if Agricola, who suspected that design, had not detached four squadrons of horse, which were kept as reserves to oppose them. These put them to flight as soon as they came to the assault. Some squadrons, who fought in the front, were ordered to leave the fight, and pursue the fugitives. It was a most dismal spectacle to behold the open plain, in one place, the Romans pursuing, wounding some, killing others, and taking some prisoners; whilst, in another place, the courageous Britons turned upon their pursuers; and, rather than be taken prisoners, some of them, naked and unarmed, rushed upon the swords of their foes, and thereby exposed themselves to a voluntary death. All the field was strewed with weapons, limbs, and dead bodies of men, and the earth was dyed with blood. Many, though expiring, retained their fierceness. As soon as the Britons approached the woods, they turned, and encompassed the eager pursuers, who knew not the woods. But Agricola having secured the woods with the stoutest and lightest cohorts, totally broke and routed the Britons. Tacitus supposes that 10,000 men of the Britons, and only 340 of the Romans, were killed. Had not the Britons been deficient in military discipline, it is more than probable that few of Agrico-

la's army would have survived to carry the tidings of their defeat to Rome.

DOWN RIVER.—*Anno* 356.

Maximus Mungus, the Roman governor in Britain, observing the implacable hatred and unrelenting animosity of the Scots and Picts, conceived a design, great as his ambition afterwards appeared to be. He resolved to attempt the conquest of the whole island, and doubted not, but, by a feigned show of friendship and support of the one nation, he should soon effect the destruction of both. In prosecution of this project, he makes application to the Picts, as matters then stood, the weakest, and consequently the fittest to be wrought upon. He was not mistaken, for the Roman and Pictish forces united against the Scots, and obtained an easy victory in Galway: but whilst the Romans, contrary to their usual discipline, in a disorderly manner, pursue the Scots, behold another body of men from Argyll, and the more distant provinces, suddenly appear, charge the victors, and repel them with great slaughter of their disorderly soldiers. But Maximus being obliged to return to the south, where an insurrection had happened, separated from the Picts, who were thereupon defeated by the Scots. Next year, Maximus, whose intention was to root out both Scots and Picts, marched against the former, on pretence of revenging the wrong done by them to the latter. The Scots perceiving their extermination was intended, brought into the field, not only the men capable of bearing arms, but also their women. In an engagement which ensued,

they would have defeated the Picts and Britons, had they not been supported by the disciplined Romans. The whole army of the Scots, unwilling to fly, fell, and their undaunted king, unable to survive the loss of his brave soldiers, threw off his royal robes, and, rushing in amongst the thickest of his enemies, bravely died with his sword in his hand. His nobles, imitating his example, shared his fate. Thus the Scots were completely defeated, the survivors reduced to a state of slavery, and finally expelled the country. Some of them took refuge in the Ebudae islands, and others in Scandinavia and Ireland. From thence they made frequent descents upon Scotland, with good, bad, and indifferent success; and thereby attempted to bring about their own restoration, which at last they effected after an interval of about forty years. We have inserted the above three battles together in this place, because they are closely connected with each other, and no time mentioned for any of them but the last, which happened about the year 359, 275 years after the conquest of Britain by Agricola.

ATHOLSTANFORD.—*Anno* 800.

In the time of Charlemagne, the Scots were employed by him as auxiliaries, and gave early proofs of that glorious undaunted military courage, for which they have always been accounted famous, both at home and abroad. At this time Atholstan, king of the West Saxons, having attacked some of his neighbours, and enlarged his kingdom by subduing the Northumbrians, intended likewise the conquest of that part of the Pictish kingdom

that lay next to his own. Hungus, who reigned over the Picts at that time, dreading the approaching storm, applied to Achaius, king of the Scots, for succour. 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 alley and brother-in-law, King Hungus. We are informed, that, after this junction with his own troops, he entered Northumberland, from whence he carried off a great booty: but, being pursued by Atholstan with a superior army, he was overtaken near Haddington, at a village which still bears his name, and encompassed in such a manner, that he expected nothing less than the destruction of himself and army: in the night-time, however, he received, in a dream, assistance from St. Andrew of victory. Some exhalations, which appeared in the air next day, in the form of a cross, struck the Picts and Scots, who, being amazingly inspired, when Hungus acquainted them with his dream, defeated their enemies, and killed Atholstan, at a place called to this day Atholstanford. Historians are of opinion, that no such king as Atholstan lived at that time; neither is he mentioned by Fordun, nor in the Saxon chronicle; probably it might be some Saxon or Danish general of that name. This fixes the time when the Picts and Scots chose that apostle for their tutelar saint.

DUNDEE.—*Anno* 832.

Alpin mounted the throne of Scotland in the year 831. He gained a bloody battle over the Picts near Forfar, wherein the Picts lost their king; but they

soon chose another, named Brudus, a brave courageous prince, who, resolving to risk his all in support of his independency, raised a great army. Before he entered upon hostilities, he offered to make peace with the Scots; but the haughty Alpin rejected all terms, excepting a total surrender of his crown. The Pictish monarch, upon this, sent a message to Edwin, king of Northumberland, with a large sum of money to engage him as an auxiliary against the Scots: he took the money, and promised assistance; but, framing excuses, he never sent it. This disappointment did not discourage Brudus, who marched with his army from Dunkeld into Angus, where that of the Scots lay encamped near Dundee. We are told of a stratagem used on this occasion; Brudus, who ordered all the useless attendants, and even the women, to mount on horseback, and show themselves on the top of the neighbouring hills, and to make a feint, as if they meant to fetch a circuit and fall on the rear of the Scots. This stratagem had the desired effect; for, in the heat of the engagement, while both sides were in the utmost fury, the sight of this supposed reinforcement threw the Scots into a panic, from which all Alpin's efforts could not recover them. Alpin and the chief of his nobility were taken prisoners; the latter were put to death on the field of battle; but the king was ignominiously bound, and, all ransom being refused for his life, was beheaded at a place, which, from his name, is called Pitalpin, formerly Basaplin, which, in the Gaelic language, signifies the death of Alpin.

STIRLING.—*Anno* 837.

Kenneth succeeded his father Alpin on the Scotish throne, and as he could not at first prevail upon his nobles to make war on the Picts, and revenge his father's death, he conquered their obstinacy by inviting them to an entertainment, and introducing into the hall where they slept a person clothed in fish-skins, or robes, which made so luminous an appearance, that they took him for an angel, especially when he thundered in their ears, through a long tube prepared for the purpose, a dreadful peal of denunciations, if they did not declare war against the Picts, the murderers of their late king. Fordun has related the story in this manner; but Bœce has introduced several of these luminous messengers, who all of a sudden disappeared. The story, upon the whole, when we consider the age, is more ridiculous than incredible. Next morning all mouths were filled with the angelic apparition. Kenneth swore he had seen it likewise. A resolution was immediately taken to raise an army against the Picts for Alpin's murder, and some descents made by the Danes upon their territories. The Picts, however, were not deficient in making the necessary preparations for defending themselves. They had by this time obtained some English auxiliaries; and Kenneth having, if we may believe Fordun, passed the vast ridge of mountains called Drumalban, gave the death of Albin to his soldiers as their military word. The first battle is said to have been fought near Stirling, where the Picts were entirely defeated, being deserted by their English auxiliaries. Drusken, the Pictish king, escaped by the swiftness of his horse.

SCONE.—*Anno* 838.

A few days after the battle of Stirling, Drusken applied to Kenneth for a peace, who, like his father, demanded a surrender of all the Pictish dominions. Kenneth soon conquered Merns, Angus, and Fife. While he was marching against Stirling, he received intelligence of an universal insurrection of the Picts, who had cut off his garrisons, and were again in arms, with Drusken at their head. Kenneth was then encamped near Scone, and the Picts under Drusken coming up, both armies drew out in order of battle. Drusken, however, demanded an interview (to save the effusion of blood,) with Kenneth, which was granted him. The king of the Picts rejected the terms offered by the Scotish king, which was to yield to him absolute sovereignty of Fife, Merns, and Angus, upon which both sides prepared for a decisive battle.

The army of the Scots was composed of three divisions; the first was commanded by one Barri; the second by Dongald, a nobleman; the third by Donald, the king's brother; and Kenneth put himself at the head of a body of cavalry, as a corps de reserve. The engagement was very desperate; but the Picts were again conquered with great slaughter; and among the number of the dead was their king Drusken, who is said to have renewed the engagement seven different times. His armour was presented to Kenneth, who sent it to be hung up in I-colm-kill. Kenneth proceeded in his victories till he entirely conquered the Pictish nation, by defeating them in the field, and taking their strong towns; so that this period is fixed upon as the end of their

government; though some authors say that they existed as a people three hundred years after.

JEDBURGH.—*Anno* 855.

Upon the death of Kenneth II. in 855, his brother Donald V. mounted the throne of Scotland. Historians differ widely in their accounts of this prince; some representing him as valiant and wise; others as utterly void of every good qualification, and strenuously addicted to every vice. In the beginning of his reign, the kingdom was invaded by Osbrecht and Ella, two Northumbrian princes, who, uniting their forces with the Cumbrian Britons, and a number of Picts, who, upon their expulsion from their own country, had taken refuge in England, advanced to Jedburgh, where Donald encountered them; and, after a fierce and bloody battle, obtained a complete victory; but, pushing the advantage he had gained no farther than to make himself master of Berwick, he took up his station in that town in supine security, safe, as he imagined, from any attack of an enemy whom he had so lately vanquished in battle. But the Northumbrians, informed of the careless posture in which the Scotish army lay, surprised them by a hasty march, dispersed them, and made a prisoner of the unwary king. Pursuing the advantage they had gained, they marched northward, and subdued all before them to the frith of Forth and the town of Stirling. But the forlorn situation of the Scots, without a king and without an army, obliged them to sue for peace; they obtained it upon condition that they should pay a sum of money for the ransom of their king,

and yield up all their dominions upon the south side of the Forth to the conquerors.

The Northumbrians, taking possession of the territories ceded to them by this treaty, rebuilt the castle of Stirling, and planted it with a strong garrison, in order to preserve their new conquests, upon the frontiers of which it was situated. Our authorities also inform us, that they erected a stone bridge over the Forth, upon the summit of which a cross was raised, with the following inscription in Monkish rhyme:

Anglos a Scotis separat crux ista remotis,
Armis hic stant Bruti, Scoti stant hic, cruce tuti.

Which is thus translated by Bellenden:

I am free marche, as passengers may ken,
To Scotis, to Britonis, and to Englismen.

None of the ancient historians of England mention this conquest, though they take notice of two Northumbrian princes, named Osbrecht and Ella, who lived at that time, and who had perished in 866, in an attack upon the city of York, which had been seized upon by the Danes. The whole story, as well as the inscription, wears much of the Monkish garb; yet its authenticity is not a little confirmed by the arms of the town of Stirling, upon which is a bridge with a cross, and the last line of the above Latin distich is the motto around it.

BRUNEFIELD.—*Anno* 938.

This year the combined army of the Scots and Irish under Anlaf, landed at the mouth of the

Humber, and, advancing into the country, were joined by the Prince of Cumberland, by Fordun called Eugine. Atholstan soon put himself at the head of an army, and both parties being encamped in sight of each other, they determined to come speedily to a decisive battle. Whilst they were making the necessary preparations, Anlaf disguised himself like a harper, which procured him admission into the English camp. After entertaining Atholstan with his music, and observing the situation of his army, was dismissed with a noble reward. An English or Danish soldier, who had served under Anlaf, recollected him through his disguise, watched his motions, and saw him bury in a corner of the English camp the gratuity he had received. After Anlaf's departure, the soldier acquainted Atholstan with what he had observed, and by his advice the king changed tents with a bishop, who was killed that very night in an irruption made by Anlaf, who thought he had killed the king. It is probable this contributed to the carnage next day. Both armies were encamped at Brunefield, near the Humber. It appears the Scots expected to be joined by a body of Welch, as they had been by some auxiliary Danes under Frodo. They were disappointed, however, by the vigilance of Atholstan, who, understanding that the Irish under Anlaf had been terribly fatigued by their nocturnal irruption, and perhaps apprehensive that they would be joined by the Welch, resolved to attack them in their intrenchments. The Scots were commanded by Constantine, the Irish by Anlaf, the Cumbrians by their own prince, and the

and the Danes by Froda. Atholstan had under him his brother Edmund, and Turketil, his favourite general. They entered the intrenchments of the confederates sword in hand, but the resistance they met with was chiefly from the Scots, who were attacked by the Londoners, and the Mercians, the flower of the English army, under Turketil. Constantine was in the most imminent danger of being killed, or taken prisoner, but was saved by the courage and loyalty of his subjects, though the English writers pretend he fell in the field. But it is universally agreed, that after a long and bloody dispute, Atholstan obtained a most complete victory. The English historians mention this as the most bloody battle that had ever been fought in Britain, by which it is probable they mean South Britain.

LONGCARTY.—*Anno* 971, *or* 972.

It cannot be certain in what year this famous battle was fought, but it is pretty well known, that Kenneth came to the throne in 970, and Edgar of England died in the sixth year of his reign. A confederacy seems to have taken place about this time, of a great many petty princes in Britain, with Edgar at their head, for fitting out large fleets to repel the Danes, and other northern nations, who came over in shoals to Britain. Whether this confederacy had taken place before this invasion is not material; but it is certain, those northern barbarians appeared off the eastern coasts of Angus, and landed at Montrose. Their original design seems

to have been to make a descent upon England, which perhaps they found too well guarded. The Danes, upon their landing, proceeded southwards, ravaging all the country through which they passed in a dreadful manner. Kenneth was then at Stirling, unprepared to resist the invaders. The exigency of his affairs would only permit him to assemble a handful of men in haste, by whom he cut off the stragglers, and checked their plundering; but he could not prevent the barbarians from besieging Perth. By this time the king had been joined by a considerable number of his subjects, and was encamped near the conflux of the Tay and the Earn. He advanced to raise the siege, and found his enemy possessed of the rising ground. A battle ensued, in which Kenneth exhibited signal proofs of his valour; he led the centre of his army in person. Malcolm, prince of Cumberland, commanded the right wing, and the thane of Athol the left. The Danes fought so desperately, that the Scots, notwithstanding the noble example set them by their monarch, must have been totally routed, had they not been met by a countryman of the name of Hay, and his two sons, coming to the battle armed with such rustic weapons as their condition in life afforded them. Partly by threats, partly by calling out, help was at hand, the three brave farmers stopped the Scots at a narrow pass, which they manned, and persuaded them to rally. They led the troops once more against the enemy. The Danes were exceedingly surprised at this unexpected and sudden change, and concluded, that the Scottish army were

certainly reinforced with a great number of fresh troops. The fight was now renewed with such fury on the part of the Scots, that the Danes were entirely defeated, so that few or none of them escaped to their ships. After the battle, the king rewarded Hay with the large barony of Errol, in the Carse of Gowrie, ennobled his family, and gave them an armorial bearing, alluding to the agricultural weapons they used in their brave achievement. Such was the rise of the illustrious family of Errol, whose descendant was high constable of Scotland in the reign of Robert I. and the descendant from him now enjoys the same honour.

MORTLACH.—*Anno* 1007, *or* 1008.

We cannot favour our readers with the exact time of this battle, but it appears to have happened in the early part of the 11th century, as Malcolm II. began his reign in 1004. Swen, the Danish king, seems to have conceived an implacable hatred to Malcolm for assisting the English, whom he designed to subdue; therefore he resolved to attack Malcolm in the very vitals of his own dominions. The first that landed he cut in pieces, and defeated them a second time, by the assistance of Ethelred's grandson. At the third encounter the Danes came off victorious, and now foolishly imagining they would soon be able to conquer all Scotland, the castle of Nairn falling into their hands. Malcolm was all this time raising forces in Mar and the southern counties. Having at last got together an army, he advanced to disposses the Danes of their late conquests. He came up with them at

Mortlach, near the castle of Balveny, which appears at this day to have been a strong fortification. At the first onset the forces of Malcolm were obliged to give way, and he lost three of his general officers; Kenneth, thane of the Isles, Grime, thane of Strathearn, and Dunbar, thane of Lothian, and was driven a small way beyond the church, which the king in passing, vowed to enlarge by three lengths of his spear, if the saint would grant him the victory. Here he rallied his forces, and returning to the charge, gave the Danes a signal overthrow. Malcolm, in gratitude for his victory, performed his vow, the church was enlarged 24 feet at the west end, the three lengths of Malcolm's spear, and in this addition was inclosed the heads of three Danish generals, the last of which only mouldered away within these fourscore years.

BARRIE.—*Anno* 1009, *or nearly so.*

The news of the former defeat of the Danes at Mortlach, far from discouraging Swen, that he gave orders for a fresh descent to be made by two fleets, the one from England, the other from Norway, under the command of Camus, one of his most renowned generals. His army was composed of veterans, and the descent was made at the mouth of the Forth. All the places there were so well fortified, that he found a landing was impracticable; but he effected it at Redhead, in the county of Angus. He immediately marched to Brechin, where he besieged the castle; but not being able to take it, he laid the town and church in ashes. From thence he marched to Panbride, and encamped at

a place called Karbaddo. By this time Malcolm was at hand with his army, and encamped at a place called Barrie, and both sides prepared for a battle, which was to determine the fate of Scotland; for it is more than probable, that the Danes remained in possession of Murray, and some of the neighbouring provinces. According to the history of the ancient family of Keith, who commanded the Catti, a German clan, who had been for some time in the province of Caithness, (which takes its name from them,) served that day as a feodary in Malcolm's army, and bore a great share in the battle, which was desperate and bloody on both sides. Camus was at the head of the troops that had conquered England; but those under Malcolm were fighting for all that could be dear to a brave people. The slaughter was so great, that the neighbouring brook of Loch Tay, (according to Buchanan) is said to have run with blood for three days. At last victory declared for the Scots, and the Danes were put to flight. They were pursued by young Keith, who overtook Camus, and killed him with his own hand. Another Scotch officer coming up, disputed with Keith the glory of this action; and while the contest lasted, Malcolm arrived in season. The case was such, that it could only be decided by single combat, in which Keith proved victorious. His antagonist confessed the truth, and Malcolm, dipping his fingers in the wounds of the expiring person, marked the shield of Keith with three bloody strokes, and pronounced the words *vincit veritas*, truth overcomes. The same has always been the armorial bearing and motto of his descendants.

ABERLEMNO.—*Anno* 1009.

Soon after the battle of Barrie, another is said to have been fought at Aberlemno, within four miles of Brechin, where the Danes were lately routed, and the broken remains of the army fled to their ships; but meeting with cross winds, and being destitute of provisions, they put 500 men on shore on the coast of Buchan, to range the country for food. They were discovered by Mernan, thane of Buchan, who cut off their communication with their ships, and forced them to retire to a hill, where they fortified themselves as well as they could with large stones. The Scots, after several fruitless attempts, at last broke down their intrenchments, and put every man of them to the sword. The place where the massacre took place, is called *Crudane*, "blood of the Danes," from the Latin *Cruor Danorum;* but it is not probable that ignorant barbarians should have recourse to the Latin language, of which they were ignorant, for a name, and neglect their own. The Danes once more invaded Scotland, under Canute, afterwards king of England, but were again shamefully routed; upon which a peace was concluded between Malcolm and Swen, wherein it was agreed that neither of them should invade the other's territories during their lives. There are still to be seen two obelisks, which are very fine pieces of antiquity, one in the churchyard, and the other on the road from Brechin to Forfar, erected to commemorate this victory. They are about nine feet high, covered with rude hieroglyphics.

DRUMELEA.—*Anno* 1031.

During the reign of Malcolm II. king of Scotland, the Danes and Norwegians under Olanus and Enetus, settled in the north parts of Scotland, took the castle of Náirn, where they became very strong, from thence they sent out parties, not only to plunder, but also to take possession, as they should find occasion and opportunity. After this Olanus sent a strong body of men to invade the counties of Ross and Sutherland, and destroy the inhabitants, which Allan, thane of Sutherland perceiving, he assembled his countrymen, and the people of Ross, in all haste, and at Criech, in Sutherland, he engaged these northern banditti, who had then come from Nairn in Murray, and landed in the river Oickel, which divides Ross from Sutherland. After a long and dubious battle, the Danes were defeated, and pursued to their ships. Near the church is an obelisk, 8 feet long and 4 broad, said to have been erected in commemoration of this victory.

CULROSS.—*Anno* 1040.

Duncan began his reign in 1034, and for some years enjoyed tranquillity, but domestic broils succeeded, which Macbeath soon repressed. Scarcely was this insurrection quelled, when the Danes again landed in Fife; and Duncan shaking off his indolent habits, put himself at the head of an army, Macbeath and Banquo serving under him. The Danes were commanded by Swen, who is said to have been the eldest son of Canute, and during his father's lifetime was king of Norway. His purpose was to have conquered Scotland, and to revenge

the losses which the Danes had suffered during the late reign. He proceeded with all the barbarity peculiar to his nation, murdering men, women, and children, of all ages and stations. It was not long before a battle was fought between the two nations, nigh Culross, in which the Scots were defeated; but the Danes purchased their victory so dearly, that they could not improve it; and Duncan retreated to Perth, while Macbeath was sent to raise a new army. Swen laid siege to Perth, which was defended by Banquo, under Duncan, who advised the king to treat with Swen concerning a capitulation, which the other refused, unless his army was supplied with provisions, which Duncan, in order to gain time, agreed to; but as the Scots historians say, he mixed herbs of noxious and intoxicating qualities, with the liquors which were sent them. According to them, these soporifics had the desired effect; and while the Danes were under their influence, Macbeath and Banquo, being joined, broke into their camp, where they put all to the sword, and it was with difficulty that Swen got aboard his ship, which was the only one that escaped to Norway.

Innumerable vestiges of Danish camps, and of their warfare, remain all along the eastern coast of Scotland. At a place called Doctan, in the parish of Kinglassie, is a rude obelisk, said to commemorate a battle with the Danes, who were obliged to retreat and cross the Leven, where another battle took place; and they experienced a total overthrow where the *standing stones* of Lundin now are, which tradition says are monuments of it. Certain it is,

that within these 40 years, great quantities of human bones and stone coffins have been found in the neighbourhood. And at the *east nook*, is a small cave, in which Constantine II. was murdered by them. Daneshalt, a village between Auchtermuchty and Falkland, has its name from being formerly one of their stations; and all over the county of Fife, are evident marks of their ravages. But the time and the circumstances attending their invasions are but imperfectly known.

WARK CASTLE.—*Anno* 1138. 10*th January*.

David I. king of Scotland, resolving to loose no time in reducing Northumberland, to which he was encouraged by the hope of an insurrection, and the intelligence he had with the friends of Maud in that province, and availing himself of the winter season, of his own vicinity to the scene of action, and Stephen's great distance from it, sent his nephew William, son of Duncan, once king of Scots, with part of his army against the castle of Wark. This place being but a few miles distant from Roxburgh, William suddenly invested it in a morning before the dawn. David and his son soon followed with more numerous forces, together with the engines employed in those days in sieges, and with great vigour carried on their approaches and assaults for three weeks; but a defence no less vigorous was made by the garrison, under the command of Jordan of Buffis, the nephew of Walter of Espec, who was then lord of Wark. The besiegers were in all their assaults bravely repelled; the king's standard-bearer, and many soldiers, were killed,

and a far greater number of them wounded. David for the present was obliged to raise the siege. During the siege of Norham, the garrison of Wark seized some carriages laden with provisions, in their way to the Scottish army, and carried them, together with their conductors, into the castle. The same garrison had sallied forth on Prince Henry, and a party attending him, several of whom they killed, wounded, or made prisoners. David, incensed by these affronts, and desirous to free himself of so troublesome a neighbourhood, renewed the siege of Wark, after he had demolished Norham. But though he carried on his attacks with the utmost vigour, employing in them all his engines, his success was no better than it had been before; and the loss he sustained of men killed and wounded, was very considerable. So fierce and obstinate a resistance determined him to convert the siege into a blockade, the care of which he commited to two of his thanes, or barons; set out himself in the beginning of harvest on a new expedition into Yorkshire. After his return from thence, he commanded the siege of Wark to be resumed. In this, new machines were employed, and trial made of new and various arts. But the besieged, by their machines, broke those of the assailants; they also slew and wounded many of the besiegers, with the loss only of one of their own knights, who having rashly sallied from the castle to destroy one of the besieger's machines, was overpowered and killed by them. The king therefore being informed of the unavailing loss of his men, did again order a cessation from attacks, and instead of them, a strait blockade to be

maintained. Some time after, David was informed that the garrison was reduced to extreme scarcity of provisions. This information produced new orders from the king to carry on the blockade in the strictest manner. The garrison had killed and salted their horses for food, and, when they were almost consumed, they abated nothing of their courage of defending the place, and had resolved, on a total failure of their provisions, to sally forth and fight their way through their enemies. Walter Espec, their lord, hearing of their desperate situation, and unwilling wholly to loose so brave a band of men, sent to them about Martinmas, William, abbot of Kievall, with his positive commands to deliver the place to the king of Scotland. The same abbot negociated the terms of capitulation with the king, who gave them 24 horses in a present, and their arms, and then demolished the castle.

CUTTONMOOR.—*Anno* 1138.

David I. king of Scotland, taking part with his niece the Empress Maud, (who, by the death of her elder brother, was heiress to the crown of England,) against Stephen, likewise his own kinsman. After several battles fought between them, (which are inserted among those of England,) a new association was entered into against the Scots, and they advanced to Northallerton, where the famous standard was produced. Its body was a box, which moved upon wheels, from whence the mast of a ship arose, surmounted by a silver cross, and round it were hung the banners of St Peter, St John of Beverley, and St Wilfred. These stand-

ards were then common on the continent of Europe, and were never brought into the field but on the most important occasions.

The English, in general, had incredible confidence in the fortune of their standard, and its supernatural efficacy; but the vast advantage they had over their enemy in point of armour, gave them a more solid ground of hope for success. Both armies met together on a plain, called Cuttonmoor. The first line of the Scots was composed of the Picts inhabiting the south-west of Scotland. The second line, or centre, consisting of the Lothian-men, as well Scots as English, south of the Forth, with the English and Normans of Maud's party. The third line was formed of the clans, under their different chieftains, but subject to no regular command, and always impatient to return home with their booty. The English army ranged themselves round their standard, and quitted their horses, not only to shew their resolution to die or conquer, but to avoid engaging at too great a distance with the long lances of the Picts. Their front line was intermixed with archers; and a body of cavalry, ready for pursuit, hovered at some distance. The Picts, besides their lances, made use of targets; but when the English closed with them, they were soon dispersed, and driven back upon the centre, where David commanded in person. Here his brave son made a noble defence; but the third line seems never to have been engaged. David seeing the day irretrievably lost, ordered some of his troops to save themselves, by throwing away their badges, and mingling with the English. From

this particular, we may conclude the Normans and English of Maud's party wore particular badges; but be that as it may, David made a most noble retreat to Carlisle. His son arrived some time after, with part of the division which he commanded.

ENBO.—*Anno* 1259.

This year the Danes and Norwegians landed at the ferry of Unes, with a design to ravage Sutherland and the neighbouring provinces; against whom William Earl of Sutherland marched, and engaged them between the town of Dornoch and the ferry of Unes, at a place called Enbo. After a sharp conflict, the Danes were overthrown, and their general slain, with great numbers of men, and the rest pursued to their ships. In order to commemorate this signal victory, a monument of stone was erected on the spot, which was called Richroish, that is, the cross of the king or general, which, together with their several grave-stones, are to be seen at this day.

LARGS.—*Anno* 1263.

Haco, king of Norway, appeared on the coast of Scotland, with no fewer than 160 ships, (if we are to believe Scotch authors) having on board 20,000 troops, who landed and took the castle of Ayr. When the news of this invasion reached Alexander, he sent ambassadors to enter upon a treaty with Haco; but the latter, flushed with success, rejected all terms, and after making himself master of Arran

and Bute, he passed over to Cunningham. Alexander by this time had raised an army, which he divided under three leaders.

The first division was commanded by Alexander, high steward of Scotland, and great grandfather to him who was afterwards Robert II., the first of the royal line of Stewart, and consisted of the Argyle, Athole, Lennox, and Galway men; by which we may conclude, that the patrimonial estates of the Stewarts lay in these counties. The second division was composed of the inhabitants of Lothian, Fife, Merse, Berwick, and Stirling, under the command of Patrick Earl of Dunbar. The king led the third division, which formed the centre, and under him fought the inhabitants of Perthshire, Angus, Mearns, and the northern counties. Haco, who was an excellent general, disposed his troops in like manner for battle, and it was not long before both armies met at a place called Largs, on the second of October 1263. The invincible hatred to the Norwegians and Danes, which had been handed down among the Scots, from father to son, rendered the battle that followed, long, doubtful, and uncommonly bloody. The Norwegian cruelty was the field-word to the Scots, and at last victory declared in their favour, chiefly by the valour of the high steward, whose troops had the most immediate interest in their defeat. After the invaders were broken, the carnage that ensued was terrible. No fewer than 16,000 of the enemy, and 5000 Scots, fell on the spot. Some escaped to their ships, which were so completely wrecked next day, that

it was with difficulty Haco procured a vessel, which carried him and a few of his friends to the Orkneys, where he soon after died of grief.

BERWICK.—*Anno* 1296.

Edward, king of England, being made umpire between the rivals for the crown of Scotland, thought this a good opportunity, first by favouring Baliol, and then Bruce, to unite Scotland with England. The methods Edward I. took to accomplish that union, were very impolitic; for, instead of lenient and gentle measures, he always used force, which the Scots resented with the utmost indignation. Baliol, at first, in order to ingratiate himself with Edward, made the most shameful concessions; but afterwards finding the Scots could not endure the tyrant's haughty treatment, he broke off at once with that monarch, and set him at defiance.

The Scots had made a treaty with France, but Philip de Valois, notwithstanding, made a truce with Edward, and left them to bear the brunt of his irresistible armaments by sea and land. Berwick was his chief object, and the Earl of Fife still remained in England. Baliol had raised the inhabitants of that county, who, with the people of Lothian, furnished the chief strength of the garrison of Berwick. The defence they made was very brave, for we are told they burnt 18 of the enemy's ships, and put all their crews to the sword, in one assault which they made upon the town. Edward, who was a greater general than politician, removed his lines to a considerable distance, and employed some of the Brucean party to inform their compa-

nions upon the walls, that Edward, despairing of taking the town, was resolved to raise the siege, especially as Baliol was advancing with a great army to the relief of the place. All this was believed by the besieged, who in a day or two saw a large detachment of the English army in their country dress, and carrying the ensigns of Scotland, approach their walls. The credulous garrison believed them to be Scots, and marched out to meet them; the English (or, as we rather suspect, the Scots in the English army,) getting between them and the town, secured one of the gates, which had been thrown open. The main body of the English army immediately rushed in, and an indiscriminate carnage ensued. The English writers make the number of killed 16,000. Fordun admits of 7500, and says, that the Fife nobility were that day almost exterminated. Edward's barbarity, even by the accounts most favourable to his memory, was inexcusable, for he spared neither age nor sex. Some of their historians endeavour to palliate his barbarity, by pretending that the town was taken by storm; but the relation of the Scots seems to be more authentic. Edward being master of the place, annexed it for ever to the crown of England, and drew round it a large palisaded ditch.

DUNBAR BATTLE AND SIEGE.—*Anno* 1296.

Whatever Edward's views hitherto might be, he proceeded, after the taking of Berwick, as if he had been determined to conquer Scotland. The castle

of Berwick surrendered on the first of May, at which time a strong detachment of his army had invested the castle of Dunbar. The Earl of Dunbar had submitted to Edward; but his wife, to make an atonement for her husband's defection from his duty, had put the castle into the hands of her countrymen. As Dunbar, next to Berwick, was the greatest bulwark of Scotland towards England, Baliol resolved to risk every thing to relieve it. A party of the Scots, under the Earls of Cassillis and Monteith, had then returned from England with great booty, and had joined the Scotish army under Baliol; but it was no way comparable in point of discipline to that of Edward, who still remained at Berwick, and committed the conduct of the siege to the Earls of Surry and Warren. These noblemen drew their army out of their trenches, and a bloody battle was fought in sight of the castle; the event was fatal to the Scots, who lost above 10,000 men, (the English writers say 20,000,) upon which the castle of Dunbar was surrendered up to the English. It appears from the best authorities, that Edward was not present at this battle; but a number of Scotish noblemen, particularly William Earl of Ross, who had escaped out of the battle of Berwick, being found in the castle of Dunbar, were delivered up, says Fordun, like sheep bleating to be slaughtered by the king of England. Soon after, he took the castles of Roxburgh and Edinburgh, and reduced those of Perth, Dundee, Forfar, Brechin, and Montrose; and poor Baliol, being obliged to submit, was stripped of his royal ornaments, and mounted upon a sorry nag, with

a white rod in his hand, as one of King Edward's subjects.

STIRLING.—*Anno* 1297. 13*th September.*

The extinction of the royal line in Scotland, by the death of Alexander III. towards the end of the 13th century, opened a scene of confusion in that country, which brought it to the very brink of ruin. The history of the different competitors for the empty crown is foreign to our purpose. John Baliol and Robert Bruce, were generally allowed to stand foremost in the list; but as it admitted of a dispute to which of them the preference belonged, they both agreed to refer the decision of the matter to Edward I. of England; and a malicious policy, which in all ages has too much guided the councils of princes, suggested to that monarch, that he had now in his hands the most favourable opportunity of gratifying his own ambition. Instead, therefore, of acting the part of a fair arbitrator, he sought to avail himself of the divisions of a free people, in order to enslave them. He called in question the independency of Scotland, pretending it was a fief of his crown, and subjected to all the conditions of a feudal tenure. Both competitors acknowledged his claim; Baliol, because the crown of Scotland was decreed to him, and Bruce, because he found himself not in a capacity to make any opposition. Edward having, by this method, established his paramount power over Scotland, acted with all the rage of a tyrant; he filled the garrisons of that kingdom with English soldiers, carried many of the nobility to England, where they were de-

tained as securities for the peaceable behaviour of the rest,—seized the public archieves, and getting possession of many historical monuments that tended to prove the antiquity or freedom of Scotland, carried some of them with him, and commanded the rest to be destroyed.

The Scotish nation were partly so blind to their own interest, partly so intimidated, that at first they silently acquiesced in his claim, and beheld the various acts of his oppression, without making any vigorous efforts to preserve their own independency. At length a patriotic hero stept forth to stem this tide of foreign tyranny, and assert the liberty of his native country. This was the renowned William Wallace, who is said to have been the second son of Sir Malcolm Wallace of Ellerslie, an ancient family in the west of Scotland, who was endowed with great sagacity of mind, and uncommon strength of body. He beheld, with deep concern, the fetters which were wreathed about the necks of his countrymen, and had the honour of being the first who kindled the almost extinguished spark of liberty among them. His first appearance was in no higher a character than that of a volunteer for the service of his country; the freedom of which was his ruling passion. Having communicated his sentiments to a few friends, he found them animated by the same spirit, and disdaining the chains of England as much as he did. An illustrious fraternity was soon formed, with the laudable view of delivering Scotland from thraldrom, and restoring her independency; and though they acted not under the sanction of public authority,

yet the circumstances of the nation will sufficiently vindicate their conduct to all the sons of freedom.

Wallace having the direction of this association, began the execution of his design, by cutting off small bodies of the English. Next he proceeded to attack the forts which they possessed, and carried many of them by storm. Frequent exploits of that kind soon rendered his name conspicuous, and every victory gave new spirits to his little band, and encouraged others to join him, till at length he found himself at the head of a considerable army. He had not, indeed, the happiness to see his patriotic design so generally supported as it deserved. Indolence, or timidity, kept a number of the nobility from countenancing him. Envy and jealousy led others of them to thwart his measures. His exploits, however, though they were not crowned with final success, preserved the spirit of liberty, and paved the way to that independency which the nation, not long after his death, obtained.

Several places in Stirlingshire are memorable for having been the scenes of some of this hero's exploits. The Torwood was the plain where he and his party often held their rendezvous, when they were engaged in any expedition in that part of the country; and in that wood was lately to be seen an aged oak, well known by the name of Wallace's tree, which even at that time having so far decayed as to be hollow within, is said to have often afforded a lodging to him, and a few of his most trusty friends. This is supposed to be one of the largest trees that ever grew in Scotland; it is now quite decayed, but from all accounts, it must

have been once of an uncommon size. The stump, which remains, is no less at the root than 11 or 12 foot in diameter. It stands upon the summit of a small eminence, which is surrounded on all sides with a swamp or bog. A rugged causeway runs from the south through the bog, and leads up to the tree, some vestiges of which are also discernable, surrounding it in a circular form, which tempts us to conjecture, that this oak is of very great antiquity; and that having been much frequented by the Druidical priests, among whom this sort of tree was held sacred, the causeway had been laid for the conveniency of their approach unto it, and of performing the rites of their religion.

At Gargunnock, the English had a small fort, known by the name of "The Peel," in which a garrison was stationed, to watch the passage of the Forth, at the Frew, in its neighbourhood. This fort Wallace, with a small party, attacked and carried by storm. The same success attended him in an assault upon the tower of Airth, which was garrisoned by English soldiers.

Edward was at this time in France, being engaged in a war with that nation; but he sent over a commission to the Earl of Surry, his lieutenant, and Hugh Cressingham, his treasurer, to suppress the insurrection, which he understood had taken place in Scotland. They raised a numerous army, and advanced to Stirling in quest of our hero, who was then in the north. The bridge over the Forth was of timber, and is said to have stood a mile higher up the river than the present one does. When a great part of the English had crossed,

with Cressingham at their head, the bridge gave way by the great weight upon it, or rather by a stratagem of Wallace, who, foreseeing that the enemy would pass that way, had ordered its main beam to be sawed so artfully, that the removal of one pin caused the downfal of the whole, and had stationed a man beneath it in such a manner, as that, unhurt himself, he could execute his design. This story, however, has too much the air of romance to be entitled to much credit. By this means great numbers fell into the river; and those that had passed before the disaster happened, were immediately set upon by Wallace, who by this time was near at hand with a considerable army, waiting in expectation of this event. They fought for a while with great bravery under the conduct of Sir Marmaduke Irving, an officer of noted courage and experience, but were at last entirely routed, and mostly slain, only Sir Marmaduke, and a few with him, falling back to the river, threw themselves into it, and made their escape. This battle was fought near the parish church of Logie, about two Scots miles to the northward of Stirling. Our authorities inform us, that the Scots army was posted upon a hill, above the monastery of Cambuskenneth, now known by the name of the Abbey Craig; and Irving, who led the van of the English, advancing to the foot of the hill, they retreated, as if they had fled, but soon facing about, gave him battle, while a party who had taken a compass round the hill, fell upon his rear. This was the most complete victory that Wallace had gained in a regular fought field. Several huge stones are

raised about the spot where it happened, but whether they are monuments of that victory, or of some more early transaction, we have not sufficient information.

Cressingham was among the slain, and his body was found cased in armour. He was a clergyman, but it was very common in these times for such to enjoy civil posts. He had been advanced by Edward to the office of chief treasurer in Scotland, and had rendered himself detestable by his oppressions. But the Scots disgraced their victory by the treatment of his dead body, for they flead off his skin, and cut it in pieces, to make girths and other furniture for their horses.

The Earl of Surry, who, with the rest of the English army, was upon the south side of the river, seeing this fatal disaster, immediately retired southwards; but was greatly harrassed in his march by the Earl of Lennox, who came from behind the neighbouring mountains, where he had posted himself in ambush, with a large body of men, waiting in expectation of what had happened. Wallace, too, having crossed the river, joined Lennox, and coming up with the main body of the retreating army at the Torwood, a sharp action ensued, in which the Scots obtained the victory, and Surry himself escaped with difficulty.

This signal victory raised the fame of Wallace, and struck the English with such terror, that they yielded up the forts which they possessed as soon as he appeared before them; insomuch, that in a few weeks all the places of strength in the kingdom were recovered, and scarce an Englishman to be

seen in it. The Scots looking upon him as the deliverer of their country, crowded to his standard, and an assembly of the estates chose him to be general of the army, and guardian or protector of the kingdom under Baliol, who, having incurred the displeasure of Edward, was now in a state of confinement. This high office he executed with great dignity, though not without much envy and malevolent opposition from several of the chief nobility. He bore up, however, against all discouragement, and found as many friends amongst the lesser barons and the people, as supported him in maintaining the internal government of the kingdom, and also enabled him to make inroads into England.

BATTLE OF FALKIRK.—*Anno* 1298.

22d July.

The news of the revolution made by the famous Wallace in Scotland being brought to Edward, he gladly listened to the proposals of a truce which had been made him by France, that he might have leisure to reduce Scotland. Immediately upon his arrival in England, he assembled a numerous and well disciplined army, amounting, according to the common accounts, to above 80,000 foot, besides cavalry. With these he marched northwards, having under him, as generals, Bohun Earl of Hereford, high constable of England, Bigot Earl Norfolk, chief marshal, the Earl of Lincoln and Robert Bruce; who, partly from a groundless jealousy of Wallace, and partly from Edward's promises of the crown of Scotland to him, was now an avowed partizan of the English. To oppose this formidable

armament, Wallace mustered 30,000 of his countrymen, and took up his station at Falkirk, where he waited for Edward, having drawn up his men in an advantageous situation, and fortified his front with palisades, driven into the earth, and tied together with ropes. The army stood in three divisions, and were commanded by Wallace, John Cumming of Badenoch, and John Stewart, commonly called Stewart of Bute, brother to the high steward of Scotland.

The two armies met upon the 22d of July 1298, when a fierce and bloody battle ensued, which proved fatal to the Scots. Hitherto the leaders had acted with an appearance of unanimity, but an old grudge which the other two, especially Cumming, entertained against Wallace, broke out in an instant, the most untimely that possibly could have happened. When the English were advancing to battle, a hot dispute was carried on among the Scots generals about the post of honour, that is, who should lead the van, each claiming it as his right; Wallace, because guardian of the kingdom, Cumming, because he was allied to the crown, and had a numerous vassalage, and Stewart, as supplying the place of his brother, the lord high steward. Before this could be decided, the enemy had given the signal for the charge. Cumming marched off with all the men under his command, without fighting at all. Wallace and Stewart, with their divisions, received the English, who made the onset with great fury; but a gap made in the lines by the departure of Cumming, so disordered the

Scots, that the two remaining bodies could not readily act in conjunction with each other. Stewart was surrounded, and after fighting bravely, was, with the most part of his corps, cut in pieces. Wallace, for some time, stood his ground against the whole power of the enemy, with amazing intrepidity, till Robert Bruce, making a circle round a rising ground, was ready to fall upon his rear. This made him begin a retreat, which he accomplished with great valour and military skill, to the river Carron, which he crossed at a ford in the neighbourhood of Arthur's Oven. In this battle the Scots lost 10,000 men; among whom was Macduff Earl of Fife, or, as others think, only a relation of that family, who fought under Stewart; and in the division of Wallace, the brave Sir John Graham, who, for courage and military skill, was reckoned next to that hero, and commonly called his right hand.

The field where this battle was fought, is about half way between the Roman wall and the river Carron, in the neighbourhood of Falkirk, upon the north, extending from the Grange-burn on the east, to the west of Camelon, where Wallace crossed the Carron. In a part of the same field, the royal army encamped, and marched from thence to battle against the rebels in 1746. Bruce, whose concealed march round a hill, contributed to the defeat of Wallace, is supposed to have taken his rout round the south side of Falkirk, and turning north by Tophill, where the magnificent aqueduct bridge is now erected to convey the canal over the public

road, marched in the hallow where the burn of Glenfuir runs, till he got behind the Scots army. Historians make mention of one Brian le Jay, or Brianjay, a knight templar, of great note among the English, who fell by the hand of Wallace. Almost in the same stop where the draw-bridge over the canal stands, there is a place called Brian's ford, supposed to have received its name from the overthrow of that champion.

Bruce pursued Wallace to the river Carron, and, like one of the warriors of antiquity, called out to him with a loud voice, as he stood upon the opposite bank, demanding a private interview with him; to which the other readily assented, and both walking upon the opposite sides, till they came to a place where the channel was narrow, and the banks exceeding steep, supposed to have been near the foundation of the ancient Roman bridge, upon the south of the village of Larbert. They stood with the stream between them, and held that memorable conference, which first opened the eyes of Bruce to a just view, both of his own true interest, and that of his country. Bruce began with representing to Wallace the madness of taking up arms against so powerful a king as Edward, and charged him with having a view to the crown himself. The other, without suffering him to proceed any further, replied with great warmth, that his very soul abhorred such ambitious views, that a pure disinterested regard for the welfare of his country, was the sole motive by which he was animated; and concluded with telling him, that he himself had brought much misery upon his country, and was

altogether blind to his own interest, in giving such aid to the English. This conference sunk deep into the mind of Bruce, and convinced him of the foolish part he had hitherto been acting. He died soon after; and it was thought, that remorse and grief for his past errors, tended to shorten his days. Before his death, he had not an opportuuity of seeing his eldest son, who was kept as a pledge of his father's obedience, in the castle of Calais, in France; but he found means of communicating to him his new sentiments, by adopting which, he came to mount the throne, and was the glorious instrument of restoring liberty and independency to Scotland.

Wallace, after this conference, went to visit the remains of his mangled army, who were encamped at the Torwood; and next day, returned to the field of battle to bury the slain. The sight of Graham's corpse drew tears from his eyes. He interred it, with that of Stewart, in the church-yard of Falkirk, where his grave-stone is still to be seen.

Edward, notwithstanding his victory, found his army so shattered, and his provisions so exhausted, that he was obliged to return homeward. The Scots, though defeated, had not yet abandoned the cause. They followed close upon his rear, and cutting off many of his men, greatly harrassed him in his march; so that, in order to regain England, he was forced to take his route through the wild forest of Selkirk. Some histories even inform us, that only two days after the battle, the army of Wallace surprised that of Edward at Linlithgow, and after a great slaughter, put them to flight.

Soon after this battle, Wallace resigned his commission as guardian of the kingdom, to an assembly of the estates at Perth, and returned to his former private station. From this time, we have no certain accounts of that hero, only that he continued still as much an enemy to England, and as zealous for his country as ever, till at last being basely betrayed by Monteith, one of his own party, he was delivered into the hands of Edward, and put to death at London, in such a way as reflects perpetual disgrace upon that monarch's reign.

It is reported that Bruce and Wallace encountered. The combat was terrible, and brings to our remembrance the encounters of Homer's warriors. At last Wallace, with one stroke, broke the other's spear, and at a second cut off his horse's head. We are also told, that he had the strength of four ordinary men, and that nothing was proof against his sword; one blow of which, if it chanced to hit fair, never failed to cleave both head and shoulders.

STIRLING CASTLE.—*Anno* 1298.

The town of Stirling is situated upon a hill, which, gradually rising from the east, terminates in a steep rock, upon the extremity of which the castle is built. This fortress is of great antiquity, though no certain account can be given of its erection. Old chronicles inform us, that Agricola raised some works upon the rock on which it stands, nor is it improbable that the Romans had a station thereabouts, in which they made necessary preparations for the passage of the Forth, and the inva-

sion of Caledonia. Some are of opinion, that this is the place to which Ptolemy gives the name of *Vindovara*. That geographer, however, gives his *Vindovara* a more westerly situation, rather answering to that of Paisley, or some place in its neighbourhood.

The remote antiquities of Scotland are involved in so great obscurity and confusion, that few accounts of events which happened in it, prior to the 12th century, can be depended on. We learn, however, from those feeble glimmerings of light which we possess, and which we are fond to make use of in the absence of better, that the rock of Stirling was strongly fortified by the Picts, amongst whom architecture, and several other useful arts, had made considerable progress. As it lay in the extremities of their kingdom, the possession of it was the occasion of frequent contests between them and their neighbours, the Scots and Northumbrians, each of whose dominions did for some time terminate near it. From these disputes it is supposed to have derived its name, for Stirling signifieth the hill, or rock of strife, to which the monkish writers seem to allude, when they give it the name of *Mons Dolorum*.

When the Scots, under Kenneth II. overthrew the Pictish empire, near the middle of the 9th century, they endeavoured to obliterate every memorial of that people. They not only gave new names to provinces and towns, but, with all the rage of barbarians, demolished many magnificent and useful edifices, which had been reared up by them, and this fortress among the rest. It was, however,

soon rebuilt, though upon an occasion not very honourable to the Scots.

This fortress has been the scene of many transactions, too insignificant to be mentioned. Being, by its situation, considered as a key to the northern parts of the kingdom, the possession of it has always been esteemed of great importance to those who sought to be masters of Scotland. A minute detail of all the sieges and revolutions which it underwent, during the contests with England, in the reigns of the three first Edwards, would afford but small entertainment. In the space of little more than forty years, the English were four times in possession of it, and as often wrested from them by the Scots. In 1296, Edward I. enraged at John Baliol's renunciation of his allegiance to him, marched into Scotland with a great army, and like a torrent carried all before him; the strongest fortresses yielding almost at his approach, and that of Stirling, being deserted by its garrison, made no resistance at all. But the English dominion in Scotland was never of long duration, being usually lost by revolutions, as quick as those by which it was acquired. In 1298, the Scots recovering their spirits, drove the invaders out of most parts of the kingdom, and laying siege to this castle, soon forced the garrison to capitulate. This revolution obliged Edward again to assemble an army, and among his other feats, he invested the castle of Stirling, and besieged it with his whole train of artillery. It was commanded by William Oliphant, a brave officer, who held it out for three months. Such a vigorous defence so provoked Edward, that he ordered two

gibbets to be erected, and proclamation made in the audience of the garrison, that if they did not surrender against a certain day, every man of them should be hanged without mercy. They accordingly surrendered before the day prefixed but rather for want of provisions, than for fear of Edward's threats. They were not, however, so far reduced, as not to be able to make an honourable capitulation; but the souls of conquerors have seldom been found so great as their names; instead of observing punctually the articles of capitulation, the English monarch treated the garrison with great inhumanity.

SWYNEY.—*Anno* 1300.

Before this battle, the Bishop of Galloway, and the heads of the Cumming family, made proposals of peace to Edward, which he rejected with the utmost indignation. When they intimated to him the interposition of the papal authority, if they were not complied with, "am I, (says he) to whom you have sworn, as the superior lord of Scotland, to be terrified by pretences? Have I not power sufficient to guard my own right? If I hear any more of this, by all that is holy, I will lay Scotland waste from sea to sea." To this tremendous menace, the Cummings replied with an undaunted air, "That they were resolved to shed the last drop of their blood in defence of their country:" and then took leave of that haughty prince.

This interview seems to have been brought about by Edward's friends in Galloway, and proving ineffectual, put an end to further negociation. Ed-

ward, advancing to a river called Swyney, discovered the Scotish army on the opposite banks: he sent a body of archers (the most formidable troops then in Europe) to dislodge them; and the Scots, unable to stand the terrible discharge of arrows, retreated; but Edward, fearing that they were drawing his men into an ambuscade, dispatched the Earl of Warwick to stop the pursuit. The archers perceiving the Earl advance, attended with some troops, imagining he was coming to their support, followed the Scots, who made a halt, so the battle became general. Edward perceiving this, sent his son, the Prince of Wales, at the head of his shining battalion, (as he used to call it, by way of preference to all his other troops) to support the Earl and his archers, while he himself advanced with the main body of his army. The Scots, who did not intend to stand a general engagement, were unable to sustain the shock, and retiring to their woods and fastnesses, their loss of men was inconsiderable. It is remarkable, that in this engagement, the Welsh again refused to act against the Scots, or at least to pursue them. The English historian Walsingham says, that the fate of Scotland would have been decided that day, had the pursuit been continued.

ROSLIN.—*Anno* 1303.

Before the truce that ended at Whitsunday was expired, Edward ordered Segrave to assemble 30,000 of his best troops, which were divided into three separate bodies, probably for the conveniency of subsistence. The Scots considered these mo-

tions as a breach of the truce; therefore Cumming, the guardian, and Sir Simon Fraser, ordered a rendezvous of their troops, which amounted to more than 10,000 men, at Biggar. The first division of the English army lay about 16 miles distant, at a place called Roslin, five miles south from Edinburgh; the first divison was commanded by Segrave, the second by his brother, and the third by Robert Neville. But all of them behaved towards the Scots as declared enemies by desolating the country all round. Living at once in a state of rapine and security, they despised their enemies so much, that they even neglected the usual precautions and discipline of an army, and acted in every respect as if they had been in a conquered country.

Cumming and Fraser resolved to surprize Segrave's division at Roslin: they began their march the day before the first Sunday of Lent, and reached it by the break of day. Notwithstanding the privacy of the expedition, and the suddenness of the attack, Segrave had time to have fallen back upon the second division of his own army; but either thinking he would be dishonoured by a retreat, or holding his enemies in too great contempt, he stood to his arms, and was attacked with so much resolution, that he himself was taken prisoner, whilst all his men, except such as threw down their arms, or betook themselves to their second division, were slain. As 500 men at arms, or knights, each at least brought five horsemen to the field, served in that routed army, great part of the Scotch infantry became cavalry; but while they were dividing

the rich spoils of the field, another hostile army appeared in view. The Scots, flushed with victory, and unwilling to relinquish the glory of the booty they had acquired, engaged and routed this fresh army, though not without a bloody conflict, which gave time for the third and most powerful division of the enemy under Neville to advance.

The Scotish generals, says Fordun, were obliged to exercise the double duties of preaching and commanding. The spirits of their men were exhausted, their bodies fatigued, and their numbers thinned; they pleaded the excessive labours they had undergone, they pointed to their wounds, and in general they seemed disposed to retreat whilst it was in their power. Their two generals, who, perhaps, knew that to be impracticable, reminded them of the cause for which they were fighting, the tyranny of the English, the glories of their ancestors, and the disgrace of slavery. Their arguments prevailed; but they found themselves under the disagreeable necessity of putting all their vulgar prisoners to death.

A third battle was begun, fought, and finished in the same day, and by the same body of men. The Scotish historians have made their countrymen more than mortal in this combat, and have given them a third victory. It is sufficient to say, that it appears from the relation of the English themselves that they stood their ground; all the advantage Neville obtained was, his rescuing Segrave from his captivity; that lassitude alone prevented them from cutting off the enemy's retreat to Edinburgh; that Neville pretended the appearance of

victory, only because he was not completely defeated. After this victory the Scots retook Stirling.

METHVEN.—*Anno* 1306. *July* 19*th*.

Robert Bruce having now assumed the crown of Scotland, began to be more trusted by his countrymen; many of whom, however, though friends to their country, seeing no end to their calamities, and perceiving that they were beginning anew, wished for the peaceful continuance of the English government in Scotland, disgraceful as it was. Bruce had got together a small army, but they were made up of raw recruits, and he had not got time to discipline them, when the Earl of Pembroke arrived in Scotland with an English army. He therefore formed a camp at Methven, near Perth, which was the head quarters of the enemy, and there lay upon the defensive, well knowing the disadvantage he he was under from his men not being trained to war. He had already attempted to surprise Perth; but failing in his design, he retired to Methven, from whence he sent a challenge to the earl to fight him. According to Barbour, and other historians, the challenge was accepted; but on the night before the day appointed for the battle, which was the 20th of July, while the Scots thought themselves secure, and unprepared for battle, they were attacked and routed by their enemies in the park of Methven. Barbour says, that many of the Scots were quartered at different places in the neighbourhood; but all historians agree, that Bruce behaved with the greatest heroism, and had three horses killed under him. But being known by the slaughter he made,

and all his men, except a few friends, flying, Moubray rushed upon him, and catching at his horse's bridle, called out, "I have hold of the new made king;" but he was rescued by the valour of Christopher Seton. Barbour says, that though Bruce was defeated, few of his men were killed, his principal loss consisted in the prisoners that were taken; the chief of whom were, Sir Alexander Fraser, Sir David Barclay of Inchmartin, Hugh Hay, and Walter Sommerville. The English returned to Perth, and Pembroke sent an account of the victory he had obtained to Edward. We are informed by Barbour, that Pembroke pardoned all who were willing to swear fealty to his master, which Randolph and others of great note did; many of them, however, were hanged and quartered.

GLENTROUL WOOD.—*Anno* 1307.

The rendezvous for Bruce's followers is said to have been in the wood of Glentroul, near Cumnock, and the cruelty of the English had increased them. The Earl of Pembroke and his army still continued in the neighbourhood, but were so harrassed by their Scotch enemies, that the Earl thought proper to repair to Carlisle for fresh orders. Having received them he returned again to Scotland, where he heard that Bruce was still in the wood of Glentroul, and that he and his men subsisted themselves by hunting, and had also taken up an encampment where they could not be attacked by horse. The Earl expected every day to be joined by Lord Clifford, with a body of troops from the north of Eng-

land, and delayed attacking Bruce till they should arrive. The earl was, however, betrayed by one of his spies, a Scotch woman; upon which Bruce suddenly attacked about 1500 of his men, and put them to the route. Soon after, Clifford came up, and reproached the Earl for suffering himself to be surprised by so inconsiderable a number of men; this so disgusted Pembroke that he left the army. Bruce, now at the head of a thousand men, ventured to quit his fastnesses, and marched into Cunningham and Kyle, where Douglas defeated Sir Philip Moubray. The Earl of Pembroke having again assumed the command, is said to have challenged Bruce to fight him in a plain at the bottom of Loudon hill. Bruce is reported to have accepted the challenge, and to have fought with and defeated the Earl. We are also informed, that he beat the Earl of Gloucester, and obliged him to take refuge in the castle of Ayr, where he was besieged, till relieved by a fresh army from England.

INVERARY.—*Anno* 1308.

King Robert Bruce, after insurmountable toils, having taken the strong castle of Inverness by surprise, marched from the county of Murray to Mearns, all the strong holds in his way surrendering to him, which he demolished, that he might not weaken his army by leaving garrisons in them. Afterwards, being seized with a lingering disorder, the Earl of Buchan, and others of the English faction, thinking this a grand opportunity to obtain the favour and good graces of the English monarch,

attacked him in this enfeebled condition; but however weak the king's body, his mind was vigorous, and his judgment sound. He well knew, how much the fate of armies depended on the conduct of their commander; and therefore, though he could not now fight as formerly, he would not be absent while his soldiers fought for him. It is said, he caused himself to be carried to the field of battle in a litter; others say, that supported by two men, he sat on horseback, and thereby inspired both officers and soldiers with so much courage, that they were never known to have shown more on any occasion whatever. His enemies' hopes of victory proceeded from the report of the king's illness, and finding themselves disappointed by his presence in the action, they were easily defeated; few were killed, but a good number were taken prisoners. By the king's orders, however, they were civilly treated, and graciously pardoned. This victory contributed very much to the king's recovery; it also gave a good beginning to those repeated triumphs which adorned his future life.

EDINBURGH CASTLE.—*Anno* 1313.

The first proof Randolph gave of the sincerity of his conversion, was in undertaking the siege of Edinburgh castle; but before that time, he had been created by his uncle Earl of Murray, with a large revenue. The siege proved to be an undertaking of great difficulty; but Randolph at last succeeded, by the advice of one William Francis, who showed him a place in the rock, by which the

walls might be scaled, by the assistance of a ladder about twelve feet high. Randolph and Sir Andrew Gray were the first who mounted the walls, and being bravely followed, they became, after an obstinate dispute, masters of the castle. According to some historians, Randolph ordered a false attack to be made on the east side of the castle, towards the town, which drawing thither the attention of the English, gave him an opportunity of scaling the walls, at the place which had been discovered to him by Francis.

ROXBURGH.—*Anno* 1313. *March* 14*th*.

It was a favourable circumstance to Robert Bruce, that Edward II. had neither the abilities nor good fortune of his father. Besides his predeliction for Gaveston, his favourite, he had alienated from him many of the nobility. However, the birth of Edward III. having made the king more peaceable, and also more formidable to the barons, so that by the mediation of the Pope and the king of France, the lords were not only reconciled, but agreed to give him sufficient aid for prosecuting the war with Scotland. But before effectual measures were employed for that purpose, Robert and his new generals obtained new and conspicuous advantages. On the evening of Shrove Tuesday, the garrison of Roxburgh, while indulging themselves in the usual riot of that festival, were surprised by Sir James Douglas, who, accompanied by a few brave and courageous men, mounted the walls on ladders of ropes. The cry of a Douglas in an instant

quashed the noisy mirth of the enemy, of whom many were soon killed. The governor retired into the great tower with a few of his men, but two days after, being sore wounded in the face by an arrow, he surrendered himself and company, on condition of their being conducted to England. This was punctually performed, but the governor soon after died of his wounds. King Robert being informed of this exploit, sent his brother Edward to demolish the fortifications, which he quickly performed. All Tiviotdale was now reduced to the king's obedience, except Jedburgh, and the places that lay nearest to England.

BANNOCKBURN.—*Anno* 1314. *June 24th.*

Robert Bruce, grandson of Baliol's competitor, had been crowned king of Scotland in the year 1306. Though hitherto he had been involved in perpetual war with England, and the party among the Scots who adhered to Baliol, and his successes had been checkered with greater losses, so that he had several times been reduced to the greatest extremities; still his vigour of mind and body had enabled him to sustain additional toil and hardship. Timeously informed of Edward's formidable preparations, he raised an army of thirty thousand, an armament which bore a small proportion to that of England. It was composed, however, of soldiers inured to war, and carrying on the sword's point, liberty, honour, and every thing dear to man. With this little force, Robert, taking his station near Stirling, waited for Edward. His first rendezvous

was at Torwood, where he laid the plan of his operations, in concert with his general officers, Edward his brother, Thomas Randolph Earl of Murray his nephew, Lord Walter high steward, and Sir James Douglas.

The two armies first beheld each other in the month of June, and a fierce and bloody battle was soon after fought, in which the Scots obtained a victory, the most celebrated of any in the annals of their kingdom. Although the union of the kingdoms have now rendered their former mutual contests matter rather of curiosity than serious concern, still the smallest particular of so great an action, cannot fail to be entertaining. The historians of this signal affair often contradict each other, and assert local impossibilities. Buchanan, having long resided at Stirling, when preceptor of James VI and who had frequent opportunities of viewing the field, has given a distinct account of it. Casting our eye upon his history, and the fields which were the scene of this great transaction, we have, at one glance, the dispositions and motions of both armies.

The English army having marched from Edinburgh to Falkirk in one day, set out next morning towards Stirling. Robert, being well informed of their motions, dispatched Sir James Douglas and Sir Robert Keith, to reconnoitre them upon their march. These officers reported privately to the king, that it was the best arrayed, as well as the most numerous, army that he had ever seen, and pompous almost beyond expression. Policy led Bruce to conceal this report from his army. He

ordered it, on the other hand, to be given out, that though the enemy was numerous, it was not properly marshalled. The English, meanwhile, came in sight, and encamped on the north of Torwood. About Upper Bannockburn, and in the moor of Plean, in the neighbourhood of the ancient Roman causeway, pieces of broken pots, and other vessels, have been found; and upon the rocks, near the surface, marks of fire have been discovered, where, as is supposed, the soldiers had cooked their provisions. Barbour, too, speaks as if their camp had stretched so far north as to occupy part of the Carse. So vast a multitude must doubtless have covered a large space of ground.

The Scotish army had, some days before, drawn nearer Stirling, and posted themselves in ground previously chosen, behind the small stream of the Bannock, remarkable for its steep and rugged banks. They occupied several small eminences, upon the south and west of the present village of St Ninian's. Upon the summit of one of these eminences, now called Brock's Brae, is a stone sunk in the earth, with a round hole, about four inches in diameter, and the same in depth, in which, according to tradition, Robert's standard was fixed, and near it the royal pavilion erected. This stone is well known in the neighbourhood, by the name of the "Bored Stone." Thus the two armies lay facing each other, at a mile's distance, with the streamlet running in a narrow valley between them.

Stirling castle was still in the hands of the Eng-

lish Edward Bruce had, in the preceding spring, besieged it for several months, but finding himself unable to reduce it, had abandoned the enterprise. By a treaty, however, between Edward and Philip Moubray the governor, it was agreed, that if the garrison should receive no relief from England before St John the Baptist's day, they should then surrender to the Scots. Robert was much dissatisfied with his brother, but to save his honour, at last confirmed the treaty. The day before the battle, a fine body of cavalry, amounting to 800, was detached from the English camp, under the conduct of Lord Clifford, to the relief of the castle. These having marched through low grounds, upon the edge of the Carse, had passed the Scotish army on their left, before they were discovered. The king himself was among the first to perceive them, and desiring the Earl of Murray, who commanded the left wing, to turn his eyes towards the quarter where they were making their appearance, in the crofts north of St Ninian's, said to him, angrily, "Thoughtless man! you have suffered the enemy to pass." Murray, feeling severely, instantly pursued them with 500 foot; and coming up with them in the plain, where the modern small village of New-house stands, commenced a sharp action in sight of both armies, and of the castle. Randolph's party, who had been drawn up in a circular form, with their spears protended on every side, and resting on the ground, were briskly attacked and surrounded by the enemy. Much valour was displayed on both sides; and it was some time doubt-

ful who should obtain the victory. Robert, attended by several of his general officers, beheld this rencounter from a rising ground, supposed to be the round hill immediately west of St Ninian's, now called Cockshot Hill. Douglas, perceiving the distress of his brave friend, who was greatly inferior to the enemy in numbers, asked leave to go with a reinforcement to his support. This the king at first refused; but upon his afterwards consenting, Douglas put his soldiers in motion. Perceiving, however, on the way, that Randolph was on the point of victory, he stopped short, that they who had long fought so hard, might enjoy undivided glory. The English were entirely defeated, with great slaughter. Randolph and his company, covered with dust and glory, returned to the camp, amidst acclamations of joy. To perpetuate the memory of the victory, two large stones were erected in the field, where they are still to be seen. The spot was lately inclosed for a garden, and is at the north end of the village of New-house, about a quarter of a mile from the south port of Stirling.

This victory gave new spirits to the army, and raised so great an ardour for a general engagement, that the night, though one of the shortest, seemed long to them. Edward, too, exasperated at the defeat of his detachment, and perceiving the disadvantageous impression it was likely to make upon his army, was resolved to bring it to a general action on the following day. All was early in motion on both sides. A solemn mass was pronounced by Maurice Abbot of Inchaffray; who also admi-

nistered the sacrament to the king, and the great officers about him, while inferior priests did the same to the rest of the army. Then, after a sober repast, they formed in order of battle, in a tract of ground, now called Nether Touchadam, which lies alongst the declivity of a gently rising hill, about a mile due south from Stirling castle. This situation had been previously chosen on account of its advantages. Upon the right, they had a range of steep rocks, whither the baggage-men had retired, and which, from this circumstance, has been called Gillie's or Servant's Hill. In their front were the steep banks of the rivulet of Bannock. Upon the left lay a morass, now called Milton Bog, from its vicinity to a small village of that name. Much of this bog is still undrained, and part of it is now a mill-pond. As it was then the middle of summer, it was almost quite dry; but Robert had recourse to a stratagem, to prevent any attack from that quarter. He had, some time before, ordered many pits to be dug in the morass, and fields on the left, and covered with green turf, supported by stakes, so as to exhibit the appearance of firm ground. He also made calthrops be scattered there; some of which have been found in the memory of people still alive. By these means, added to the natural strength of the ground, the Scotish army stood as within an intrenchment.

Some historians tell us, that Robert rendered even the rays of the sun subservient to his advantage, having drawn up his army in such a position, that that luminary shone so directly in the faces of

of the enemy, as to dazzle their eyes, and embarrass their motions. This, however, is a mere random assertion to embellish the story; for, upon comparing the field with the best accounts of the action, it plainly appears that the Scotish army stood almost due east and west, with their faces to the south. By this means, the sun, in the morning, shone upon their left, and the higher he advanced the more did he dart his beams in their faces. In this respect, therefore, the advantage was rather on the side of the English.

Barbour, who lived near those times, mentions a park with trees, through which the English had to pass before they could attack the Scots, and says that Robert chose this situation, that, besides other advantages, the trees might prove an impediment to the enemy's cavalry. The improvements of agriculture, and other incidents, have, in the lapse of four hundred years, much altered the face of this, as well as other parts of the country. Vestiges, however, of this park still remain. Many stumps of trees are seen all around the field where the battle was fought. A farm-house, situated almost in the middle, goes by the name of "the Park;" and a mill built upon the south bank of the rivulet, nearly opposite to where the centre of Robert's army stood, goes by the name of Park-mill.

The Scotish army was drawn up in three divisions, and their front extended near a mile along the brink of the river. The right, which was upon the highest grounds, was commanded by Edward Bruce, the King's brother. The left was posted on

the low grounds, near the morass, under the direction of Randolph, and the King himself took charge of the centre. Mention is also made of a fourth division, commanded by Walter Lord High Steward and Sir James Douglas, both of whom had that morning been knighted by their sovereign.

The enemy were fast approaching in three great bodies, led on by the English monarch in person, and by the Earls of Hereford and Glocester, who were ranked among the best generals that England could then produce. Their centre was formed of infantry, and the wings of cavalry, many of whom were armed cap-a-pee. Squadrons of archers were also planted upon the wings, and at certain distances along the front. Edward was attended by two knights, Sir Giles de Argentine and Sir Aimer de Vallance, who rode, according to the phrase of these days, at his bridle. That monarch, who had imagined that the Scots would never face his formidable host, was much astonished when he beheld their order and determined resolution to give him battle. As he expressed his surprise, Sir Ingram Umfraville took the opportunity of suggesting a plan, likely to insure a cheap and bloodless victory. He counselled him to make a feint of retreating with the whole army, till they had got behind their tents; and, as this would tempt the Scots from their ranks, for the sake of plunder, to turn about suddenly, and fall upon them. The counsel was rejected. Edward thought there was no need of stratagem to defeat so small a handful.

Among the other occurrences of this memorable

day, historians mention an incident. As the two armies were on the point of engaging, the Abbot of Inchaffary posted himself before the Scots, with a crucifix in his hand; when they all fell down upon their knees in the act of devotion. The enemy, observing them in so uncommon a posture, concluded that they were frightened into submission, and that by kneeling, when they should have been ready to fight, they meant to surrender at discretion, and only begged their lives. They were soon undeceived. They saw them rise, and, with a steady countenance, stand to arms.

The English began the action by a vigorous charge upon the left wing, commanded by Randolph, near the spot where the bridge is now thrown over the river, at the small village of Charterhall. Its neighbourhood was the only place where the river could be passed in any sort of order. A large body of cavalry advanced to attack in front, while another fetched a compass to fall upon the flank and rear. Ere, however, they could come to close engagement, they fell into the snare that had been prepared for them; and many of their horses were soon disabled by the sharp irons rushing into their feet; others tumbled into the concealed pits, and could not disentangle themselves. Pieces of harness, with bits of broken spears, and other armour, still continue to be dug up in the bog. Randolph well knew how to improve an accident which he had expected. Taking immediate advantage of the

disorder and surprise into which it had thrown the enemy, he charged with vigour. The battle was, meanwhile, spreading along the front, and maintained with much valour on both sides.

An incident happened, at the outset, which, however small in itself, led to important consequences. King Robert, according to Barbour, was ill mounted, carrying a battle-axe, and on his bassinet-helmet wearing, for distinction, a crown. Thus externally distinguished, he rode before the lines, regulating their order; when an English knight, who was ranked amongst the bravest in Edward's army, Sir Henry de Boun, came galloping furiously up to him, to engage him in single combat; expecting by this act of chivalry to end the contest, and gain immortal fame. But the enterprising champion having missed his blow, was instantly struck dead by the king; the handle of whose axe was broken with the violence of the shock. This was a signal for the charge. The heroic achievement performed by their king before their eyes, had raised the spirits of the Scots to the highest pitch. They rushed furiously upon the enemy, and met with a warm reception. The ardour of one of the Scotish divisions had carried them too far, and occasioned their being sorely galled by a large body of English archers, who charged them in flank. These, however, were soon dispersed by Sir Robert Keith Marischal, whom the King had dispatched with five hundred horse. A strong body of the enemy's cavalry charged the right wing, which Edward Bruce com-

manded, with such irresistible fury, that he had been quite overpowered, had not Randolph, who appears to have been then unemployed, marched to his assistance. The battle was now at the hottest; and it was yet uncertain how the day should go. The English continued to charge with unabated vigour. The Scots received them with an inflexible intrepidity; each individual fighting as if victory had depended on his single arm. An occurrence, which some represent as an accidental sally of patriotic enthusiasm, others as a premeditated stratagem of Robert's, suddenly altered the face of affairs, and contributed greatly to victory. Above fifteen thousand servants and attendants of the Scotish army, had been ordered, before the battle, to retire with the baggage, behind the adjacent hill: but having, during the engagement, arranged themselves in a martial form, some on foot, and others mounted on the baggage-horses, they marched to the top, and, displaying on long poles white sheets instead of banners, descended towards the field with hideous shouts. The English, taking them for a fresh reinforcement of the foe, were seized with so great a panic, that they gave way in great confusion. Buchanan says, that the English King was the first that fled; but contradicts all other historians, who affirm, that Edward was among the last in the field. Nay, according to some accounts, he would not be persuaded to retire, till Aymer de Vallance seeing the day lost, took hold of his bridle, and led him off. Sir Giles de Argentine, the other knight who

waited on Edward, would not consent to leave the ground; but, putting himself at the head of a battalion, and making a vigorous effort to retrieve the disastrous state of affairs, was soon overwhelmed and slain. He was a champion of high renown; and, having signalized himself in several battles with the Saracens, was reckoned the third knight of his day.

The Scots pursued, and made great havoc among the enemy, especially in passing the river, where, from the irregularity of the ground, they could not preserve the smallest order. A mile from the field of battle, a small bit of ground goes by the name of Bloody Fold, where, according to tradition, a party of the English faced about and made a stand, but after sustaining a dreadful slaughter, were forced to continue their flight. This account corresponds to several histories of the Earl of Gloucester, who, seeing the rout of his countrymen, made an effort to renew the battle at the head of his military tenants, and, after having personally done much execution, was, with most of his party, cut to pieces.

Much valour was exerted on both sides, and the victory brought the greater honour to the Scots, that it had been obtained, not over an ill disciplined multitude, as some represent the English to have been, but a regular and well marshalled army, who had fought both with valour and skill.

Perhaps there is not an instance of a battle, in which the exact numbers of killed and wounded have been truly ascertained. The ordinary me-

thod is for each side to lessen its own loss, and to augment that of the enemy. Though the English writers do not specify particulars, they acknowledge it to be very great, and that their nation never met with such an overthrow. The Scotish writers make the enemy's loss, in the battle and pursuit, fifty thousand, and their own four thousand. Among the latter, Sir William Wepont and Sir Walter Ross were the only persons of distinction,—a proportion almost incredible! The slain on the English side were all decently interred by Robert's order, who even in the heat of victory could not refrain from shedding tears over several who had been his intimate friends. The corpse of the Earl of Gloucester was carried that night to the church of St. Ninians, where it lay, till, together with that of the Lord Clifford, it was sent to the English monarch. The number of prisoners also was very great; and amongst them were many of high rank, who were treated with the utmost civility.

The remains of the vanquished were scattered all over the country. Many ran to the castle; and not a few, attempting the Forth, were drowned. The Earl of Hereford, the surviving general, retreated with a large body towards Bothwell, and threw himself, with a few of the chief officers, into the castle, which was garrisoned by the English. Being hard pressed, he surrendered, and was soon exchanged against Robert's queen and daughter, and some others of his friends, who had been captive eight years in England.

King Edward escaped with much difficulty. Retreating from the field of battle, he rode to the castle; but was told by the governor, that he could not long enjoy safety there, as it could not be defended against the victors. Taking a compass to shun the vigilance of the Scots, he made the best of his way homeward, accompanied by fifteen noblemen and a small body of cavalry. He was closely pursued above forty miles by Sir James Douglas, who, with a party of light horse, kept upon his rear, and was often very near him. How hard he was put to, may be guessed from a vow which he made in his flight, to build and endow a religious house at Oxford, should it please God to favour his escape. He was on the point of being made prisoner, when he was received into the castle of Dunbar, by Gospatrick Earl of March, who was in the English interest. Douglas waited a few days in the neighbourhood, in expectation of his attempting to get home by land. He escaped, however, by sea in a fisherman's boat. His stay at Dunbar had been very short. Three days after the battle he issued a proclamation from Berwick, announcing the loss of his seal, and forbidding all persons to obey any order proceeding from it, without some other evidence of that order being his. Edward's former confidence of success, and the manner of his escape, call to mind the ostentatious parade with which Xerxes invaded Greece, and the sorry plight in which he was compelled to retreat.

The castle of Stirling was next day surrendered,

and the garrison suffered to pass unmolested to England, in terms of the treaty regarding it; but Moubray the governor was so won by the civilities of Robert, that he entered into his service and ever after continued faithful to him.

In the morning after the battle, an English knight, and an old acquaintance of Robert's, Sir Marmaduke Twenke, came and surrendered. He was cordially received; and after having been treated with great civility, was sent home, not only without ransom, but loaded with presents. In a word, Bruce's whole behaviour after his victory, discovered a greatness of soul seldom found in conquerors. The horrors of war, so long familiar to him, had not extinguished the gentler affections.

Historians have been careful to entertain us, after the bloody spectacle of the engagement, with an account of an English poet named Baston, a Carmelite friar, and prior of a monastery in Scarborough, who was found among the prisoners. He was reckoned one of the best poets of that uncultivated age, and Edward, in full confidence of success, had brought him in his train in order that he might the better celebrate his triumph. Being presented to Robert, he was promised his liberty, on condition of his composing a poem in praise of the victory. This he did in a monkish rhyme, consisting of a barbarous jingle. Some historical facts, however, are confirmed by it. He mentions the pits and ditches which had been dug, the stakes that were fixed in them, and the calthrops. He gives a list, also, of the most distinguished of the English slain in the battle.

A Scotish monk also composed a poem upon the same subject, in a strain nothing superior, though a little more intelligible.

A ballad, also, on the battle of Bannockburn was, anciently, composed in the Scotish language, and universally sung by women and children for several ages.

This battle, forming one of the most remarkable eras in the history of Scotland, was fought on Monday the 24th of June, 1314, the birth day of John the Baptist. The victory was attended with the most important consequences. It established Robert firmly upon a throne, which, hitherto, he had always felt tottering beneath him; and settled, throughout the kingdom, a tranquillity formerly unknown. The rich spoils, also, found in the English camp, greatly increased the national wealth. That people, sure of victory, had marched to it with all the parade of luxury; and, on their defeat, money, plate, rich armour, sumptuous furniture, fine equipages, aud all the riches of their camp, fell into the hands of the Scots. These, together with the large sums paid by prisoners of rank for their ransom, introduced a more plentiful circulation of money in Scotland than had ever been known. The effects soon became every where visible. Several large houses, where there had been none before, were, according to traditions still current, built after this battle. From that time, also, the Scots began to study more elegance in their houses and gardens, and gave more attention to agriculture. For, however

much they hated the English, and had been harrassed by their unjust claims, they gradually adopted several of their customs, and found an advantage in cultivating various arts, borrowed from them, resembling those nations whom the Romans had invaded, and who came gradually to imitate that people, and practise arts and customs, the first knowledge of which they had received from their enemies and oppressors.

CARLISLE.—*Anno* 1315.

Though a famine raged furiously in Scotland, it did not prevent Robert Bruce from entering England by the west march. After committing the usual ravages in the open country, he laid siege to Carlisle. That city was bravely defended by its governor, Andrew Hartclaw, whose activity and courage in repressing the Scotch marauders, and in making some inroads into Scotland, had incensed Robert, and made him more eager to succeed in his enterprise against Carlisle. He continued the siege ten or twelve days, both employing engines and making assaults; but having lost a considerable number of men, and having heard that the Earl of Pembroke approached with a great army, while a report also prevailed in England, that the army of Edward Bruce had been routed and cut off, and himself killed, in Ireland, Robert raised the siege, and, in his retreat, had several of his men killed and wounded, and others taken prisoners. The resolution and good conduct of Hartclaw on this occasion determined the English king to commit to

his care all the adjacent country, and to command the inhabitants of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancaster, to give him their attendance and obedience. The repulse sustained by the Scots at Carlisle did not discourage them from an attempt to take Berwick, by means of some ships wherewith they entered the river; but, being discovered by the townsmen, they were repulsed with loss.

BERWICK SIEGE.—*Anno* 1318, April 2d.

After the famous battle of Bannockburn, the Scots made several inroads into England, and carried home prodigious quantities of booty. The renown of that battle had given them so much superiority over the English, that they durst scarcely look them in the face during the remainder of Edward's reign.

Robert having made vast preparations for besieging Berwick, sat down before it on the 2d of April. Maurice of Berkley was then governor of the town and castle, and was very severe upon such as he suspected to be in the Scotch interest. This, no doubt, provoked one of the inhabitants, who was called Spalding, and who was married to a relation of one of the Scotch officers about Robert's person, to enter into a correspondence with that officer for delivering up the town. The latter immediately carried Spalding's letter to Robert, who commended his prudence, "because," said he, "if you had carried it either to my brother or Lord Douglas, you would have made one of them your enemy." Robert then undertook the management

of the affair, and the town was actually taken by Spalding's means; but part of the garrison, whilst their enemies were too intent upon plunder, retired to the castle, which held out for five days, and then surrendered. The booty of every kind which Robert made by this conquest was greater than any he had ever acquired at one time. The place, by its natural situation, the strength of its fortifications, and the number of its garrison, was deemed to be impregnable, and was a kind of repository for the effects, not only of the English, but of all their party in Scotland, which was still powerful. Robert thought it of so much importance, that he gave the command of it to his son-in-law Walter, steward of Scotland, and ordered it to be victualled for twelve months.

BERWICK.—Sept. 1, 1319.

This town, often besieged by the Scots and English, was, in the year preceding, taken by Robert, as above. After vast preparations, a great army was raised by Edward. This army was accompanied by a fleet from the Cinque ports, laden with provisions and all kinds of stores. Besides the king's military vassals with their dependents, and the soldiers to whom he gave regular pay, there were many thousand footmen who served in the army as volunteers, encouraged by the hope of booty.

The first care of the English was by an entrenchment to secure their camp against the attack of the Scots. Then they proceeded to assault the

town, the walls of which were so low, that an assailant from the foot of them might with his spear strike a defendant on the top. Two remarkable general assaults were given by the besiegers on the 7th and 13th of September. In the former they endeavoured to scale the walls, while a ship on the same day sailed up the river, and approached as nigh as possible to the wall, with a boat hauled upon her mast, filled with soldiers, and provided with a bridge to reach from the boat to the top of the wall. The ship's crew were so pelted with stones and missile weapons from the wall, that they could not get sufficiently near for applying their bridge, and their ship being left aground by the ebbing tide, a party of the garrison, sallying forth, burnt her, although they were in danger of being intercepted by the besiegers, who came along the shore by the foot of the wall to attack them. In the next general assault, which was made six days after the first, the English employed a great machine, called a sow, constructed for holding and protecting men, who were moved in it towards the walls, in order to sap and undermine the foundations. To oppose this, Sir John Crab had prepared a vast crane, moveable on wheels, with faggots of a huge size, which, being set on fire, were to be lifted up by the crane, and let down upon the sow to consume it. An engineer of extraordinary fame, who, at the last assault, had been taken prisoner from on board the vessel that was burnt by the Scots, was compelled, by menaces of instant death, to employ his art to destroy the great ma-

chine of his countrymen. To effect this, he threw a great stone from one of the engines on the wall, in such a direction as to split it asunder; and the burning faggots being afterwards applied by the help of the crane, consumed the whole fabric. The besiegers, who were the same day employed in the attack against Marygate, burnt the drawbridge, and were about to destroy, in like manner, the whole gate, when the governor, having first drawn a supply of men out of the castle, whose situation was adjacent to this place, and which was not on this day attacked, ordered the gate to be thrown open, and repelled the aggressors with such vigour, that they were forced to retire. An assault, also on that day, by the English shipping, was repelled, chiefly by the art of the captive engineer, in throwing stones from the wall. It was not, however, without considerable loss to the besieged, that these repulses were given to their enemies; and it is probable the latter would soon have prevailed, had not Lancaster, from his habitual malignity to the king and his favourites, and bribed, as was reported, by the Scotch king, retired from the English camp with all his men.

Edward's army was much weakened by the desertion of Lancaster; but they suffered still greater discouragement from the intelligence they received of the Earl of Murray and Lord Douglas entering England. In this irruption they led 10,000 men into the centre of Yorkshire, and in the neighbourhood had nearly seized Edward's queen, who is said to have been sold to the invaders by Lancas-

ter, or some traitors in her court. The information of the approach of the Scots, extorted from a Scotch spy, who was apprehended at York, saved the queen.

But the invaders, disappointed of this great prize, which, perhaps, would have purchased a peace to their country, committed terrible devastations in the west and north ridings. The archbishop, William of Melton, emulating, probably, the immortal fame gained about 200 years before by his predecessor Thurston, in the battle of the Standard, collected a tumultuary army, wherein were many clerks, both secular and regular, and had the temerity to give battle to the veteran Scots under Randolph and Douglas, at Milton on the Salve, about twelve miles north of York. The archbishop and his army were entirely routed; about 3000 were killed, and many of the fugitives drowned in the Salve. They burnt Knaresborough, and Skipton, but Ripon was saved from the flames with 1000 merks. The whole north riding of Yorkshire was laid waste, and plundered, in this incursion of the Scots.

The resolution of the garrison of Berwick, the desertion of Lancaster, and intelligence of the invasion of the Scots, determined Edward to abandon the siege. He expected to meet the invaders on their return, to avenge their outrages, and strip them of their booty; but informed, as was supposed, by Lancaster, of Edward's approach, they avoided him, by taking another road, and arriving safe in their own country with their spoils. King Robert arriving at Berwick soon after, ordered its

walls to be considerably raised all around. See Redpath on the Border History.

BYLAND.—*Anno* 1322.

A TRUCE for two years being now expired, Edward, freed from all domestic insurrection, once more resumed his preparations to invade Scotland; on which he was so intent, that he sent to his French dominions for a number of slingers and pikemen. His parliament seconded his intentions, by granting him extraordinary supplies; but advised him to put off his design till the 25th of July, when he was to be attended by all his military tenants. This delay proved favourable to Robert, who, before the expiration of the truce, had an army ready on the borders to enter England. On the 2d of July, we find Edward issuing a writ, directed to Harclay Earl of Carlisle, commanding him to raise all the inhabitants of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire, from sixteen to sixty to take arms. Being sensible of the benefit which Robert received of being supplied with arms and provisions by the Flemings, he ordered his barons of the Cinque Ports to destroy all the ships of that country which could be found carrying supplies to the Scots; and he ordered Robert of Lyburn, the most experienced of his naval commanders, to be admiral of the fleet that was to attend him during his expedition.

It was the latter end of July before he could begin it; and entering Scotland, as usual, with a great armament, he found it so much impoverished, by the precautions Robert and his generals had taken,

that he was forced to depend upon his fleet for the subsistence of his army. Though he met no troops in the field to oppose him, Robert having retired northwards, yet he proceeded with inexpressible fury: the monasteries of Melrose and Dryburgh were burnt, and even their aged inhabitants put to the sword. He advanced, indeed, as far as Edinburgh; but, by this time, his supplies from his fleet failed him, and he found himself in danger of losing all his army through famine, and was therefore obliged to return southwards. Robert, who was at hand to observe his motions, followed him with some chosen troops, cut off his convoys and stragglers, and routed his army near the abbey of Byland, hard by Malton. In this battle, which rather seems to have been a surprise than a regular engagement, the Earl of Richmond was taken prisoner, and Edward, after losing all his plate, money, and baggage, was pursued to the very gates of York, where he narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. Robert was too wise to think of taking all the advantages which a more incautious conqueror would have aimed at in this campaign. He was contented with burning the town of Ripon, and obliging that of Beverley to pay him £400 contribution money, and then returned with the money he had made to his own dominions.

STANHOPE PARK.—*Anno* 1327.

After the deposition of Edward II., his son, Edward III. seemed desirous to enter into a treaty with Robert Bruce, King of Scotland; but whether he disapproved of young Edward's conduct in de-

posing his father, or thought the conjuncture favourable to his own views in humbling his haughty foe, who had often brought Scotland to the brink of ruin, he sent information to the English Government that he was preparing to invade England; he was then unable to take the field in person, but delegated the command of his army, as usual, to his two great generals, the Earl of Murray and Lord Douglas. English authors say that he had an army of 20,000 horse, but without foot in proportion. Young Edward sent his uncle, Earl Marshal of England, to secure Newcastle upon Tyne. He is said to have had an army of 100,000 men, 60,000 of whom rendezvoused at York, where a fray happened between the English and foreigners, wherein a great deal of blood was shed, and part of the city of York burnt. From York the English advanced to Durham, and were amazed to hear that the reinforcements they had sent to Carlisle and Newcastle had suffered the Scots to pass the Tyne; and that the latter, after beating a part of the English Militia at Durham, had renewed their ravages. Edward was full of spirits, but young and without experience. His army was clogged with great quantities of baggage, and he found it impossible to bring the Scots to action, though the armies were often within sight of each other. At last he resolved to leave behind him his heavy baggage, and pursue them by the smoke of their burnings, by which they laid waste the country Even this expedient proved unsuccessful, and Edward determined to cross the Tyne, and carry the war

into Scotland itself. By this means he gained a day's march upon the Scots, and passed the Tyne, but found his men destitute of provisions, and in a most miserable condition. The waters of the Tyne rose so much, that his foot for some time could not pass it. Having now lost all intelligence of the Scots, Edward offered a hundred pounds in land to any who could discover them.

The Scots having taking prisoner one Thomas Rokesby, who told them that it was in their power to enrich him in a hundred pounds a year in land, magnanimously set him at liberty. Upon entering the English camp, he not only received the promised reward, but was knighted by Edward, who was so exasperated at the Scots for so often escaping his grasp, he offered to retire, and leave them at liberty to pass the river if they would agree to fight him.

The Scotch generals sent word to Edward that it was not his province to direct their operations, especially as he knew his numbers were treble to theirs. For three days the armies faced each other, but in very different circumstances. The provident Scots had plenty in their camp, whilst Edward in his own country, amidst all his friends, was distressed to the last degree for want of provisions. The Scots saw his situation and intentions, and silently decamping, they removed to Stanley Park, where they pitched their camp, still more advantageously; for they had the Ware in their front; while their rear and flanks were secured by impassable woods and bogs. Edward passed the river, but

found his enemies could only be attacked in front, and at a prodigious disadvantage. Whilst the English monarch and his officers were exulting over the cowardice of the Scots, and being encamped in a careless and disorderly manner, Lord Douglas proposed a scheme for surprising Edward in his tent, and carrying him off. For this purpose he picked out 500 of his best horse; and making a large circuit, he fell upon the enemy's camp with irresistible fury, and made directly for Edward's tent. According to the English historians, that prince would either have been killed or taken prisoner, had it not been for his own valour. His chamberlain and chaplain were slain in attempting to save him; but Edward, drawing his sword, made so good a defence, that his guards had time to come to his relief. Douglas, in this desperate attempt, is said to have killed 300 of the enemy; but, finding he was discovered, he blew his horn, which assembled his men; and giving orders for a retreat, he brought up the rear in person, and returned to the Scotch camp, though not without considerable loss on his side.

Notwithstanding the valour with which this exploit was conducted, the Scots, after their enemies had passed the river, found their situation altered much for the worse, and that they were in their turn threatened with a scarcity of provisions. When Douglas told his adventure to the earl of Murray, the latter proposed to give the English battle, but Douglas was of a different opinion; and it was resolved to make the best retreat they could

to their own country, but to give out the orders in so ambiguous a manner as to deceive the English. This retreat was conducted with admirable foresight. Proclamation was made that all their troops should be under arms next morning, and a prisoner was suffered to escape to give Edward intelligence of this order. He imagined the Scots intended to fight him, upon which he called in all his parties, and formed his army in a line of battle. While this was doing, the Scots gained some hours march; and, when day began to break, Edward was informed of their departure. His army fell into a kind of despondency; and in a council of war it was resolved, that considering the late fatigues, and that the greatest part of the Scotch army consisted of cavalry, it would be unadvisable to pursue them, but that they should take possession of their camp. The English authors are full of the extraordinary appearance it made. Nothing was to be seen but shoes made of undrest hides of cattle, and wooden spits, from whence depended skins of the same kind, filled with water for boiling their victuals. Froisard, who was a foreigner, and present in the expedition, gives us a very extraordinary idea of the cookery of the Scots soldiers in those days. He says, that most of them carried about them a small bag of oat meal, which they kneaded into bread, and baked it upon small thin thin iron plates, which seems in fact to have been part of their armour. Be that as it may, they undoubtely had, through their temperance and abstemiousness, great advantages over their enemies.

ROXBURGH.—*Anno* 1332.

In the room of the Earl of Mar deceased, the Scots had chosen Sir Andrew Murray conjunct regent with the Earl of March. The new regent was no sooner advanced to that eminent trust, than he too forwardly endeavoured to shew that he deserved it; for, after having fought with, and put to flight the Lord Edward Baliol, and his conquering army, in view of the town of Roxburgh, while he pressed too eagerly after the English, who were retreating over the bridge into the town, he was separated from his men and taken prisoner; by which means he lost a victory, which he considered sure, and sent prisoner to Durham. Thus, within less than four months, viz. from the beginning of August till the middle of October, did Baliol, by an amazing current of resistless fortune, or rather by the unaccountable blindness and fatality of those who had the management of Scotish affairs gain six victories, force into submission, kill or take prisoners some thousands of gentlemen, and some of them the most eminent, both for merit and quality, then in the island or elsewhere. He also put to the sword a vast number of commons, entirely subdued nearly one-half of the kingdom, and consequently procured to himself a most promising, nay almost an infallible, prospect of reducing the whole.

DUPLIN.—Anno 1332. Aug. 14.

Edward, for some time, had secretly disliked the treaty of Northampton; but he declared on all occasions that he was resolved to observe it during

the continuance of the truce. Notwithstanding this declaration, Baliol and Lord Beaumont, with his privity, and perhaps his money, were hiring foreign troops and mercenaries; and towards the end of the year about forty-four German officers, each at the head of a small company, appeared in London, and were followed thither in person by Baliol, who now publicly declared his intentions to reclaim his father's dominions, implored Edward's assistance, and offered to hold the kingdom of Scotland of him in the same manner as his father had held it of Edward I.

Though Edward's good faith upon this trying occasion cannot be said to have been irreproachable, yet no prince, perhaps, of that age, would have carried it so far under such temptations. He again refused to break the truce, though he acknowledged Baliol's right, and though he did not blame him for prosecuting his family claims, yet he would not allow him to pass through England to invade Scotland.

The Scotch historians, perhaps with some reason, think that Edward's indecision, and shew of good faith, was influenced by his not having yet received the 30,000 merks, which had been stipulated by the treaty of Northampton, and which, in the beginning of the year 1332, were certainly paid him by the regency of Scotland. He might likewise be influenced by the consideration of 20,000, which he was to pay to the pope if he should break that treaty, and by some remains of affection for his sister the young Queen of Scotland

According to some authors, Patrick Earl of March was now joined in the regency with the earl of Mar, and had the southern provinces allotted to him for his government; but what dispositions they made to oppose the invasion in time we know not. Baliol's army, for so it was deemed, though paid by others, contained 2500 of the best disciplined troops in Europe, and amounted in the whole to 6000. Being prohibited by Edward's writ from marching by land, they went on board some foreign shipping, which they had provided at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, and arrived in the frith of Forth on the last day of July, according to Fordun and English histories. After hovering about for some days, they landed at Kinghorn in Fife, where they were opposed by Alexander Seton, who was killed on the spot, and his followers cut in pieces.

This advantage animated Baliol's party so much, that his army was soon increased to 10,000 men; and after allowing them some days refreshment, he marched to Dunfermling, where he seized a magazine of arms, and from thence towards Perth, where the governors of Scotland had appointed the rendezvous of their troops, which they divided into two bodies, and commanded by the two regents. They left Perth by separate route, lest the invaders should escape them. The loss of Robert and his two generals was now severely felt. The regents had no intelligence, and were so utterly unacquainted with the character of the troops they were to engage, that they believed them to be a mob of

lawless banditti, who might be crushed at the first onset. They had appointed a place where they should meet, in Strathern; but, in the mean time, the Earl of March was encamped in the neighbourhood of Duplin, as the Earl of Dunbar was at Aughterarder about five miles distant; so that the Earl of Mar's division was at the greatest distance from Baliol. The latter, after mature deliberation, by the advice of Andrew Murray of Tullibardine, (who had a large estate in the neighbourhood, and was privately in the English interest,) resolved to attack the division under Mar, which was encamped in a disorderly manner on the other side of the river. By an appointed signal, Murray discovered the place where the river was fordable, and in the night-time Baliol's men had passed it with no loss. The numerous attendants upon the camp were attacked and driven back upon the main body with considerable slaughter; but, when the morning appeared, the English perceived the Scotch army advanding against them in good order.

Here, and indeed through the whole of this expedition, there is a most amazing difference between the Scotch and English historians. They agree together, it is true, as to the events, but vary as to many particulars, which we have endeavoured to select from both relations, so as to form a probable narrative upon the whole. This is the more necessary, as it will prove that the defeat which the Scots received that day was not owing to their cowardice, but their dissensions, and to the want of that subordination in command which is necessary for the success of the bravest armies.

Baliol's men were white scarfs round their arms, that they might be known by one another during the nocturnal attack, which they imagined had been upon the main body of their enemies; and even some of the Scotch historians are so ill informed, as so say the regent, the Earl of Mar, was killed while asleep in his bed. The English were astonished when they saw the good order, the arms, and furniture of the Scotch army. The Earl of Mar was for receiving Baliol's attack, which he reasonably supposed would be but faint, considering the fatigue of the night. This created a suspicion in the Earl of Carrick, natural son to that Bruce who had been crowned in Ireland, that he was secretly attached to Baliol; and he not only reproached the regent with his treachery, but advanced with great precipitation at the head of his own division, which was very considerable. A defile, or as historians of the times call it, a hanging gap of the moor, in a strait passage, lay between the two armies; and had not the Scotch generals been inexcusably blind to all the rules of war, they must have seen the danger they exposed themselves to in attempting this pass. The regent, piqued at Carrick's reproach, followed him with an equal pace; while Baliol and his English archers, then renowned over all the world, drew up at the entrance of the defile, which was so crowded by the Scots that not an arrow fell in vain; and we are even told by Fordun, who continues to be our surest guide, that many of them, without being wounded, were stifled to death in the press. By this time Baliol's

men had made such a slaughter, that they passed over the dead bodies of their enemies to attack the few that remained; and without entering into farther particulars, the Scots were finally routed.

Such were the particulars of this action, which may be called rather a carnage than a battle. It proved fatal to many of the Scotch nobility. The Earls of Mar, Carrick, and Athol, fell upon the spot, besides twelve other noblemen; the chief of whom were Hay the great constable of Scotland, whose surname must have been extinct, had he not left his wife big with child; Sir Alexander Fraser Keith, the Marshal of Scotland, with many of his surname; David Lindsay of Glenesk, Alexander Beton, George Dunbar, Robert Strachan, Thomas Halyburton, and John Scrimzeur, knights. As to the number slain in the whole, we are greatly in the dark. The English writers make it amount to above 15,000, and in this they are not contradicted by some of the Scotch themselves. The nature of the ground where the battle was fought, renders Fordun's account much more probable, that they were estimated at 3000; nor indeed do the consequences of the battle indicate any such enormous slaughter as the English mention. Buchannan seems to agree with Fordun in this particular.

The slaughter was owing to a previous resolution which had been taken in Baliol's council of war, not to be encumbered by prisoners. Fordun says, that the battle lasted from day-break to nine in the forenoon, and that the Scots seemed to be oppressed by divine vengeance rather than human force.

The reader cannot form an adequate idea of the fatal dissensions among the Scots, without reflecting that when this bloody battle was fought, the Earl of March, the other regent of Scotland, lay with his army only at the distance of five miles from the field. This undoubtedly was one of the considerations that induced the Earl of Mar (beside what has been already mentioned) to stand upon the defensive. It is, however, remarkable, that though the first attack was made in the night time, and though the fugitives might easily have apprized the Earl of March of the enemy's intention, he never moved to the Earl of Mar's assistance, short as the ground was he had to march over. This battle was fought on the eleventh of August 1332. It is amazing that in it the English lost only two knights, Sir John Gordon and Sir Richard Pechy, and 33 esquires, but no common soldiers.

ANNAN.—*Anno* 1333. Dec. 25.

Edward Baliol, being secure of fortune and Edward's favour, imprudently despising an enemy he had so often defeated, lay at Annan, his paternal inheritance, where he designed to keep his Christmas in mirth and jollity. Of this the Scotch chieftains, by dear bought experience taught to be vigilant, had intelligence, and as they had in a great measure lost the kingdom, so they regained it, by surprise. Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway, John Randolph, earl of Murray, at the head of 1000 horse, upon Christmas evening, attacked the enemy unawares, and put most of them to the sword,

insomuch, that the pretended king with difficulty escaped on horseback, half naked, and without either saddle or bridle, to Carlisle. His brother Sir Henry Baliol was not so lucky; that young nobleman, the last hope of his unfortunate family, was killed on the spot, and with him Walter Cumming, John Kirkaldy, &c. The Earl of Carrick was taken prisoner, and had been executed, but his cousin the Earl of Murray made interest for him, that he might be reserved to die with honour for the cause he had so dishonourably abandoned. Thus the perseverance of the Scots patriots retrieved, in one day, with one blow, and only by the bravery of 1000 horse, the repeated losses of five months. In so short a time did Baliol win and lose his usurped crown.

BERWICK.—*Anno* 1333. From April to July. besieged and taken.

After Baliol's flight as above, Edward III. inheriting his father's dispositions with respect to Scotland, determined to conquer it, and to annex it to the crown of England: for that purpose he raised an army of 100,000 men, which he mustered at Newcastle. Having followed himself, about the end of April, he led his forces to the siege of Berwick, which he invested both by sea and land; but after that mighty power he had brought along with him had been five weeks before it, he found his army too numerous to be all employed at once, and the garrison too brave to be foiled by such as the ground permitted to assault them. He therefore resolved to turn the siege into a blockade, and

left Lord Baliol with forces sufficient for that purpose. The king himself with the rest invaded Scotland, burning and laying waste the country wherever he came; the Scots wisely keeping out of the way, well knowing his numerous and voluptuous army could not subsist long in a country harrassed for many years with continual wars. However, the Scots were not idle, for they followed him in small parties, often beat up his quarters, intercepted his convoys, and plagued him with continual alarms till he returned to Berwick. There he joined Baliol, where the losses he sustained at the siege, and those he encountered in his progress through the country, were abundantly supplied, by the arrival of John Lord Darcy, with considerable reinforcements from Ireland and Aquitain.

Now the town and castle of Berwick, after a noble defence of near four months, began to be straitened, and the governors of each though fit to capitulate upon these terms, viz. if before Tuesday the 20th of July they were not relieved, then they should surrender to Edward, with the preservation of their lives and goods. For the performance of the articles agreed upon, Edward required twelve hostages, and among them the two sons of Alexander Seton, the governor. Mean while Sir William Keith was allowed to go and acquaint Lord Archibald Douglas, who commanded the Scotch army, with the state of affairs, and persuaded him to raise the siege, which he prepared to do with a numerous army. The fifteen days, according to Fordun, for surrendering the town, elapsed, and

Edward demanded possession in terms of the truce. Upon Seton's refusing to perform the conditions, Edward threatened to hang his sons, and for that purpose he erected a gallows in sight of the garrison. Here the Scotch and English writers differ in opinion, the former declaring the truce was not expired when Edward put his threats in execution; the latter say it was. If the former be true, few Roman patriots or matrons can be competitors for fame with the illustrious parents, who are said to have suffered their son or sons to be executed within their sight. We shall here copy Sir Richard Maitland, the historian of the house of Seton, his account of this shameful affair. "At the last, the victuall grew skant in the said toun, and dyvers thairin hurt and slain: for the quhilk caus, the said Sir Alexander send to the reulars of Scotland in the nonage of the king, to get reskew with all diligence; and, in the meintyme, sent to ye king of Ingland, and desyrit treuis for certane dayis, upon conditioun, if he gat no releif befoir the day apointit, he sould delyver the said toun to the king of Ingland; and for observing and keiping of the said conditioun, he delyvert his eldest son and appeirand air, callit Thomas, in pledge to him. In the meintyme of the treuis, the reulares of Scotland gadderit ane grit armie, of quhais cuming the king of Ingland heirand, preveinit the tyme, having na respect to his promeis, and desyrit the toun to be randerit befoir the day appointit, or else he sould hang baith his sones. To the quhilk ansuerit the said Sir Alexander, if he wauld use sic crueltie,

contrair to his faith and promeis, go to his purpois, for he wald noght rander the toun. Than incontinent the king of Ingland causit dres ane pair of gallouis befoir ye said toun, and broght the said Sir Alexander his tua sones, the ane delyverit in hostage, the uther takin prisonar, bund thairto, and hangit them in maist creuell maner. Thair father, how soone he sau the gallous put up, and his sones bund thairto, wald not byd to sie his sones put to deid, in ventour fatherlie pitie sould have moveit him to give over the toun, bot passit to his chalmer wt extream grit dolour. His wyfe, callit Christian Chein, persaving the grit greif of hir husband, by the common custome of wemen, laid by hir motherlie sorrow, and began to confort hir husband, desyrand him to leif his sorrow and dolour, and schew monie gude and stark ressouns to him quhy he sould do the samin; quhilk is writtin at length be Maister Hector Boece, in the cronicles of this realme of Scotland."

After the unfortunate battle of Halidon Hill, which follows, Berwick surrendered to Edward, who punctually performed the capitulation granted to the inhabitants, by allowing forty days, during which such of them as were disposed to leave the town were at liberty to sell their effects, and obtained safe-guards to march where they pleased. Such of them as chose to remain in the town, were admitted to Edward's protection, upon their taking the oath of fidelity to his person and government. The Earls of Dunbar, March, and Seton, the late deputy governor of the town, were in the number of the latter.

HALIDON HILL.—*Anno* 1333. July.

It is admitted by the histories of both nations, that the regent Douglas was lying before Bamburgh, when applied to by Keith, governor of Berwick, to come to the relief of that place, and that he was then at the head of a very powerful army, though much inferior to the enemy. According to English writers, after the return of Keith, Edward agreed to prolong the truce for seven days; but on the fourth day Douglas appeared with his army; upon which Edward posted his forces in an advantageous camp upon Halidon Hill, near Berwick. If the relief of that place was the single object that Douglas had in his eye, he probably might have effected it by harrassing the English army; but his passion for fighting made him disregard the wise injunctions of Robert, Steward of Scotland. Abercromby is of opinion, that the Scotch army were filled with indignation and rage at Edward's cruelty in putting to death Seton's sons. But supposing this to be the case, it was certainly imprudent in Douglas to hazard a general battle, on which the fate of the realm depended, especially against such an army as Edward commanded, composed of the flower of his English, Welsh, and French dominions, not to mention the chosen band of veterans that was headed by Baliol, and which, in numbers, at least equalled that of the Scots.—Douglas, when it was too late, found it impracticable to relieve the town without a battle; and the Scots were mad enough to attack their ene-

mies, who were drawn up in four columns, and flanked with strong bodies of archers, in their advantageous situation. The cavalry of both armies had quitted their horses; so that the Scots attacked on foot, and were not only exposed to the English archers, but were quite out of breath before they could reach their enemy, who mauled them terribly with darts and rolling down of stones before they came to close fight; and, when they came up with them, they poured down upon them in such close bodies, that they tumbled them headlong down over the steep precipices. The regent and principal Scotch nobility were killed in endeavouring to stop their own men. After the death of their commander, the Scots fell into a total rout, and were completely defeated, with the loss of at least 10,000 men; but the English writers have ridiculously raised their numbers to 35,000. To complete their misfortune, the camp-servants, to whom they had resigned their horses during the battle, no sooner saw the army put into disorder, than they rode off, and left their masters to make their retreat on foot. These were soon surrounded by Edward at the head of his cavalry and archers on horseback; and we cannot estimate the carnage during the pursuit, which continued for five miles, to be less than 5000 men. The chief of the slain were the Guardian, the Earls of Ross, Sutherland, Carrick, Athol, and Monteith, three Stewards, three Frasers, Sir John Graham, Sir Duncan Campbell, and Sir William Tudway; the whole amounting to eight earls, ninety knights and baro-

nets, four hundred esquires, besides the common men already mentioned. The extraordinary circumstance attending this victory was the small loss sustained by the Englsh, which consisted, according to Master Barnes, of no more than one knight, one esquire, and fifteen soldiers. This will appear quite ridiculous to any acquainted with the history of the Scotch chieftains, who were never reckoned inferior to any in Europe, especially as the same Master Barnes acknowledges that the Scots fought valiantly: that, till their general fell, they kept the field with great courage, and even after the action they frequently assembled in large bodies, and disputed the point with their pursuers. Such great efforts, and yet so ineffectual, appear very inconsistent.

DUNDARG.—*Anno* 1334.

After the battle of Halidon Hill Baliol overran a great part of the kingdom. The few noblemen who refused to be slaves to Edward, were attending their lawful king in France, or skulking in their native mountains: but history has preserved the names of a few brave men, and one patriotic lady, who disdained either flight or subjection: These were Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld, governor of the castle of Dumbarton; Allan Vipont, captain of Lochleven; Robert Lauder, captain of Urquhart; John Thomson, others say Chene, the keeper of the peel or castle of Loudon, a small tower. The lady was Christiana Bruce, who commanded the castle of Kildrummy in Mar.

Baliol was mad enough to despise the weakness of this opposition, and though he claimed the crown by hereditary right, to assume the pompous title of "Edward the Conqueror." This with his base concessions to Edward, raised the indignation and drooping spirits of the Scots; and such mighty efforts were made in many places, particularly the south and west of Scotland, that Baliol's affairs gradually declined.

The successes of the Brucean party, under the great Steward, and Randolph Earl of Murray, determined many of the nobility to join them. These resolved, with the utmost vigour, to prosecute the war against the Lord Beaumont, and the Earl of Athol, the two chief supports of the English interest in Scotland. Sir Alexander Mowbray and the late regent Andrew Murray were sent with a body of troops against lord Beaumont, whom they besieged in his strong castle of Dundarg, and reduced him to such difficulties, that he was obliged to surrender it and yield himself a prisoner. Boece and other historians pretend that he took an oath never to return to Scotland; but we rather approve of Fordun, who says that he capitulated upon the promise of safety in life, and limb, and estate, to himself and followers; that he obtained a safe conduct for his passage to England, with his wife, children, and family; and that he promised upon oath, on his return thither, to endeavour to procure a peace. He adds, that in a few days after he embarked at Dundee with all that belonged to him. It is certain, notwithstanding Fordun's

silence, that he paid a considerable sum for his ransom.

BURROW MOOR. Anno 1335.

Sir Alexander Ramsay, a gentleman of great personal merit and family, abandoned the English interest, and joined that of his country, under the Earls of Murray and Dunbar, who still kept the field. England was considered by the rest of Europe at this time as the school of arms; and the rising nobility from the continent flocked thither to learn the art of war under Edward of England, who was considered as the greatest general and best politician of the age. Among others, the young Earl of Namur and his brother led a gallant train of knights and their followers, who were marching towards Edinburgh in quest of glory, to join Edward and the English army then at Perth. The Earl of Murray and his co-patriots, always vigilant, had an eye upon their motions, and attacked them near Edinburgh, the castle of which had been lately demolished, we suppose, by the English. The action happened at Burrow moor, which lay near the suburbs of the town. The earl of Namur and his men gained immortal honour by their behaviour; for though they were defeated, upon the Earl of Murray receiving a reinforcement under Douglas, who had been encamped near the Pentland hills, yet they made a noble retreat towards the rock where the ruins of the castle of Edinburgh stood. There they killed their horses, formed their carcasses into a rampart, and prepared to defend them-

selves, till they could be relieved from the main body of the English army. It is probable Edward knew nothing of their fate, and they were destitute of all the means of subsistence, even for an hour. After they had lodged one night, says Abercromby, on that inaccessible rock, destitute of all the necessaries of life, they offered next day to capitulate; and the Scots, unwilling to drive so many brave men to despair, and knowing the low estate of their country, which required them to be careful of their own persons, accepted their terms, which were, that they should surrender themselves prisoners of war. Accordingly they laid down their arms; but such was the generosity or policy of the Earl of Murray, that, out of regard, as he said, to the personal merit and near affinity of the Earl of Namur to the King of France, he presently restored him and his followers to their liberty without ransom, and, from an excess of politeness, accompanied them to the borders. This conduct was equally injudicious and ill-timed; for Murray, on his return, was taken prisoner by a detachment from the castle of Roxburgh, then in the hands of the English; but was far from experiencing from Edward the generosity he had shewn to the Earl of Namur.

One exploit, if true, is worthy to be recorded; though it may appear somewhat fabulous, yet Abercromby has mentioned it on the authority of Fordun, who lived a few years after the action happened. As the Earl of Namur and his men were retreating from Burrow Moor, and coming up St.

Mary Wynd, one David Annand, a man of invincible strength and courage, upon receiving a wound from one of the enemy, was thereby so much exasperated, that at once exerting all the vigour of his unwearied arm, he gave his enemy such a blow with an ax he had in his hand, that the sharp and ponderous weapon clave the man and horse, and, falling with irresistible force to the ground, made a lasting impression upon the very stones of the street.

KILBLAIN.—*Anno* 1335.

The castle of Kildrummie lies upon the river Don, and was at that time considered as a place of strength. It contained the regent Murray's wife, and was defended by Sir John Craig; but Lord Andrew Murray, the Earl of March, and Sir William Douglas, assembled about 1100 men to relieve it; and the Earl of Athol raised the siege, that he might fight them on their march. The two armies met at Kilblain, and engaged. The battle was exceeding fierce; but the match was very unequal, for the English party had 3000, and the Scots only 1100; but Sir John Craig, with 300 of the garrison, attacked the rear of Athol's men so seasonably, that, notwithstanding the great disparity of numbers, they fled or threw down their arms, and left their chief with no more than thirteen followers to dispute the field. As Athol was very brave, and knew that immediate death must be his fate if taken, he refused to surrender, and was killed by Sir Alexander Gordon, together with Sir Ro-

bert Brady, and Sir Walter Cumming. Sir Thomas Cumming, brother of the latter, was taken prisoner, and lost his head next day upon the scaffold. The Earl of Athol was no more than twenty-eight years of age when he died, and with him ended the surname of Strathbogie, though he left a son named David. His estates were forfeited or alienated; and it is probable his name was far from popular, as his son and relations chose other names, which are said still to exist in the northern parts of the kingdom. A few of Athol's followers laid down their arms soon after. This had good effects in favour of the royalists in the north; yet Scotland continued in a most deplorable situation.

LOCHLEVEN.—*Anno* 1335.

Baliol, when he went from Scotland, left behind him several of his partizans to carry on the war, and particularly Sir John Stirling, and Michael Arnot, David Weems, and Richard Melvil, and them he ordered to besiege the castle of Lochleven. These captains fortified themselves in the church-yard of St. Serf or Portmoak, on the N. side of the loch, exactly over against the place, and from thence tried all means imaginable to get possession of it; but the besieged, Allan Vipont and James Lambey, two citizens of St. Andrews, made such a vigorous defence, that all the furious assaults of the besiegers were ineffectual, and therefore they had recourse to stratagem, and at length projected the only one likely to accomplish it. They began to dam up the mouth of the river, where it

issues out of the lake, by which the castle is surrounded. By this means they were persuaded that the water, after being confined, would swell up to a prodigious height, and, overflowing the castle itself, would drown the defenders; an ingenious contrivance, and such as had probably succeeded, had not Sir John Stirling and a great part of the army with him been unseasonably devout. They being too secure of the otherwise well laid plan, went upon an occasion to visit the Shrine of St. Margaret, formerly Queen of Scotland, at Dunfermline. Of this Allan Vipont got intelligence, and embracing the favourable opportunity, prepared and manned three boats, and about midnight sailed to the head of the dam, where they made several holes in the bank that kept in the water, and then rowed back again unperceived as when they came out. The water having got into the narrow passages, quickly enlarged them, and, being succeeded by a huge and impetuous stream, laid up as it had been in store for the purpose, bore all down before it, overflowed the adjacent plains, and with great violence carried along with it to the sea horses, tents, armour, and even men and beasts that were asleep, regardless of a storm they could not foresee nor prevent. The garrison of the castle, encouraged by this fortunate circumstance, sallied out again in their boats, and, with a great and hideous noise, falling unawares upon the remainder of those that had been left to keep the camp, increased their terror so much, that, regarding nothing but the preservation of their lives, they fled

wherever their fear directed them, leaving their arms and ammunition to the defence and support of the castle they had attacked with so little success.

We have related this story as it is told by several writers, but there are objections to it not easily solved. If the dyke was built at the mouth of the loch, it must have extended nearly a mile in length, from the village of Scotlandwell to the high ground on the S. side of the river, and is consistent with its being built of turf, and bored through in various places by the besieged, but inconsistent with carrying all before it, men, horses, &c. into the sea, with a mighty rushing noise, as Buchanan relates it, B. ix. of his history. Others take this bulwark to have been erected where Mr. Inglis has a bleach-field, about 200 yards below Auchmuir bridge, where the river is confined to a narrow space between two steep banks, and is very consistent with the men, horses, &c. being carried to the sea by the eruption of the water, as the river, for the whole of its course below this, is confined within high banks. About thirty years ago a great quantity of large loose stones were lying here, said to be the remains of this rampart, which were employed in erecting the necessary buildings on the bleach-field. But the water at this dyke must have risen at least thirty feet, before it could overflow the island on which the castle stands, and cover an extent of country greater than that of the lake, which is not a very likely way of besieging castles.

LOCHINDORES.—Anno 1336.

Edward employed the leisure that had been granted him by the truce in making fresh preparations for invading Scotland. Whether the French had, as yet, sent any troops to the assistance of the royalists there, does not appear; but there is great reason to believe that the King of France had absolutely declared, that he would support them by force of arms, if needful. Edward seems to have been beforehand with Philip. In a parliament he held at Northampton, he nominated the Earl of Lancaster to head the army that was to act against the Scots, and under him the Earls of Oxford, Warwick, and Arundel. Baliol was then at Perth, where he assembled some troops, who were to join the English army; but by this time the siege of Lochindores was resumed, and that of Stirling formed. The first was defended by the Lady Catharine Beaumont, widow of the late Earl of Athol, and sister to the Lord Beaumont. She pressed Edward to haste to her relief; but, in the mean time, she made a noble defence. Besides the grand army under the Earl of Lancaster, two other bodies of English entered Scotland; the one under the Earl of Cornwall, filled Galloway, Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham with slaughter, and is said to have burnt 1000 Scots in the church of Lesmahagow. Fordun, without mentioning this particular circumstance, says, that he carried fire and sword throughout all the western parts of Scotland, and that he burnt the churches wherever

he came. The same historian adds, that when this prince joined his brother at Perth, Edward rebuked him for his barbarity, and that the earl answering with great haughtiness, the king killed him with his lance. That some difference might arise between the two brothers, which might end in a quarrel, is likely enough; but Fordun was certainly misinformed as to the earl's dying by Edward's hands. The fact, however, is not material to our purpose. Here we may observe, that during this truce, the nobility of Scotland met at Dunfermline, where they confirmed Murray in the regency.

The English army in Scotland may be considered as now having three, if not four heads, which Edward very justly thought might prove highly detrimental to his affairs; and he took a resolution to command his troops in person. He secretly left his great council sitting at Northampton, and as a private officer arrived at Perth, before his generals there knew of his having left England. Upon his arrival, he found that the Scots had taken the castles of Bothwell and St Andrews, and were carrying on the sieges of Stirling and Lochindores with great vigour. Hearing of Edward's arrival, they made a general assault upon Stirling, but were repulsed, and Sir William Keith, one of their best officers, was killed; upon which the Earl of March and Lord William Douglas raised the siege, and retired to their fastnesses. Edward, at this time, was marching to relieve the lady Catherine Beaumont, which he effectually did; and the siege of Lochindores being likewise raised, he had no ene-

my in the field to oppose him; a circumstance, which however flattering in appearance, had generally proved fatal to the English.

DUNBAR.—*Anno* 1337.

The Earl of March had been obliged to repair, at his own charge, the castle of Dunbar, soon after the battle of Halidon, and having taken an oath of fealty to Edward, the government of it was committed to himself. Either not thinking himself sufficiently considered, or repenting of his compliance, he had joined the royalists, and had been very instrumental in their success under the guardian. Upon leaving his castle, he committed it to the custody of his wife, who is known in history by the name of black Agnes of Dunbar, and (if we mistake not) daughter to Randolph, the brave Earl of Murray, and consequently grand niece to the great Bruce. This lady inherited all the courage and patriotism of her high lineage. The garrison under her had infested the roads between Berwick and Edinburgh, and in a manner rendered them impassable by the English, so that Edward gave orders to the best generals he had to block up the place by sea and land. The Lord Henry Plantagenet, the Earls of Salisbury, Angus, Arundel, with the Lords Nevil, Stafford, Percy, and other noblemen, were employed in this service, to which twenty thousand of the best troops in England, and a strong fleet of Genoese gallies, were allotted. The siege, according to the best English historians, was carried on for 19 weeks with inconceivable fury;

but the place was defended with equal intrepidity by the gallant countess, who seems to have animated her garrison with great wit and humour, as well as her example and courage. She would sometimes stand on the walls, and with a white handkerchief wipe the places where stones thrown from their engines, had fallen; and once that the English pioneers advanced under a certain machine, called a sow, she said merrily, "That unless they looked well to their sow, she would soon make her cast her pigs." She was as good as her word, for soon after, the engine was destroyed. All, however, must have been ineffectual, had it not been for a spirited effort made by Sir Alexander Ramsay, who with a few chosen soldiers escaped through the English fleet, and threw a reinforcement of men and provisions into the place. Scotch authors are fond of intimating, that this seasonable supply, and a fortunate sally made by the garrison, obliged the English to raise the siege. This is not very probable, though we think that it saved the castle. The greatest generals, the bravest troops, and the ablest seamen in Europe, were employed in the siege, and would not have abandoned it upon the arrival of forty men, which was all the reinforcement brought by Ramsay to the garrison. It is therefore reasonable to suppose, that the Countess was confirmed in her heroic resolution to hold out the place some days longer, till she should see how the news brought by Ramsay of the state of Baliol's affairs would operate upon the English. Her

expectations were answered, and the siege in a few days was raised, that the army might advance northward to the assistance of Baliol and their countrymen. With this view, two large detachments were sent off, while the rest of the army was to return to England; the one under the command of the Lord William Talbot, the other under the Lord Richard Montague; but they were defeated by the royalists, and Talbot was made prisoner, as will appear in the following.

PANMUIR.—*Anno* 1337. November 28.

The guardian, Sir Andrew Murray, had finished the last campaign, with the reduction of the forts, which Edward had garrisoned in the more northern parts of Scotland. After the Christmas holydays, word was brought him that a considerable body of the enemy were in the neighbourhood. He with the earls of Fife and March lay in a forest of Angus, called by Abercromby, Plantane, from whence they decamped immediately, and marched to Panmuir, where a bloody battle ensued; lord Henry Montfort was killed, and of his army, which consisted of 4000, few escaped the edge of the sword. This victory was followed by very happy consequences; for as it occasioned the castles of Luchars, St Andrews, Falkland, and all others in Fife and Angus (except Cupar), to surrender, so it determined the English, who had laid siege to the castle of Dunbar, with an army of 20,000 men, to send off two great detachments, with orders to keep the

victors in play. The one was committed to the care of William Talbot, a brave officer, but on this occasion unfortunate, his men being routed by Sir William Keith, and himself made prisoner, and detained till he laid down 2000 merks sterling for his ransom.

Lord Richard Montfort, who commanded the other corps, had yet worse success; his men were entirely defeated by the brave Robert Gordon and Laurence Preston, and himself killed in the action. As these two skirmishes are connected with the battle of Panmuir and the siege of Dunbar, the reader, it is hoped, will not be displeased to see them recorded here.

BLACKBURN.—Anno 1338.

Edward, having raised a great army in order to conquer France, to which he now openly laid claim, left the command of his army against the Scotch to the Earl of Arundel, and appointed Richard Umfranville, Earl of Angus, to act as his deputy; but the war in Scotland, during this interval, was very feebly supported by these generals on the part of Baliol and the English; and the friends of David Bruce made great advances towards a total reduction of the kingdom; notwithstanding the heavy losses they sustained by the death of the brave Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwell; after whose death Lord Robert Stewart continued sole regent of the kingdom, until the return of his uncle. He was nobly seconded in his military operations by Sir William Douglas, who ex-

pelled the English from Tiviotdale, and was rewarded with the government of that country. During the campaign, Douglas encountered many difficulties, and received several wounds. Sir Thomas Berkley, a brave English commander, attacked him by surprise at Blackburn, and, after a short and obstinate struggle, cut off his whole party, except himself and two others, who had the good fortune to escape along with him. Soon after this, Douglas, with a much inferior force, defeated Sir John Stirling, with a party of English and Scotch, amounting to about five hundred, thirty of whom he killed, and took forty prisoners. Those slight successes encouraged him to make bolder attempts, and he attacked a large detachment of the English army near Melrose, who were escorting a convoy of provisions for the strong castle of Hermitage, and afterwards reduced that fortress, and furnished it with provisions he had taken from his enemies. About this time, too, he encountered and overcame a large detachment of the enemy under Sir Laurence Vaux; and though he was five times repulsed in one day by Sir William Abernethy, one of Baliol's officers, yet, in the sixth attack, he defeated and took him prisoner. After those brave exploits, towards the end of the year, or in the beginning of the year 1339, Douglas went over to France, to lay before David the state of his affairs in Scotland, and the probability of his restoration, if farther reinforcements were sent from thence.

PERTH (ANNO 1339) besieged and taken by the Royalists.

No general battle was fought while the Earls of Arundel and Angus commanded for Edward in Scotland; but, in the beginning of the year 1339, the Lord High Steward resolved to distinguish himself by opening the siege of Perth, which Edward and his engineers had fortified with uncommon skill, and provided with an excellent garrison. Sir Thomas Ochtred was its English governor; and, besides the English, the town was garrisoned by a considerable number of Scotch, the adherents of Baliol. The defence they made for three months was so brave, that the Steward was about to raise the siege, when Douglas arrived from France, with a supply of five (Fordun says two) ships, some men, and all kinds of provisions, under one Hugh Handpile. The English seem, at this time, to have been masters at sea; for Handpile, in attempting to succour the place, ran one of his ships aground, but afterwards recovered her. Fordun speaks of Handpile as if he had been a freebooter or pirate, which might have been owing to the French king's caution, in not suffering him to act under his flag or commission. The loss of his ship seems to have daunted him; for we are told, that the Guardian paid him and his men for getting her off. Whatever may be in this, it is certain, that the reinforcement came so critically, that the town was surrendered by Ochtred, after a brave defence of four months. The garrison,

Scotch as well as English, capitulated for the safety of their lives and estates; some marching off by land, and others being provided with shipping to carry them southwards.

Some time before the surrender of Perth, William (afterwards Lord Bullock) who, we are told, was a clergyman, and chamberlain of Scotland under Baliol, as well as paymaster of the English and their adherents there, betrayed the castle of Cupar in Fife to the High Steward, in consideration of a large estate, in which he was secured, and swore fealty to David. This defection, however dishonourable to Bullock, was of infinite service to the royalists; for he assisted them in reducing Perth, and was highly instrumental in their future successes. According to Fordun he was the most elegant of all his countrymen, and had raised himself from a mean beginning to the highest offices of the state. It is probable, at the same time, he was detested, even by the royalists, as a traitor; for, after he had amassed immense wealth, he was arrested, at King David's suit, by Sir David Barclay, for high treason, and died a prisoner in the castle of Mamore.

EDINBURGH CASTLE.—Anno 1341.

This castle (taken by the royalists on the 17th of April) continued to be held by Edward as part of his domain, and received frequent supplies from England by shipping, which generally landed at Leith. After the recovery of Perth, and about the time of the invasion of England by the Scotch,

those supplies became precarious, and were sometimes cut off; so that the garrison began to want several necessaries. Douglas, who was no stranger to its situation, ordered a body of men to conceal themselves in the ruins of some adjacent houses; and disguising himself, with a few of his bravest followers, as sailors and waggoners, they found means to present themselves before the castle, attended by a number of carts, which seemed to be loaded, and which, they pretended, contained certain necessaries he knew the garrison expected. It being then but day break, they appeared so anxious to conceal themselves and their convoy, that the porter gave the two knights admittance into an outer court, where Douglas killed him, and, seizing the keys of the castle, opened an inner gate, the passage of which they soon barricaded with their carts, waggons, and their horses, which they hamstrung. The blowing a horn was the signal for those who had been concealed in the ruins, to run to their assistance, and they found Douglas and his friends warmly engaged with the garrison in maintaining the gate they had barricaded. The arrival of the reinforcement put an end to the combat; and the Scotch, after killing all the garrison but its governor, Leigh, and six English esquires, took possession of the fortress.

Though there is no material difference in Froissard's and the Scotch account of this fortunate achievement; and, though the fact is undoubted, yet it does not absolutely appear whether it happened before the truce took place, or after it was

expired; for Fordun fixes it to the 17th of April 1341, and mentions Bullock as being concerned in the exploit.

STIRLING.—Anno 1341.

The reduction of Stirling (besieged and taken by Douglas) was an object still more important than that of Edinburgh, and its siege was formed by the brave Douglas in the autumn of the year 1341. Edward resolved, if possible, to prevent its loss being added to the other disgraces of his arms. He was then in England, and having ordered the rendezvous of his grand army to be made at Berwick, he went to York, and, according to the Scottish historians, he sent two armies, one under Baliol, and the other under the Earl of Derby, to raise the siege, while he himself was preparing to follow them with 40,000 men. The news of this determined Douglas, who had excellent intelligence, to redouble his efforts; and, being well provided with a set of battering engines, he plied the siege so warmly, that its governor Lemesi, though one of Edward's bravest and most approved officers, was obliged to capitulate, that he and his garrison should retire with life and limb, with their swords by their sides, and only one suit of apparel. As to the armies under Baliol and the Earl of Derby, we are apt to think either that the dispositions made by the Scotch generals were so good that they durst not attempt to raise the siege, or, which is still more probable, that they were obliged to return to England for want of subsistence.

WARK.—Anno 1342.

This place was besieged by King David after his return from France, which happened on the 2d of June, and being mightily enraged at Edward's cruel behaviour, and the severe hardships his own subjects had suffered by him, he soon levied a great army, and entered England by the eastern borders, ravaging and laying waste the counties of Northumberland and Durham, he laid siege to Newcastle, which was so vigorously defended, that he soon retired from it. From thence he marched to Durham, and took it, and there gave a full vent to his revenge against the English, sparing neither age nor sex, priests nor sacred edifices. Edward seems to have had no force near the borders able to resist this formidable invasion.

As David was returning homewards with great loads of plunder, passing in sight of the castle of Wark, whose governor was Sir William Montague, the indignation of the garrison being excited at seeing the spoils of their country carried off with impunity, a party of it, consisting of forty horse, with the governor at their head, sallied suddenly forth, and attacking the rear of the Scotch army, killed 200 of them and carried 160 horses loaded with plunder into the castle. The young king, provoked at this insult, immediately led up his army against the castle, and attempted to force it by a general assault. But so vigorous a resistance was made by the garrison, animated by the courage of the countess of Salisbury, that the assailants were everywhere

repulsed with very great loss. David, however, seemed determined to reduce the place, by preparing to fill up the ditch, and to batter the walls with engines. There appeared no other hopes of safety but in conveying intelligence of their desperate situation to Edward, who by this time was known to be approaching at the head of a great army. The castle was so closely invested, that no one in the garrison would undertake this service, though encouraged by the most tempting rewards. At last the governor himself, mounted upon a fleet horse, and favoured by the gloom and noise of a stormy night, achieved the dangerous enterprize. Upon his information Edward advanced with redoubled speed; and the Scotch chieftains, unwilling to lose their booty, and at the same time sensible what an incumbrance it would be in an engagement, persuaded the monarch to abandon the siege, and continue his march into his own kingdom. He yielded to their opinion with reluctance, and had left Wark only six hours before Edward came in sight of it. The joy and gratitude discovered by the Countess of Salisbury, in her reception and entertainment of the King on this interesting occasion, are said to have given the beginning to that amour, to which the institution of the famous order of the garter did, soon after, owe its original. The Scotish King retired to the forest of Jedburgh, where Edward pursued him, but durst not attack him in that position; and, as he was hastening for France, he granted a truce to David for two years.

CLACH-NE-HARRY.—Anno 1341.

Some time during this year, John Monro, tutor of Fowlis, travelling homeward in his journey from the south of Scotland towards Ross, reposed himself by the way in Strathardle, betwixt St Johnstone and Athole, where a dispute happened betwixt him and the inhabitants of that place, who had used him ill, and which he determined afterwards to revenge. Arriving at Ross, he assembled all his kindred, neighbours, and dependents; he told them of his ill usage, and implored their aid to revenge the same; which they cheerfully agreed to give. In consequence of which, he picked out 350 of the stoutest men among them, and with these he proceeded to Strathardle, which he laid waste with fire and sword, killed some of the people, and carried off their cattle. In his return home (as he was passing by the isle of Moy with his booty,) Mackintosh, chieftain of the clan Chattane, sent to him to demand part of the spoil, claiming the same as due to him by custom. John generously offered him a reasonable portion of it; but nothing less than the one half would satisfy the covetous clan: this unreasonable demand the other absolutely refused. Therefore Mackintosh assembled his forces in haste, followed Monro, and overtook him at Clach-ne-harry, near Kessock, within a mile of Inverness. John, perceiving them coming, sent fifty of his men to Ferrindonel with the booty, and encouraged the rest to stand to their arms. A desperate and bloody action ensued, in

which Mackintosh was killed, with the greatest part of his men. Many of the Monros also fell in battle, and John was left desperately wounded on the field; but, after the engagement, he was taken up by some of the neighbouring people, and conveyed to their houses, where he recovered of his wounds, and was afterwards called John Backlawiche, because he was mutilated of a hand.

MERINGTON.—Anno 1346. Sept. 30.

While Edward of England was laying siege to Calais, David, King of Scotland, entered England with a pretty numerous army, laying waste all the country, and taking several forts. Upon which the Queen of England issued orders to the Lords of the Marches to assemble their forces, which she reviewed at York in person, attended by the two archbishops. Her appearance, the spirit she discovered, and the piety of the prelates, added to the reports of the Scotch barbarities, had a wonderful effect upon the English, for, in a few days, she was at the head of a noble army, formed into four divisions; Piercy commanding the first,—the Archbishop of York headed the second,—the third was conducted by the Bishop of Lincoln,—and the fourth by Baliol, attended by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

While the English were marching towards Durham, Lord Douglas and Sir David Grahame skirted them with a body of horse, but were driven back upon their main army with considerable loss: the battle then became general, and showers of ar-

rows were exchanged; but, in that distant way of fighting, the Scotch perceived themselves overmatched by the English archers. Upon this the Lord High Steward charged the archers sword in hand, with so much fury, that they fell back upon Piercy's division, which must have been totally defeated, had it not been supported by Baliol, who commanded in chief, and reinforced them by a body of 4000 horse. These advancing on a smart trot changed the fortune of the day; but the Lord High Steward and his line made a masterly retreat. Baliol, without pursuing them, wheeled round, and flanked the division commanded by his rival David, which was engaged with another line of the English, and was soon cut in pieces. All the troops about the King's person were reduced to eighty noblemen and gentlemen, and he himself, after performing wonders in his own person, was wounded in the head with an arrow. Abercromby says he rallied his men again and again, who, being equally animated by his words and deeds, and ashamed to abandon so gallant a master, stood by him close in a ring, till not above eighty of them remained alive: yet the young hero, though surrounded on all hands, and unable to make his escape, scorned to ask quarter, and had certainly been killed on the spot, had he not been known by one John Copland, a gentleman of Northumberland.

He expected to have been relieved by the High Steward, and that line of his army which was still entire, under the Lords Murray and Douglas.

The latter moved to his assistance when it was too late. David perceiving himself overpowered, was endeavouring to retreat, when he was overtaken by Copland, who, says Guthrie and others, lost two of his teeth by a blow of David's gauntlet. At last, finding it in vain to resist, he asked if any man of quality was among his pursuers; and Copland pretending to be an English baron, David gave him his sword, and surrendered himself prisoner.

The loss of this battle was very fatal to Scotland on many accounts; for the Scotch not only lost their King, but many of the nobility and gentry were either slain or taken prisoners. It was certainly very imprudent in David to engage the English, seeing he could easily have avoided a battle; but it is not so easy to account for the conduct of the High Steward, who never returned with his line to the charge. One would be apt to think this was done on purpose, that the King might either be taken or slain, especially as the High Steward was presumptive heir to the crown. The vast plunder which the English found among the Scotch, proved favourable to the latter; for the love of pillage rendered them careless about their prisoners, many of whom escaped and joined their respective corps.

NISBET MOOR.—Anno 1355.

King David being still a prisoner in England, Edward proposed to the Scotch, articles of a treaty for their king's restoration, which were quite dis-

honourable, and therefore utterly rejected by them. About the same time, John King of France had sent them some auxiliaries of men and money, to enable them to continue the war with England. So considerable a supply enabled the Guardian and his friends once more to take the field upon the expiration of the truce; but not before the English had destroyed the Lothians and Douglas-dale. The Earl of March, Lord William Douglas, and Sir William Ramsay of Dalhousie, one of the bravest of the Scotch generals, assembled a strong party, to revenge themselves upon the English. When they came to Nisbet Moor, they and their French auxiliaries (according to Fordun,) lay in ambush under a mountain; but Ramsay being detached with a body of light horse, made an excursion as far as Norham, which he burnt, and plundered the adjacent country. The English marchers, hearing of this inroad, attacked Ramsay, who, by making a stout retreat, encouraged them to follow him, till he drew them into the ambush at Nisbet, where they found themselves surrounded by a superior body of the Scotch, by whom they were totally defeated.

The consequence of this victory was the taking of Berwick by storm; but, as the castle held out till Edward returned from France, on the 1st of January 1356, he hastened down to Berwick with a great army, which obliged the Scotch to capitulate; but they were suffered to march off with the safety of their lives, limbs, and all their effects.

BERWICK SIEGE.—Anno 1355.

A more detailed account of the siege of this place is here presented to the reader.

The Scotch being joined by Stuart, the Earl of Angus, they resolved, by the favour of night, to make an attempt upon the town of Berwick. Their design was to surprise it by an escalade; but they met with so warm a reception, that Sir Thomas Vaux, Sir Andrew Scott of Balwirie, Sir John Gordon, Sir William Sinclair, Sir Thomas Preston, and Sir Alexander Mowbray, were killed in the attack, which, however, proved successful. The place was taken by storm, with the loss of Sir Alexander Ogle, the governor, Sir Edward Gray, and Sir Thomas Piercy, brother to the lord of that name. It is to the honour of the Scotch that humanity was the rule of their actions, and that none of the garrison were put to the sword but those who resisted.

This acquisition was of no great importance to them, as the castle still held out; and Edward, hearing in France of the loss of the town, hurried back to London. Fordun gives us a more particular account of this exploit. He tells us that it had been planned by Stuart Earl of Angus in concert with the Earl of March: that the former having got together some shipping, landed his men and their ladders near the town; and that, mounting the walls, they bore down all opposition, while the townsmen abandoned to the assailants all their rich

effects and moveables; and that Ogle's son was killed in the attack.

Whilst the Scotch were besieging the castle of Berwick, Edward, staying only three days at London, where his Parliament was sitting, marched northwards to raise the siege. It was the 23d of December 1355 before he reached Durham, where he appointed all his military tenants to attend him on the 1st of January 1356, in order (as he expressed it in his writs) to depress the malice of the Scotch, who were ready to invade England with a great army. He was attended by the famous Sir Walter Manny, one of the best of his generals, a large body of miners brought from the forest of Dean, and a well provided fleet. He arrived before Berwick on the 14th January, and entered the castle without opposition. Being master at sea, the Scotch, who held the town, offered to capitulate. Here historians differ, but agree as to the event. The relation of Fordun, as it is the most authentic, so it is the most probable. He says that the Scotch garrison being unprovided with the means of subsistence, having no prospect of relief, (as their main body had returned home,) and knowing that their leading men were at variance among themselves, agreed to a capitulation, by which they were suffered to march off with the safety of their lives, limbs, and all their effects. Fordun's relation is not materially contradicted by the English historians; and the Scotch tell us, that their countrymen set fire to the town and abandoned it.

PENRITH.—Anno 1381.

Though a truce continued between the two kingdoms, and the Government of England condemned the proceedings of the borderers, and strictly enjoined them to observe the truce, yet these orders were so ill obeyed, that the Earl of Douglas was under a kind of necessity to make reprisals. He made an irruption at the head of his army into Northumberland and Cumberland, where towns and villages were burnt down; the country was plundered, and no less than 40,000 head of cattle sent into Scotland. These ravages were carried on with such rapidity, that Douglas found means to surprise the town of Penrith during its fair,—one of the most frequented in the north of England. All the merchandize and effects exposed to sale became the prey of the Scotch. Many of the traders and country people were killed, but more were carried into captivity. Lord Talbot, who was probably one of the Wardens of the Marches, and a considerable sufferer by this irruption, passed over the Solway Frith to Scotland, where he destroyed all the adjacent country with fire and sword. In the mean time, the Scotch had returned into their own country by the way of Carlisle, which they had not adventured to attack; and they placed an ambush at a most convenient pass, by which they knew Talbot must march. The stratagem succeeded; a number of his men were killed; 240 were made prisoners; and all the booty made by the English was

recovered. Many of the English were drowned in their precipitate flight.

OTTERBURN.—Anno 1388.

A truce between Scotland and England, from June 1386 till May 1387, being no sooner expired, than the war broke out with fresh fury, the Earls of Fife and Douglas ravaged Northumberland and Westmorland; and the new created Earl of Nithsdale destroyed a party of 3000 English, killing 500, and taking 500 prisoners.

Lord Douglas and the Earl of Fife, having successfully invaded Ireland, defeated the Irish militia at Dundalk, sent home fifteen ships loaded with the spoils of Carlingford, which they plundered; then sailing to the Isle of Man, at that time belonging to the Montague family, the professed enemies of the Scotch, and having laid it waste, they returned with their spoils to Scotland, and landed near Lochryan. These successes encouraged King Robert to make higher attempts. He called his Parliament together at Aberdeen, where a double invasion of England was resolved on. Two armies were raised, each consisting of 15,000 men; the one commanded by the Earls of Fife, Monteith, Douglas Lord of Galloway, and Alexander Lindsay; the other by the Earls of Douglas, March, Crawford, and Murray. Both armies rendezvoused at Jedburgh, where they parted. That under the Earl of Fife entered by the west marches into Cumberland, and that under Douglas and March fell directly into Northumberland, which was laid

waste, and both armies, according to concert, joined within ten miles of Newcastle. All the north of England was thrown into the most dreadful consternation by this invasion. Newcastle was defended by the Earl of Northumberland, whose age and infirmities disabled him from taking the field; but his place was more than supplied by his sons Ralph and Henry; the latter being well known by the name of Hotspur, which he obtained from his fiery disposition. The town was garrisoned by the flower of the English nobility and gentry, as well as the inhabitants of the adjacent counties, who had fled thither for refuge. Douglas, to distinguish himself, had selected 2000 foot and 300 horse out of the two armies, and encamped on the north side of the town, with a view (as the Scotch say) to storm it next day. In the mean time, he received a challenge from the Hotspur Piercy to fight him hand to hand, with sharp ground spears, in view of both armies. Douglas accepted the challenge. The combatants met. Piercy was unhorsed in the first encounter, and forced to take refuge within the gate of the town, from whence Douglas brought off his lance. But he and his men were foiled in their attempt to storm the town, for the besieged were far more numerous than the assailants,—therefore in the night he decamped. Piercy, breathing revenge, pursued and overtook them at Otterburn. According to the continuator of Fordun, the principal division of the Scotch army, under the Earl of Fife, had taken a different route from that under Douglas,

who, with the Earls of March and Murray, were unarmed, and preparing to sit down to supper, when they had intelligence of the approach of the enemy. The Scotch army in an instant was under arms; but such was their confusion, that the Earl of Douglas, in his hurry, forgot his cuirass. Both leaders encouraged their men by the most animating speeches, and both parties waited for the rising of the moon, which happened that night to be unusually bright. The battle being joined upon the moon's appearance, the Scotch at first gave way; but, being rallied by Douglas, who fought with a battle ax, and reinforced by Patrick Hepburn, his son and attendants, the English were routed, though greatly superior in numbers; but the brave Earl of Douglas being mortally wounded, was carried to his tent, where he expired in the morning. His precaution was such, that his misfortune was concealed from his men, who, thinking themselves invincible under his command, totally routed the English, of whom 1200 were killed on the spot, and 100 persons of distinction, (among whom were the two Piercies,) were made prisoners by Keith, then Marshal of Scotland.—The chief of the other English were Robert Ogle, Thomas Halberk, John Lilburn, William Wandclutie, Robert Heron, the Baron of Hilton, John Colvil, and Patrick Lovel, knights, whose ransoms brought large sums of money into Scotland.

Such was the famous battle of Otterburn, which is universally allowed to have been the best fought of any in that age; and it is very generally believed

that the celebrated ballad of Cheviot Chace (supposed to be composed by one Barry, and published by Bowmaker, the continuator of Fordun,) is founded upon it. As a further confirmation of this, I had the honour lately to be in company with an English physician, who has been upon the spot where the battle was fought, and he told me that the people of the neighbourhood mention it with the most positive assurance; and the tradition has been handed down from father to son, that the above battle is that called Cheviot Chace by the poet.

NISBET MOOR.—Anno 1341.

The Earl of March, being disgusted at the behaviour of the Scotch Court, went off in a pet to Henry, King of England, and by his assistance did much mischief to his native country. He, with his son Gavin Dunbar, had received an additional pension from Henry, on condition of their keeping on foot a certain number of light troops to act against the Scotch upon the borders. These proved extremely troublesome, and sometimes carried off vast booty, besides putting the defenceless inhabitants to the sword.

The Earl of Douglas took the field against them; and, by dividing his men into small parties, he repressed their depredations. Thomas Halyburton of Dirleton even made inroads into England, as far as Bamborough, whence he carried back a large booty. This encouraged Patrick Hepburn, younger of Hales, to try his fortune in

the same manner, in which he was seconded by a band of gallant youths, raised in Lothian and the Merse. Hepburn penetrated farther than Halyburton had done into England, where he remained too long, contrary to the advice of his officers; for the Earl of March had leisure to raise a body of men, with whom he intercepted their return at a place called Nisbet Moor, or, as the English call it, Western Nisbet. They pretend (but perhaps erroneously,) that the Earl of Northumberland and his son Hotspur commanded in that army. It is certain that a most bloody encounter ensued, in which the English were on the point of a total rout, when they were reinforced by a fresh body of men under young Dunbar, who turned the fortune of the day, and the Scotch were defeated. Their leader Halyburton was killed in the field, with a number of other brave men, and scarcely a Scotchman escaped without a wound. Sir John Halyburton, and his brother Sir Thomas, Sir Robert Lauder of Bass, Sir John and Sir William Cockburn, with many other gentlemen, were made prisoners, and the flower of the Lothian youths were cut off. The two Halyburtons were permitted to return home; but they died soon after of dysenteries.

HOMELDON HILL.—Anno 1402.

We observed above what a dreadful defeat the Scotch received at Nisbet Moor. The Earl of Douglas was then governor of the castles of Edinburgh and Dunbar, and he applied to the Duke

of Albany to assist him in revenging this loss. The Duke accordingly furnished him with a body of men, by the English accounts, amounting to 20,000; Buchannan says 10,000; the continuator of Fordun admits of 13,000. The Duke of Albany, to express his zeal for the common cause, sent his son Murdoch to serve under the Earl, as did the Earls of Murray, Angus, Orkney, and many others of the principal nobility, and eighty knights. This army broke into Northumberland and Cumberland, and carried its ravages to the gates of Newcastle, before the English could assemble a body of troops to oppose them. This expedition was very ill conducted by the Scotch: for they suffered the English generals to cut off their retreat, by getting between them and their own country. Both armies met at Homeldon Hill, near Wooler, and both drew up in order of battle; the Scotch upon the brow of the hill, by which they were exposed to the English archers, and the latter on the plain ground. Piercy was for rushing upon the Scotch sword in hand; but the Earl of March laying hold of his bridle, stopped him, and advised him to observe the disadvantageous situation of their enemies, and what a fair object they presented to the English long bows. The battle accordingly began by a most dreadful discharge of arrows, which killed great numbers of the Scotch, who remained drawn up on the hill. The continuator of Fordun, who seems to have been present in the battle, acquaints us with a most extraordinary fact, which reflects the highest honour on Scotch

knighthood. He says that Sir John Swinton called out aloud to his fellow soldiers, not to stand the inactive marks of the English archers, but to rush down with him upon the enemy. His words were heard by his capital foe Adam Gordon, with whom he and his train never met but they fought. Gordon, however, on this occasion, threw himself on his knee before Swinton, asked his forgiveness, and begged the honour of knighthood from the most accomplished knight of Britain. This being granted, the two rivals embracing each other, and rushing down the hill, with no more than an hundred followers, they broke the English ranks with amazing slaughter; but, being surrounded, and unseconded, they and every one of their gallant band were cut in pieces. It is more than probable, had all the Scotch on the hill seconded the brave efforts of these gallant chieftains, they would have obtained a complete victory.

That was not the case, for, after the dreadful slaughter made by the English archers, the Scotch could make but a very feeble resistance. The Earl of Douglas lost an eye, and was made prisoner, together with Murdoch, the Duke of Albany's eldest son, also the Earls of Murray, Angus, and Orkney, the Lords Montgomery, Erskine, Grahame, eighty knights, and such a number of esquires and common men, as amounted, in the whole, if we believe English historians, to 10,000 men. The names of the chief gentlemen who were killed with Swinton and Gordon ought to be faithfully recorded. These were Sir John Livingstone,

Sir Alexander Ramsay, Sir Walter Sinclair, Roger Gordon, and Walter Scot. The loss of the English was too inconsiderable to be mentioned. They continued the pursuit, and many of the Scotch perished in the Tyne.

TUTTON TARWIGH.—Anno 1406.

This battle was fought at Tutton Tarwigh, in the south west part of Sutherland, where it marches with Ross. Angus Mackay of Strathnaver had married the sister of Macleod of the Lewis, by whom he had two sons, Angus Dow and Rory Gald. Angus Mackay dying, leaves the management of his estate and care of his children to his brother Heucheon Dow-Mackay. Macleod of the Lewis being informed that his sister, Widow Mackay, was maltreated by Heucheon Dow at Strathnaver, sets out on a journey there to visit her, attended with the most valiant men of his country.

On his arrival at Strathnaver he finds the account of his sister's ill usage too true; upon which he returned home in bad humour; and on his way he plundered Strathnaver, and great part of Breachat, on the heights of Sutherland. Robert Earl of Sutherland, being informed of this, sent Alexander Murray of Gibbin, with a body of forces to assist Heucheon-Dow, to surprise Macleod, and recover the booty. They overtook him at Tutton Tarwigh, as he and his party were marching to the west sea, where Murray and Dow fell upon him with great courage. The fight was long and furious, rather desperate than resolute. In the end,

however, Macleod and his men were cut in pieces, and the booty recovered. This conflict gave name to the place where it happened; for, in the Gaelic language, Tutton Tarwigh signifies a plentiful fall or slaughter, and this name it still retains.

NORTH INCH OF PERTH—ANNO 1396.

NOTHING can more forcibly show the deplorable and turbulent state of Scotland than the continual feuds and conflicts among the clans and great families, which the Government were unable to restrain or to punish, and these were often so formidable, that its own existence was frequently endangered. The following well authenticated history will convey a better idea of the barbarous ferocity of our ancestors, and the savage manners of the times, than any I am acquainted with.

There arose a quarrel betwixt the Macphersons and Davidsons, that filled that part of the Highlands with numberless disorders for an hundred years; so that King Robert III. found it necessary to send the Earls of Crawfurd and Dunbar, two of the principal noblemen in Scotland, with an armed force to reconcile or subdue them. These two leaders, finding that to subdue them would be difficult, and to reconcile them impossible, brought them at last to submit to the only terms suited to their own distempered dispositions. These terms were, that their future superiority should be determined by the event of a combat of thirty of each side. They were to fight in presence of the King,

with only their broad swords, on the north inch of Perth.

When the appointed day arrived, the Macphersons wanted one of their number. It was proposed to balance the difference by withdrawing one of the Davidsons: but these were so earnest for a share of the honour of the day, that none of them would consent to be the man left out. In this perplexity, one Henry Wynd, a sword-cutler, commonly called An Gobhcrom, *i. e.* the Stooping Smith, offered to supply the place of the absent man for a French crown of gold, about seven shillings and sixpence sterling. This point being settled, the combat began with all the fury of enraged enemies; and Henry Wynd contributed much in making victory declare for the Macphersons; of which side, however, besides himself, there survived only ten, and these all grievously wounded. Of the Davidsons, twenty-nine were killed, and only one of them being unhurt, jumped into the Tay, swam across the river, and so escaped. Henry Wynd went home with the Macphersons, and was received as one of their clan. His descendents are called Sliochd a Gobhcruim, *i. e.* the Race of the Stooping Smith. Smith of Balharry's motto, *Caraid ann am Feum*, a Friend in Time of Need, seems to allude to this piece of history.

It seems proper here to take notice of two mistakes usual to those who relate the above incident. First, Henry Wynd is usually said to have been a sadler; but the appellation of the Stooping Smith, still continued to his posterity, sufficiently proves

what was his occupation. Secondly, What is here said to have been done by the Davidsons is commonly attributed to the Mackays. This last mistake proceeds from want of knowledge in the Gaelic language, the pronunciation of Mac Dhai, Davidson, very much resembling that of Mac Cai; but the clan Cai lived at a distance from the clan Chattan, and had no concern in what is above related.

HARLAW.—Anno 1411. July 24.

Henry now prepared to strike the great blow, which he had so long intended against Scotland. The Regent had given the estate of Ross to Alexander Leslie, who was married to his own daughter, to the prejudice of Donald Lord of the Isles, who was the rightful heir. This Donald and his brother John took refuge at the Court of England, where Henry received them with open arms, and made use of the pretext of doing justice to them, to excuse himself from accepting of the late truce. Donald received Henry's instructions and assistance, returned to his own dominions in the isles, where he raised an army, and passing over to Ross-shire, he violently seized the estate in dispute. His person and claim being agreeable to the tenants of the estate, he soon found himself at the head of an army of Highlanders and Islanders, and leaving Ross-shire, he marched into the province of Murray, from thence to Strathbogie and Garioch, which he laid under contribution, and proposed to pay his

troops with the plunder of Aberdeen, at that time a place of considerable trade.

The Regent appointed his nephew Alexander Stewart Earl of Mar to command the army. He was a very brave intrepid general, and having received his commission, he raised an army of nobility and gentry, lying between the rivers Spey and Tay, many of whose descendants to this day hold the same estates. He came up with Donald at Harlaw, within ten miles of Aberdeen, where a long, dubious, and bloody battle was fought,—so long, that nothing but night could put an end to it; so dubious, that it is hard to say who lost or won the day; and so bloody, not to mention the loss sustained by the Islanders, that almost the whole gentry of Angus, Mearns, Marr, Buchan, and Garioch, were cut off, and Leslie, the baron of Balwhain, was killed, with six of his seven sons. Donald lost 900 Islanders in killed.

The remains of the royal army lay all night under arms; but Donald, finding himself in the midst of an enemy's country, where he could raise no recruits, next day, being the 25th of July, began to retreat; and the shattered state of Marr's army prevented his being pursued, as the forces which he expected from the south and west were not yet arrived. We are told that the Duke of Albany found means to invade Donald's dominions in the isles, with a small squadron of ships, and at the same time reduced his castle of Dingwall; and that Donald, finding himself but poorly supported by the King of England, made his peace next year

with the Regent, who had three armies on foot against him, and Donald swore allegiance to the Crown of Scotland.

LOIN-HARPISDELL.—Anno 1426.

This year Angus Dow Mackie, with Neil his son, entered Caithness with a hostile army, and plundered it. The inhabitants of Caithness hastily assembled their forces, and gave battle to Mackie at Harpisdell, where there was great slaughter on both sides. King James afterwards came to Inverness, with a design to prosecute and punish Mackie for that and other such like enormities. Angus, upon hearing that the King was come to Inverness, came to him, and humbly submitted himself to his mercy, and gave his son Neil as an hostage for his obedience and good behaviour for the future: which submission the King accepted, and sent Neil prisoner to the Bass, who, from thence was afterwards called Neil Wassie Mackie.

DRUM-NE-COUB.—Anno 1427.

At this time, Thomas Mackie (otherwise called Macneil) possessor of the lands of Cragh-Spanzedell, and Polrossie in Sutherland, had conceived some displeasure at the Laird of Freshweik, called Muat, whom Macneil eagerly pursued and killed near the town of Tain in Ross, within the chapel of Duffus, and also burnt the chapel itself, to which Muat had retired as a sanctuary. The King hearing of this base action, issues a proclamation,

declaring Mackie a rebel, and promising his land to any that would apprehend him. Angus Murray, observing the King's proclamation, held a secret conference with Morgan and Neil Mackie, brothers of Thomas. Angus, in order to obtain their assistance in seizing their brother, offered them his own two daughters in marriage, and also promised to assist them to obtain the peaceable possession of Strathnaver, to which they laid claim; and he thought they might easily obtain the same with very little opposition.

Since Neil Wassie-Mackie, son of Angus Dow, was a prisoner in the Bass, and Angus himself, by reason of old age and infirmity, was unable to resist them, the two brothers agreed to his terms, and immediately apprehended their brother Thomas at Spanzedell in Sutherland, and delivered him to Murray, who presented him to the King, by whose command he was put to death at Inverness, and the lands which he possessed were given to Mackie for this service; which lands his successors still possess.

Angus, in performance of his promise, gives his two daughters to Neil and Morgan, and asks leave of Robert Earl of Angus, that he might be allowed to raise men in Sutherland, to assist his sons-in-law in getting possession of Strathnaver. Earl Robert grants his request. Upon which he assembled a great body of resolute fellows, along with whom he marches, attended with the brothers, to invade Strathnaver. Mackie, getting intelligence of their approach, convened his countrymen,

and because he was unable in person to make head against his enemies, he gives the command of his troops to his bastard son Aberish. The two armies met at Drum-ne-coub, two miles from Tongue, at Mackie's house. There ensued a sharp, cruel, and bloody battle, maintained on both sides with the greatest courage, intrepidity, and slaughter, so that in the end few remained alive of either party. Neil and Morgan, with Angus their father-in-law, were killed on the spot. John Aberish, having lost all his men, was left for dead on the field, but afterwards recovered of his wounds,—though he was mutilated all his life.

Angus-Dow-Mackie being brought to view the field of battle, and searching for the dead bodies of his cousins Neil and Morgan, was there killed with an arrow by a Sutherland man, lurking in a bush hard by, after all his party was slain. John Aberish was afterwards so hotly pursued by the Earl of Sutherland, that he was obliged, for the safety of his life, to fly to the isles.

The Scotch historians, in describing this battle, mistake the place, persons, and facts, and entirely change the whole state of the history: but it is here given, from the history of the feuds and conflicts among the clans, in a manuscript wrote during the reign of James the Sixth, and printed at Glasgow in the year 1764.

PEPPERDEN.—Anno 1435. Sept. 10.

King James, in order, if possible, to cement the alliance more closely that subsisted between the

two kingdoms of France and Scotland, gave his daughter, at twelve years of age, to the Dauphin, at fourteen. Upon which the English, finding themselves disappointed, first in their suit to King James, (for Henry proposed to marry the princess,) and afterwards in their design of intercepting her at sea, resolved to invade his territories by land.

With this view the Earl of Northumberland, at the head of 4000 men, began to commit hostilities, but was soon stopped in his career by William Douglas Earl of Angus, who commanded an equal number. Both armies met at a place called Pepperden, where a desperate battle was fought. Victory at last declared for the Scotch. The particulars of the battle are variously related. The common accounts make the Scotch to have lost 200 gentlemen and common soldiers; and, among others, Alexander Elphinstone, a knight of great valour, and the head of that family. The same historians say, that the English lost 1500, of whom forty were knights. Sir Henry Clydesdale, Sir John Ogle, and Sir Richard Piercy, were made prisoners, with 400 others. Bower says, that 1500 English were taken prisoners, and not above forty killed on both sides; but it is allowed on all hands that the Scotch were victorious.

RUOIG HANSET.—Anno 1437.

Neil Wassie-Mackie, after being released from his confinement in the Bass, entered Caith-

ness in a hostile manner, pillaging and destroying the country. At last he engaged with some of the inhabitants, at a place called Sanset, where a furious battle was fought, with prodigious slaughter on both sides: Neil, however, gained a complete victory, and died soon after. The place where this battle was fought was called Ruoig Sanset, that is, the Chace at Sanset.

BLAIR TANNIE.—Anno 1438.

About this time a difference arose between the Keiths and some of the inhabitants of Caithness. The Keiths, distrusting their own forces, sent to Angus Mackie of Strathnaver, the son of Neil Wassie, entreating him to come to their assistance, to which he readily agreed. Thus Angus, accomcompanied with John Moir-Mackie-reawighie, marched into Caithness with a body of forces, and attacked the people of that county, who hastily assembled their troops, and fell upon their enemies, at a place called Blair Tannie. The action was long and furious; both sides lost many brave men; but the Keiths at last obtained a complete victory, chiefly by means of the brave John Moir, who acquired great glory among his countrymen for his valour and glorious achievements in this battle.—The people of Caithness lost two valiant chieftains, with many private men. Angus Mackie was afterwards burnt in the church of Tarbat, by one named Ross, whom he had often harassed with incursions and invasions.

ABERBROTHWICK.—Anno 1444.

After the cruel murder of King James the I., and during the nonage of his son James II., great disturbances and civil broils happened in Scotland, occasioned by the unnatural rancour and boundless ambition of the great lords and gentlemen; particularly the young Lord Douglas, set all parties at defiance, and acted like a sovereign prince. The Chancellor found it vain to proceed against him by open force; he therefore got him decoyed to Edinburgh castle, where they murdered him and his brother, upon which his estate and honours devolved upon James Earl of Aberdeen, who had married Beatrix, daughter of Archibald Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland. By an act of parliament made in 1443, all the lands and goods which belonged to the late King were to be possessed by his son to the time of his lawful age. This act was levelled against the late Governor and Chancellor, their estates were confiscated, and the execution of the sentence committed to John Forrester of Corstorphine, and the other adherents of Douglas. This sentence threw the nation into a flame, and both parties committed depredations on the other. Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews, took part with the Governor and Chancellor against Douglas. That nobleman was so exasperated by the great damages he had sustained, that he engaged his friends the Earl of Crawford and Alexander Ogilvie of Innerquharity to lay waste the lands of the Bishop of St. Andrews, whom he con-

sidered as the chief support of the ministers. This prelate was not more considerable for his high birth, than he was venerable for his virtue and sanctity, and had, from a principle of conscience, opposed the Earl of Douglas. Being conscious he had done nothing illegal, he first admonished the Earl of Crawford and his coadjutor from ravaging his lands; but, finding his admonitions ineffectual, he laid the Earl under an excommunication.

That nobleman was almost as formidable in the north as Douglas was in the south. The Benedictine Monks of Aberbrothwick, who were possessed of great property, had chosen the eldest son of Alexander Lindsay to be their judge or bailiff of their temporalities, as they themselves, by their profession, could not sit in civil or criminal courts. Lindsay proved so chargeable to the Monks, by the great number of his attendants, and his high manner of living, that the Chapter removed him from his post, and substituted in his place Alexander Ogilvie of Innerquharity, guardian to his nephew John Ogilvie of Airly, who had an hereditary claim upon the bailiwick. This, notwithstanding their former intimacy, created an irreconcileable hatred between the two families. Each competitor strengthened himself, by calling in the aid of his friends; and the Lord Gordon taking part with the Ogilvies, to whom he was then paying a visit, both parties mustered their forces in the neighbourhood of Aberbrothwick. The Earl of Crawford, who was then at Dundee, posted from thence

to Aberbrothwick, and placing himself between the two armies, he demanded to speak with Ogilvie; but, before his request could be granted, he was killed by a common soldier, who was ignorant of his quality. His death exasperated his friends, who immediately rushed on their enemies, and a bloody conflict ensued, which ended to the advantage of the Lindsays, that is, the Earl of Crawford's party. Of the Ogilvies were killed—Sir John Oliphant of Aberdalgy, John Forbes of Pitsligo, Alexander Barclay of Garth, Robert Maxwell of Tealing, Duncan Campbell of Campbellfeather, William Gordon of Burrowfield, and others. With these gentlemen, about 500 of their followers are said to have fallen; but some accounts diminish that number. Innerquharity, in flying, was taken prisoner, and caried to the Earl of Crawford's house at Finhaven, where he died of his wounds; but Lord Gordon, or, as others call him, the Earl of Huntly, escaped by the swiftness of his horse.

This battle seems to have let loose the fury of civil discord all over the kingdom. No regard was paid to magistracy, and no respect had to any consideration but to the clergy. The most numerous, fiercest, and best allied families, wreaked their vengeance on their foes, either by force or treachery; and the enmity that actuated the parties stifled in them every sentiment of honour and every feeling of humanity.

SARK.—Anno 1448.

Charles of France having no match for young James in his own dominions, recommended to his ambassadors, Mary the daughter of Arnold Duke of Guelders, by Catharine Duchess of Cleves, daughter of John Duke of Burgundy. This, with the renewal of the peace with France, and the compliment paid to that King in choosing a wife for James, exasperated the Court of England, which, though split into factions at home, and overwhelmed by misfortunes abroad, resolved upon beginning hostilities with Scotland, whose historians say that the truce between the two nations was not then expired. The war, however, soon commenced, upon the renewal of the league between Scotland and France. The Earls of Northumberland and Salisbury levied forces, with which they made inroads into Scotland, burning the towns of Dumfries and Dunbar. Whilst Sir John Douglas of Balveny made reprisals, by plundering the county of Cumberland, and burning Alnwick.

Upon return of the English army to their own country, additional levies were made, and a fresh invasion of Scotland was resolved on under the Earl of Northumberland, who had under him a lieutenant called Magnus, with the red mane or beard. He demanded no other recompence for his services but the possession of all the lands he should conquer in Scotland. The Scotch, in the mean time, had raised an army, commanded by George Douglas, Earl of Ormond, and under him

by Wallace of Craigie, with the Lords Maxwell and Johnston. The English having passed the Solway frith, ravaged all that part of the country which belonged to the Scotch; but hearing that the Earl of Ormond's army was approaching, they called in their scattered parties, and pitched their camp on the banks of the river Sark. Their vanguard was commanded by Magnus,—their centre by the Earl of Northumberland,—and the rear, which was composed of Welsh, by Sir John Pennington, an officer of courage and experience. The Scotch also drew up in three divisions: their right wing was commanded by Wallace,—their centre by the Earl of Ormond,—and their left wing by the Lords Maxwell and Johnston. Before the battle joined, the Earl of Ormond harangued his men, and inspired them with very high resentment at the treachery of the English, who, he said, had broken the truce. The signal for battle being given, the Scotch under Wallace rushed forward upon their enemies; but, as usual, were received by so terrible a discharge from the English archers, that their impetuosity must have been stopped, had not their brave leader (Wallace) put them in mind that their forefathers had always been defeated in distant fights by the English, and that they ought to trust to their swords and spears; commanding them, at the same time, to follow his example. They obeyed, and broke in upon the division headed by Magnus with such fury, as soon fixed the fortune of the day on the side of the Scotch, their valour being suitably seconded by

their other two divisions. The slaughter (which was very considerable) fell chiefly upon the division commanded by Magnus, who was killed, performing the part of a brave officer; and all his body guard, consisting of picked soldiers, were cut in pieces.

The battle then became general; Sir John Pennington's division, with that under the Earl of Northumberland, was likewise routed; and the whole English army, struck by the loss of their champion, fled towards the Solway, where, the river being swelled by the tide, numbers of them were drowned. The loss of the English in slain amounted to at least 3000 men. Among the prisoners were Sir John Pennington, Sir Robert Harrington, and the Earl of Northumberland's eldest son, Lord Piercy, who lost his own liberty in forwarding his father's escape. Of the Scotch about 600 were killed; but none of note, excepting the brave Wallace, who died three months after of the wounds he had received in the battle of Sark.

The booty that was made on this occasion is said to have been greater than any that had fallen to the Scotch since the battle of Bannockburn.

BRECHIN.—Anno 1452. May 18.

During the minority and beginning of the reign of James II. the family and connexions of Douglas seemed to set the royal power at defiance. This so enraged James, that he invited Douglas, under a safe conduct, to Stirling; when, upon the Earl's not complying with his requisition, he stabbed him

with his own hand, which so enraged the party, that they besieged the King in the castle of Stirling; upon which James wrote circular letters to all the loyal party in the kingdom, and particularly to the Earl of Huntly. The King was not mistaken in the high opinion he had of the loyalty and courage of this nobleman.

The indignation which the public had conceived against the King, for the violation of his conduct to Douglas, began now to subside, and the behaviour of his enemies, in some measure, justified what had happened, or at least made the people suspect that James would not have proceeded as he did without the highest provocation.

The forces he had assembled being unequal as yet to act offensively, he resolved to wait for the Earl of Huntly, who, by this time, was at the head of a considerable army, and began his march southwards. He had been joined by the Forbeses, Ogilvies, Leslies, Grants, Irvings, and other relations and dependents of his family; but having advanced as far as Brechin, he was opposed by the Earl of Crawford, the chief ally of the Earl of Douglas, who commanded the people of Angus, and all the adherents of the rebels in the neighbouring counties, headed by foreign officers.

The two armies joining battle on the 18th of May, victory was for some time in suspense, till one Coloss of Bonymoon, on whom Crawford had great dependence, but whom he had imprudently disobliged, came over to the royalists with the division he commanded, which was the best armed part

of Crawford's army, consisting of battle-axes, broad-swords, and long spears. His defection fixed the fortune of the day for the Earl of Huntly, as it left the centre flank of Crawford's army entirely exposed to the royalists. He himself lost one of his brothers, and fled with another, Sir John Lindsay, to his house at Finhaven, where it is reported he broke out into the following ejaculations:—"That he would be content to remain seven years in hell, to have, in so timely a season, done the King, his master, that service the Earl of Huntly had performed, and carry that applause and thanks he was to receive from him."—Those expressions, if true, shew that Crawford was no rebel in his heart, and that he only acted in consequence of those engagements, which he thought his honour could not dispense with.

We are informed by no authority of the loss of men on either side, though all agree that it was very considerable upon the whole. The Earl of Huntly, particularly, lost two brothers, William and Henry; and we are told, that, to indemnify him for his good services, as well as for the rewards and presents he had made in lands and privileges to his faithful followers, the King bestowed upon him the lands of Badenoch and Lochaber.

The battle of Brechin was not immediately decisive in favour of the King, but proved so in its consequences.

ANCRUM MOOR.—ANNO 1455.

THE Earl of Douglas, still harbouring inveterate rancour against his King, who, by taking the advice of his parliament in every measure he pursued, endeavouring to cure the unhappy wound his dagger had inflicted upon Douglas, while the general behaviour of the insurgents was as barbarous as it was illegal. As to the apologies made by the historians who favoured the house of Douglas, they are frivolous; for it is evident, that neither patriotism nor moderation had the least influence on that Earl's conduct. He had before this time become a subject of England, by swearing allegiance to Henry; and his former behaviour, when he was offered pardon and indemnity, with the secure enjoyment of his estates and honours, all which he rejected, leave us no room to doubt of the principles on which he acted.

The Earl of Douglas having escaped to Annandale, had no great difficulty in raising such a number of his own tenants, outlaws, robbers, and borderers, that he was once more at the head of an army, and renewed his depredations upon the estates of the royalists. They were encountered by the Earl of Angus, who, though a Douglas, continued firm in the King's interest, to whom he was nearly related by his mother Mary, a daughter of Robert III.

This Earl assembled a body of men, consisting of the Maxwells, Scotts, and Johnstons, and, at-

tacking the rebels near Ancrum Moor, entirely defeated them. In this engagement the Earl of Murray, brother of the Earl of Douglas, was killed; but another brother, the Earl of Ormond, the same who had so bravely won the battle of Sark, was taken prisoner. The Earl of Douglas himself, and his third brother, the Lord Balveny, escaped with great difficulty to an adjacent wood. The number of slain is not mentioned in history; and James took care to reward those men who had distinguished themselves on his side. Particular mention is made of Sir William Carlyle of Torthorald, and Sir Adam Johnston of Johnston.

The Earl of Ormond was sent prisoner to Edinburgh, where he was tried and executed for treason. What a pity is it such brave men should not have spared their valuable lives for the safety and protection of their country!

ROXBURGH.—Anno 1460. Aug. 3.

During the contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, James the II. of Scotland seized the opportunity of the distractions in England to recover Roxburgh, which had been torn from Scotland during the disputes for the crown of that nation. Having speedily raised an army, he led it against Roxburgh. At the first assault he took the town, and levelled it with the ground. He then laid regular siege to the castle, but carried it on slowly, hoping that the little prospect the garrison had of relief from their countrymen would dispose them to capitulate, and also waiting the arrival of

more forces from the distant parts of the kingdom. The Earl of Ross, in order to compensate for past offences, by a display of zeal in the present service, brought a numerous band from the western highlands and islands. About the same time arrived the Earl of Huntly with his followers.

The King, as a mark of friendship to the Earl, to whom he had owed so much for his service in the rebellion of Douglas, conducted him to the trenches to see a discharge of his artillery; one of which, called the Lion, was remarkable for its size. The King was very fond of these engines of death, and stood so near to one of them, which burst in discharging, that a splinter or wedge of it broke his thigh bone, and instantly struck him dead. The spot where this fatal accident happened is on the north side of Tweed, and marked by a holly tree in front of the house of Fleurs. The Earl of Arundel, who stood near him, was sore wounded. The queen, with her eldest son, about seven years of age, was in the camp at the time of this melancholy accident, or arrived soon after. She sustained the loss with heroic firmness, and urged the Scotch chieftains to cease their unavailing lamentations, and to testify the regard they bore to their Sovereign, by pushing on with unabating vigour the enterprize in which he had fallen. Her example and exhortations had a good effect in exciting the besiegers to exert their utmost efforts; and the garrison, soon finding themselves reduced to extremities, surrendered the fortress, on obtaining leave to retire with their persons and goods in

safety; and that the place, which the English had held for more than a hundred years, might henceforth cease to be the centre of rapine and violence, or a cause of future strife between the nations, the victors reduced it to a heap of ruins. The Scotch nobles, embracing the opportunity of their being assembled in the royal army, performed at Kelso the ceremony of consecrating and crowning the young King, and afterwards paid their homage, and swore fealty to him in the usual manner.

BLAIR-NE-PAIRK.—Anno 1477.

After the Lord of the Isles had resigned the earldom of Ross into the King's hands, that country was continually harrassed by the incursions of the islanders. Gillespic, cousin of Macdonald, collecting a large body of men, invaded the heights of that country with the utmost fury; which the inhabitants no sooner perceived, than they, especially the clan Cheinzie, collected their warriors, and met the islanders near the river Connon, about two miles from Brayle, where a sharp and furious engagement happened. The clan Cheinzie displayed such prodigious courage, and pressed so hard upon the enemy, that at last Gillespic Macdonald was vanquished and put to flight, the most part of his men being either killed or drowned in the Connon. The place where the action happened was called Blair-ne-pairk. From the ruins of the clan Donald, and some of the neighbouring Highlanders, the clan Cheinzie, from small be-

ginnings, began to make a figure in those parts. The family of Argyle and the Campbells became great and potent upon the ruin of the same clan Donald.

SKIBO AND STRATHFLEIT.—ANNO 1477.

DURING this year, Macdonald of the Isles, accompanied with some of his kinsmen and followers, to the number of 500 or 600, came to Sutherland, and encamped hard by the castle of Skibo.

Neil Murray, son or grandson of Angus Murray, slain at Drum-ne-coub, was sent by John Earl of Sutherland to oppose them, if they should commit any depredations on the inhabitants. Neil, perceiving them intent upon plundering the country, attacked them hard by Skibo, and killed Donald Dow, one of their chieftains, with fifty others. Macdonald, with the rest of his company, escaped by flight, and retired into their own country.

Soon after this, another company of the Macdonalds came to Strathfleit in Sutherland, and laid waste the country far and near, thereby designing to repair the loss they had before sustained; but Robert Sutherland, Earl John's brother, soon collected his men, and engaged them on the Sands of Strathfleit, and, after a sharp and obstinate action, Macdonald's men were again entirely routed, and many of them left dead on the field of battle.

BERWICK.—Anno 1482. Aug. 24.

The truces which had happily subsisted between Scotland and England for several years, were now broke by the restlessness and ambition of some great men in both kingdoms. The English advanced with an army of 22,500 men towards Berwick; the town they took without resistance, and, leaving 4000 men to besiege the castle, they marched towards Edinburgh with the rest of the army.

About this time matters were in great confusion in Scotland, owing to the King's favour for a set of low fellows, in preference to the nobility and gentry, who always claimed that privilege. The Duke of Albany and the Earl of Marr, the King's brothers, entered into the combination to destroy these favourites; but the Earl of Marr was seized at Edinburgh, and put to death; the Duke of Albany made his escape to France. So far the favourites prevailed. But this year James III. having raised an army to oppose the English, gave the discontented Lords the opportunity they wished for, of wreking their revenge upon these obscure favourites who had wholly engrossed their master's confidence.

While the army lay encamped at Lauder, a band of the nobility, headed by Archibald Earl of Angus, entered the King's tent, and having seized six of his domestics, who were the chief objects of their wrath, caused them be hanged immediately over a bridge in the neighbourhood;—a measure so rude

and barbarous, having broken all confidence between the King and his army, a total dispersion of the latter ensued. The King retiring to Edinburgh castle, either shut himself up there for security, or, as some say, was detained prisoner by his uncle the Duke of Atholl, and others of the nobility. Such was the situation of affairs, when the Dukes of Gloucester and Albany arrived at Edinburgh at the head of the English army, which, to inspire terror, had committed some devastations on their march; but, at the request of the Duke of Albany, spared the capital.

The Duke of Albany, in concert with Gloucester, agreed to return to his allegiance, and by the Scotch nobles he was declared lieutenant of the kingdom. The English general insisted on the restitution of Berwick: But many of the Scotch lords opposed this, alleging the importance of the place, and the ancient property the Crown of Scotland had in it. The firmness of Gloucester, however, added to the domestic distress of the Scotch, and the influence of Albany, prevailed. A truce was concluded, in which Berwick was given up to England; and the Scotch are said to have engaged never afterwards to attempt the reduction of it. Lord Hales, after a brave defence, surrendered the castle on the 24th, according to Holinshed; but Buchannan says on the 26th. Whether this was done in obedience to orders received from Scotland, or his inability to hold out longer, appears uncertain. Thus the town and fortress, the bone of contention between the two nations, returned to

England, after the Scots had possessed it twenty one years and some months.

LOCHMABEN.—Anno 1483. July 22.

The old Earl of Douglas continued still to enjoy under Richard the same protection that had been given him by his predecessors, Henry the sixth and Edward the fourth, in consideration of particular services, which had not before been suitably rewarded. Richard settled on him an additional pension of of L. 2000 a-year, for the more decent maintenance of his dignity. But the usurper's great expence in supporting his ill gotten power, and the continual alarms in which he lived, from the plots of his numerous adversaries, who sought to overturn it, prevented his giving such aids to Albany and Douglas as had been promised in the late treaty between Edward and the former. Hostilities were, however, continued on the borders, and the Duke and Earl at last made a bold experiment, for discovering what they might expect from the favour of their countrymen They came with 500 horse to a fair at Lochmaben on St Magdalen's day; but the enterprize proved fatal. Their countrymen, under the conduct of the Lairds of Johnston and Cockpool, treated their troops as a band of robbers, and, after a tedious and bloody conflict, gained the victory. Albany made his escape into the English borders by the fleetness of his horse, while Douglas, slow by age and this load of armour, remained a captive. Alexander Kirkpatrick had the honour of seiz-

ing this offender, and of presenting him to the King, who rewarded so important a service with the lands of Kirkmichael. The life of the Earl was spared, but he was cloistered in the Abbey of Lindores, where he died about four years after; and leaving no progeny, in him became extinct the eldest branch of the line of Douglas, which had arisen to a height of splendour and power far beyond what had ever appeared in any other family or subject in the kingdom.

ALDICHARRICHIE.—Anno 1487.

The occasion of this skirmish is thus related:—Angus Mackie being killed at Tarbat by one of the name of Ross, as mentioned in the battle of Blair Tannie, John Reawighe Mackie, the son of Angus, came to the Earl of Sutherland, his superior, and implored his aid to revenge his father's death, to which the Earl agreed, and sent his uncle Robert with a body of troops to assist him. Thus reinforced, John invaded Strathoickell and Strathcharron, burning, plundering, and laying waste divers lands belonging to the Rosses. The laird of Ballingwone, then chief of the Rosses in that country, upon hearing of this invasion, collected all the force of Ross, and met Robert and John at a place called Aldicharrichie. There a most bloody and cruel battle was fought, which continued long with incredible obstinacy, and many were killed on both sides. At last the people of Ross, no longer able to withstand or resist the enemy's forces, were utterly routed and put to flight,

Alexander Ross of Ballingowne, with seventeen other gentlemen of property in the county of Ross, besides a great number of common soldiers, were taken prisoners. The manuscript of Ross also mentions among the slain Messrs. William Ross, Angus Macculloch of Terrell, John Wans, William Wans, John Mitchell, Thomas and Heucheon Wans.

SAUCHIEBURN.—Anno 1488. June 11.

A misunderstanding had for some time subsisted between James the Third and several of the chief nobility. James did not possess those talents for government which had distinguished several of his predecessors; for, though sundry wise and useful regulations were established in his reign, and his errors have, no doubt, been much exaggerated by faction, yet it cannot be denied, that marks of an imprudent and feeble mind are visible in the general tenor of his conduct.

A natural timidity of temper, together with a foolish attention to astrology, had filled his mind with perpetual jealousy and suspicion. A fondness for architecture, music, and other studies and amusements, which, though innocent and useful, were too trifling to engage the whole time and care of a prince, had rendered him averse to public business. Indolence, and want of penetration, had led him to make choice of such ministers and favourites as were not considered qualified for the trust committed to them.

The ministers of state had usually been chosen

from amongst the nobility; but, in the reign of James, the nobles, either from his fear or hatred of them, or from a consciousness of his inability to maintain his dignity among them, were seldom consulted in affairs of government, and often denied access to the royal presence.

This could not fail to excite the displeasure of the Scotish barons, who, in former reigns, had not only been regarded as the companions and counsellors of their sovereigns, but possessed the great offices of power and trust.

Displeasure arose to indignation, when they beheld every mark of the royal confidence and favour conferred upon Cochran the mason, Hommil the tailor, Leonard the smith, Rodgers the musician, Torfifan the fencing-master, whom James always kept about him, caressed with the fondest affection, and endeavoured to enrich with an imprudent liberality.

To redress the grievance, the barons had recourse to a method corresponding to their characteristic ferocity. Unacquainted with the regular method, adopted in modern times, of proceeding by impeachment, they seized upon James's favourites by violence, tore them from his presence, and, without any form of trial, executed them. So gross an insult could not fail to excite some degree of resentment even in the most gentle bosom. True policy, however, must have suggested to a wise prince, so soon as the shock of passion had subsided, the necessity of relinquishing measures which had given so great offence to subjects so powerful

as the Scotish barons then were; for their power had, by a concurrence of causes, become so predominant, that the combination of a few was able to shake the throne. James's attachment to favourites was, notwithstanding, so immoderate, that he soon made choice of others, who became more assuming than the former, and consequently objects of greater detestation to the barons, especially those who, by residing near the court, had frequent opportunities of beholding their ostentation and insolence.

Matters came at length to an open rupture. A party of the nobility took up arms; and having, by persuasion or force, prevailed upon the King's eldest son, then a youth of fifteen, to join them, they, in his name, erected their standard against their sovereign. Roused by the intelligence of such operations, James also took the field. An accommodation at first took place, but upon what terms is not known. The transactions of the latter part of his reign are variously related by historians, and but darkly by the best. Such as lived the nearest to the time, and had the fullest opportunities of information, probably found that they could not be explicit, without throwing reflections upon either the father or the son. The malcontents, according to some accounts, proposed that James should resign his crown in behalf of his son. This accommodation, whatever the articles were, being attended with no mutual confidence, was of very short duration. New occasions of discord arose. James, it was asserted, had not fulfilled

his part of the treaty. Ignorance, indeed, of the articles, prevents us from forming any certain judgment of the truth of the charge. There are, however, strong presumptions in its favour. The Earls of Huntly and Errol, the Marischal, the Lord Glammis, with several others who had hitherto adhered to James, now left him, and joined the disaffected. And, in an act of parliament, framed soon after the King's death, and entitled "The proposition of the debate of the field of Stirling," his receding from certain articles to which he had formerly consented as the foundation of peace, is expressly assigned as the reason which had determined these Lords to that sudden change. This document sets forth, that the late King, by perverse counsel of divers persons, who were then with him, had broken certain articles which he had subscribed and consented to; and that, therefore, the Earl of Huntly, and others of the King's lieges, had forsaken him, and adhered to his successor. The confederacy now began to spread wider than ever, so as to comprehend almost all the barons, and consequently their military vassals and retainers on the south of the Grampians.

James, having the prospect of new hostilities, had shut himself up in Edinburgh castle, till, by the arrival of his northern subjects, whom he had summoned to his assistance, he should be in condition to take the field. As, however, Stirling was reckoned more convenient for the rendezvous of the northen clans, he was advised to go

thither. Upon his arrival, he was excluded from the castle by Shaw, the governor, who favoured the other party. While deliberating what step to take on this unexpected incident, intelligence was brought him that the disaffected Lords, at the head of a considerable army, had advanced to Torwood. The only alternative was, either to make his escape by going on board Admiral Wood's fleet, stationed in the river Forth, near Alloa, or engage the enemy with what forces he had collected. Though not distinguished for courage, he resolved upon the latter, and prepared.

The two armies met in a tract of ground, which now goes by the name of Little Canglar, upon the east side of a small brook called Sauchie Burn, about two miles south of Stirling, and one mile from the famous field of Bannockburn. The royal army was drawn up in three divisions. Historians differ about their numbers. Some, beyond all probability, make them amount to above thirty thousand. The Earls of Montieth and Crawford, the Lords Erskine, Graham, Ruthven, and Maxwell, with Sir David Lindsay of Byres, were each entrusted with a military command. We are not certainly informed how these leaders, with their several divisions, were arranged; nor is it agreed in what part the King had his station; only we are told that he was armed cap-a-pee, and mounted on a stately horse, presented to him by Sir David Lindsay; and that Sir David told his Majesty, he might at any time trust his life to the animal's

agility and sure-footedness, provided he could keep his seat.

The malcontent army, amounting to eighteen thousand, and mostly cavalry, was likewise ranged in three divisions. The first, composed of East Lothian and Merse men, was commanded by the Lords Home and Hales, whose discontent had arisen from the King's having annexed to his Chapel Royal at Stirling the revenues of the priory of Coldingham, to the disposal of which they laid claim. The second line, made up of the inhabitants of Galloway and the border counties, was led by Lord Gray; and the Prince had the name of commanding the main body, though he was entirely under the direction of the lords about him. Showers of arrows from both sides began the action; but they soon came to closer engagement with lances and swords.

The royalists at first gained an advantage, and drove back the enemy's first line. These, however, being soon supported by the borderers, who composed the second, not only recovered their ground, but pushed the first and second lines of the royalists back to the third.

Any little courage of which James was possessed soon forsook him. He put spurs to his horse, and galloped off, with the view, as is conjectured, of getting on board Admiral Wood's fleet, which lay in sight, at the distance of five miles. As he was on the point of crossing the Bannock, at the small village of Milltown, a mile east of the field of battle, a woman happened to be drawing water,

and, observing a man in armour gallop full speed towards her, and being alarmed for her safety, left her pitcher, and ran off. The horse, starting at sight of the vessel, threw his rider, who was so bruised with the fall, and the weight of his armour, as to faint away. As the disaster had happened within a few yards of a mill, the miller and his wife carried the unfortunate horseman thither, and, though ignorant of his name and station, treated him with great humanity, and administered to him such cordials as their house afforded. When he had somewhat recovered, he called for a priest, to whom, as a dying man, he might make confession. Being asked who he was; he replied, "I was your King this morning." Some of the malcontents, who, having observed his flight, had left the battle to pursue him, had now come up to the spot; and, as they were about to pass, the miller's wife, wringing her hands, entreated, that, if there were a priest in company, he should stop and "confess his Majesty."

"I am a priest," said one of them, "lead me to him." Being introduced, he found the King lying in a corner of the mill, covered with a coarse cloth; and, approaching on his knees, under pretext of reverence, asked him, whether his Majesty thought he could recover if he had surgical help? James replied in the affirmative; when the ruffian, pulling out a dagger, stabbed him several times in the heart. The name of the person is not certainly known.

The place where this atrocity was committed is

well known in the neighbourhood by the name of Beaton's Mill, and said to be so called from the person who then possessed it. It is still standing. It was converted into a dwelling-house, when more commodious mills had been erected near it. The lower parts of the walls are still the same which received the unfortunate monarch. The stones wear the marks of antiquity, being much mouldered by the weather in the lapse of ages. The upper part of the fabric has been renewed; and the reparations it has undergone seem to have had no other design than to perpetuate the memory of a tragical event, the circumstances of which have been so carefully handed down by tradition, that they are still related by the inhabitants of the village, and perfectly correspond to the accounts we meet with in the best historians.

After the King's flight, his troops continued to fight with great bravery; but at last, finding themselves unable to stand their ground, and discouraged by an uncertain rumour of his death, they began to retreat towards Stirling. They were not hotly pursued, for hostilities had immediately ceased. The army of the confederates lay that night upon the field, and next day marched back to Linlithgow. The number of the slain is uncertain, though it must have been considerable; for the action had lasted several hours, and was well maintained by the combatants on either side. Some of high rank had fallen on the royal side, among whom was the Earl of Glencairn. This battle was fought on the 11th of June 1488; and was

called, by diplomatical authority, "The Field of Stirling."

The Prince, who, before the battle, had given strict charge regarding his father's safety, heard the rumour of his death with great emotions of grief. It was not till some days after that he obtained a certain account; for, if any of the confederate Lords were in the secret, they had kept it carefully from the Prince, and from the rest. A report was spread that the King had gone on board Admiral Wood's fleet, and was alive. The Admiral, being called before the young King and the council, declared, that he knew nothing of his late master. So little had this Prince been accustomed to his father's company, that he was almost a stranger to his person; for, when Wood had appeared before him, struck with his stately appearance, or perhaps with some resemblance, seriously exclaimed,—"Sir, are you my father?" The Admiral, bursting into tears, replied, "I am not your father, but I was your father's true servant." At last the corpse of the King was discovered, and carried to the palace in Stirling castle, where it lay till interred, with all due honour, in Cambuskenneth, near his queen, who had died not long before. The inhabitants still show the spot. No monument is to be seen.

The confederate Lords endeavoured to atone for their treatment of their late sovereign by their loyalty and duty towards his son, whom they instantly placed upon the throne. They also deemed it requisite, for their future security, to have a

parliamentary indemnity for their proceedings. In a parliament, accordingly, that met soon after, they obtained a vote, by which every thing done in "the Field of Stirling" was justified, and declared "lawful, on account of the necessity they had lain under of employing force against the King's evil counsellors, enemies of the kingdom." This vote is, in the records, called "The Proposition of the Debate of the Field of Stirling."

BROOMHOUSE OR MILFIELD.—ANNO 1513.

THE Earl of Hume, chamberlain of Scotland, was now at the head of 8000 men, with whom he committed prodigious devastations on the English borders. Henry's Queen, Katharine of Spain, whom he had left regent of his dominions, issued a commission of array, directed to Sir Thomas Lovel, knight of the garter, for assembling the militia of the counties of Nottingham, Derby, Warwick, Leicester, Stafford, Rutland, Northampton, and Lincoln. The management of the war, however, was committed chiefly to the Earl of Surrey, who assembled the militia of several counties. The Earl of Hume had, by this time, laid great part of Northumberland waste, and his men were returning home loaden with booty. The Earl of Surrey, resolving to intercept them, ordered Sir William Bulmer to form an ambush with a thousand archers, at a place called Broomhouse, extremely convenient for that purpose, by which the Scotch must pass. As the latter expected nothing of that kind,

Bulmer executed his orders with great success. The archers assaulted the Scotch at once, and made so good use of their arrows, that their main body was put to flight, 500 were killed, and 400 taken, with Lord Hume's standard, which he left on the field of battle, the greatest part of the plunder being recovered at the same time. The commonalty of Scotland termed this expedition of the Lord Hume's "The Ill Road".

FLODDON.—Anno 1513. Sept. 9.

The war which terminated in the fatal battle of Floddon was begun by James at the instigation of France, and carried into effect by his headstrong rashness and folly. Our Scotish historians relate many ominous presages of the fatal consequences of this expedition. A venerable old man appeared to James in the church of Linlithgow, warning him of his fate if he persisted, and some hints were given about the company of lewd women. He then disappeared, and could not afterwards be found, after the most diligent search. The proclamation of Plotcock at the cross of Edinburgh, summoning those to appear before him within forty days, who afterwards were killed, was looked upon as another warning. But when we reflect that the Queen and the principal nobility were wholly averse to the invasion of England at that time, these prodigies, as our ancestors thought them, are not to be wondered at.

The success which, during this summer, had attended Henry's arms in the north, was more de-

fective. The King of Scotland had summoned out the whole force of his kingdom, and having passed the Tweed with a brave, though tumultuous, army of above 50,000 men, he ravaged those parts of Northumberland which lay nearest to that river, employed himself in taking the castles of Norham, Etal, Wark, Ford, and other places of little importance. The Lady Ford, a woman of beauty, being taken in her castle, was presented to James, and so gained on the affections of that prince, that he wasted in pleasure the critical time, which, during the absence of his enemy, he should have employed in pushing his conquests. His troops lay in a barren country, where they soon consumed their provisions, began to be pinched for necessaries; and, as the authority of the prince was feeble, and military discipline, during that age, extremely relaxed, many of them had stolen from the camp, and retired homewards. Mean-while, the Earl of Surrey having collected a force of 26,000 men, of which 5000 had been sent over by the King's army in France, marched to the defence of the country, and approached the Scotch, who lay on some high grounds near the hills of Cheviot. The river Till ran between the two armies, and prevented an engagement. Surrey therefore sent a herald to the Scotch camp, challenging the enemy to descend into the plain of Millfield, which lay towards the south, and there appoint a day for the combat, to try their valour on even ground. As he received no satisfactory answer, he made a feint of marching towards Berwick, as if he intended to enter Scotland

to lay waste the borders, and to cut off the enemy's provisions. The Scotch army, in order to prevent his purpose, put themselves in motion; and having set fire to the huts in which they had quartered, they descended from the hills. Surrey taking advantage of the smoke which was blown towards him, and which concealed his motions, passed the Till with his artillery and vanguards at the bridge of Twissel, and sent the rest of his army to seek a ford farther up the river. An engagement was now become inevitable between the armies, and both sides prepared for it with tranquility and order. The English divided their army into two lines. Lord Howard led the main body of the first line, Sir Edward Howard the right, Sir Marmaduke the left. The Earl of Surrey himself commanded the main body of the second line, Lord Dacres the right wing, and Sir Edward Stanley the left. The Scotch front presented three divisions to the enemy. The middle was headed by the King in person, the right by the Earl of Huntly, assisted by Lord Home: the left by the Earls of Argyle and Lenox. A fourth division, under the Earl of Bothwell, made a body of reserve. Huntly began the battle, and, after a short conflict, put to flight the left wing of the English, and chased them off the field; but, in returning from the pursuit, he found the whole Scotch army in great disorder. The division under Lenox and Argyle, elated with the success of the other wing, had broken their ranks, and, notwithstanding the remonstrances and entreaties of La Motte, the French ambassador,

had rushed headlong upon the enemy. Not only Edward Howard, at the head of his division, received them with great valour, but Dacres, who commanded in the second line, wheeled about during the action, fell upon their rear, and put them to the sword without resistance. The division under the King, and that under Bothwell, animated by the valour of their leaders, still made head against the English, and throwing themselves into a circle, protracted the action till night parted the combatants. The victory seemed yet uncertain, and the number that fell on each side were nearly equal, amounting to above 5000 men. But the morning evidently discovered where the advantage lay. The English had only lost persons of small note, but the flower of the Scotch nobility had fallen in battle; and the King himself, after the strictest inquiry, could nowhere be found. In searching the field, the English met with a dead body, which resembled the King, and was arrayed in a similar habit: they put it in a lead coffin, and sent it to London. During some time it was kept unburied, because he died under the sentence of excommunication, on account of his confederacy with France, and his opposition to the pope. But, upon Henry's application, who pretended, that, in the instant before his death, he had discovered signs of repentance, absolution was given him, and his body was interred.

Various were the opinions of the Scotch concerning him: some asserted that he was seen crossing the Tweed at Kelso; others, that he was kill-

ed by Lord Hume's vassals; but the populace believed that he was still alive,—was gone on a pilgrimage to the holy land, and would soon return to take possession of his throne. This fond conceit was long entertained among the Scotch.

EDINBURGH.—ANNO 1515. May 13.

JAMES V. being a minor, the Duke of Albany was chosen regent, and, continuing some time in Scotland, returned to France, and, during his absence, named as deputies the Archbishop of St. Andrews and Glasgow, the Earls of Angus, Arran, Huntly, and Argyle, with the Warden Darcy, on whom was his chief dependence: but he was not long gone before this minion was murdered by the Humes of Wedderburne. The other governors, though little concerned at this murder, yet they found it necessary to proceed with rigour against the murderers, and his post was bestowed upon the Earl of Arran. This irritated the Earl of Angus, that Arran should be preferred before him; and the wiser part of the nation dreaded bad consequences from the quarrel between these two great families. The Earl of Angus was considered as the head of the English party in Scotland, and as being too powerful a subject. The Chancellor Beaton, and the chief lords in the west, were of that opinion, and declared themselves in favour of Arran; and at last it was agreed that a parliament should be summoned at Edinburgh on the 29th of April. The Hamilton party excepted against the place, because Sir Archibald Douglas, a relation

and dependent of Angus, was provost of the town; but that objection was soon removed, by Sir Archibald resigning his power to Robert Logan of Restalrig; upon which Beaton and all the Hamilton party repaired to Edinburgh, but with no pacific intention.

Their place of rendezvous was in Beaton's house, where they consulted, not upon measures of restoring public tranquillity, but on those of engrossing all the power of government into their own hands, and at last they resolved to confine Angus. Upon hearing their designs, he employed his brother, the Bishop of Dunkeld, as the most proper agent with the Archbishop, to divert the party from their desperate purposes. The Bishop accordingly waited on Beaton, and conjured him, as a churchman, to concur with him in restoring public tranquillity. He also told him that his nephew was ready to answer before parliament to all the charges brought against him. By this time the Archbishop's party had poured into the town in such numbers, that they thought themselves superior to the Earl of Angus, whose attendants did not amount to 400; but these were resolute and well armed; and Arran had given orders to make sure of the town gates. Angus, however, during his brother's conference with Beaton, seized on the Nether bow Port, and drew up his men in warlike array.

The Bishop, then, leaving the Archbishop, went to Sir Patrick Hamilton, Arran's brother, and told him all he had said to Beaton,—adding, that An-

gus desired no more than liberty to visit the queen in the castle, and to leave the town peaceably.—The request was so reasonable, that Arran would have granted it, had he not been dissuaded by his natural son, Sir James Hamilton, who reproached Sir Patrick with cowardice, because of his pacific disposition.

This reproach stung Sir Patrick so much, that he told Sir James he would that day be seen where the other durst not appear; and putting himself at the head of his brother's party, rushed furiously upon Angus, who was still maintaining his post. Seeing him advance considerably before the rest, that Earl, who had a value for the man, called out to save him, but not time enough to prevent his being killed, with Lord Montgomery's eldest son, who fought on Arran's side. After a sharp dispute, the Hamilton party were routed; and it was with great difficulty the Earl and his natural son escaped, seventy-two of their men being left dead in the encounter.

The Archbishop took refuge in the Black Friars church, where he was taken from behind the high altar. His rocket was torn from his back, and he must have been killed, had not the Bishop of Dumblane interceded for him, as being a Christian Bishop. He fled, however, to Linlithgow on foot. Buchannan says, that the Earl of Angus had not with him above eighty attendants, and must have been defeated, had he not been seasonably reinforced by his brother Sir William Douglas; and

that the Earl of Arran and his son made their escape by the North Loch.

This skirmish, however inconsiderable in itself, was reckoned decisive in favour of Angus, who acted with great moderation. The heads of the Earl of Hume and his brothers were taken down from the cross, where they had been affixed, and solemnly buried in the Black Friars church; and the Queen was indulged with as much of her son's company as she pleased. This skirmish was called Cleanse the Causeway.

DAILREAWIGHE.—Anno 1516.

Y-Roy-Mackie of Strathnaver dying, a difference arose between his son John and his brother Nawerichе. John takes possession of the estate of Strathnaver, and excludes his uncle, who was thought to be the righteous heir. Neil alleging that his nephews John and Donald were bastards, he therefore claims the estate as the righteous heir, and applies to John Earl of Caithness, from whom he obtains a body of men, who, with his four sons, were sent along with Neil to invade Strathnaver. By means of them Neil is put in possession of the estate; and John, unable to resist their force, applies to the clan Chattane for assistance. During his absence he leaves his brother Donald to defend the country in the best manner he could. Donald, before his brother returned, surprised his cousins at Dail-Reawighe, and killed two of them, with the greater part of their men: where-

upon John, returning home, took peaceable possession of his lands. Neil afterwards surrendering to his nephews, was, by their order, beheaded, at a place called Clash-ne gep, in Strathnaver.

TORAN DOW.—ANNO 1517.

ADAM GORDON, first of that name, Earl of Sutherland, having married Lady Elizabeth Sutherland, heiress of the country, was, this year, traveling towards Edinburgh, in order to settle some affairs concerning his estate. In his absence, he commits the management of his affairs to Alexander Sutherland, his wife's natural brother, and gives him for assistant John Murray of Abirscors. John Mackie knowing this, and having settled his civil broils at home, after the death of his uncle Neil, thought this a fit opportunity, by the change of the Earl of Sutherland's name, to sow the seeds of discord among his people, and, if possible, to get possession of some part of his estate. To accomplish this design, he drew together all the forces of Strathnaver, Assint, and Edriachilles, and hired as many troops as he could from the western isles of Scotland; and with these he marches into Sutherland in a hostile manner, burning and destroying all before him.

The inhabitants of Sutherland quickly assemble under the command of John Sutherlsnd, John Murray, and William Macames. The two armies engaged at a place called Toran Dow; and the

greatest exertions of valour were displayed by both. The battle was long and bloody. Mackie's vanguard gave way, and were forced back upon the centre, where he himself was making a vigorous stand, there leaving his brother Donald to conduct the rest, and support him as necessity required. He selected a number of the best troops in his army, and with these he furiously attacked the Sutherland men, who, after making a brave and vigorous resistance, obtained a complete victory. Mackie himself, with a few, betook themselves to flight, and with difficuly escaped. Neil Macean-Macangus, with many of his men, were left dead on the field. Of Strathnaver 216 men were killed, and only twenty-eight of the people of Sutherland.

Not long after this, John Mackie sent William and Donald, two brothers, with a body of men to invade John Murray, whom they engaged at a place called Loch-Sallachie in Sutherland. After a sharp conflict, both the Strathnaver chieftains were cut off, with many of their men, and the rest put to flight.

Nor had Murray great reason to rejoice in this victory, for he lost his brother John.

Thus did the people of those counties continue to harrass each other till the year 1522, when Alexander Gordon, eldest son of Earl Adam, defeated John Mackie at Lairg, and compelled him to become subject to his father.

JEDBURGH.—Anno 1523. Sept. 7.

The English court having received intelligence from Surrey, that the Duke of Albany was landed in Scotland with 4000 regular troops, Wolsey sent immediate orders to fortify the castles of Norham and Wark. The use of artillery was well known at this time both in England and Scotland; and muskets had been introduced into armies about three years before. This accasioned a great alterction with regard to the strength of fortifications; and the Earl of Surrey, in his dispatches to the English court, speaks of Berwick, which was formerly deemed next to impregnable, as a slight frontier in comparsion of Wark. These fortifications being completed, the Earl invaded Scotland before the regent could take the field, and burnt Jedburgh, having laid waste Tweedale and March, burning and destroying every village, tree, corn, cattle, or any thing that could be useful to man. The Scotch historians are at this time unpardonably defective; and we know little more of this invasion than what we learn from Surrey's dispatches to his court. By them it appears that the Earl was opposed by a body of 2000 Scots, who acquitted themselves so gallantly, as to draw from the Earl, who was a great judge of military merit, the following expressions, in one of his dispatches to cardinal Wolsey—"That the Scots were men of the greatest bravery and ardour he had ever seen in an action." In this expedition the Lord Dacres commanded the English cavalry, consisting of 4000; and their histo-

rians have told us, that the flames of Jedburgh startled their horses so much, that they broke loose upon the infantry, who were obliged to fire upon them, and killed eight hundred. Lord Dacres, in his letter on this occasion, ascribes this disorder to a supernatural appearance, which presented itself before the horses; yet it is far more rational to believe, that his camp, which was distant from the Earl of Surrey, was surprised by the Scotch; and the rather, as the Lord Dacres is characterized by the Earl himself as a hardy and good knight, but somewhat unwary.

WARK SIEGE.—Anno 1523.

The Scocth nobility being summoned to meet at Edinburgh, it was there agreed that an army should be assembled with all speed, to be led in conjunction with their foreign auxiliaries against the English. The rendezvous of the army was at Douglas-dale, to which they were summoned to repair, with eight days provision, and from thence to march towards Melrose. After the greater part of the army had passed a wooden bridge over the Tweed, in the neigbourhood of that place, the Scotch nobles making the same objections they had done last year upon the Esk, against marching into England, those who had crossed the river returned, and the whole army marched down the north side of it to Coldstream. There it was resolved to attempt the reduction of the castle of Wark, situated a little above Coldstream, on the opposite side of the river, the fortifications of which

castle the Earl of Surrey had lately repaired. George Buchannan, the celebrated poet, carried arms in this expedition, and gives us the following description of the castle as it then stood. In the inmost area was a tower of great height. This was encircled by two walls, the outer including a large space, into which the inhabitants of the country used to fly, and carry their flocks and corn in time of war; the inner of which was smaller of extent, but fortified more strongly with ditches and towers. The captain of this castle was Sir William Lisle; it had a strong garrison, great store of artillery and ammunition, and other things necessary for a defence. The Duke of Albany sent over the Tweed some battering cannon, and a chosen band of Scotch and French, consisting of 3 or 4000, under the command of Andrew Kerr of Ferniherst. A body of horse was also sent over to scour and ravage the adjacent country, and cut off the communication between it and the castle. The French carried the outer enclosure at the first assult. The garrison drove them out of it, by setting fire to the corn and straw that were laid up in this enclosure. But the besiegers soon recovered it again, and made a breach by their cannon in the inner wall. By this breach an assualt was given, in which the Frnech shewed great bravery; but the English resisting with equal valour, and the assailants being sore galled by the shot of those who were above them in the tower, were at last obliged to retire, after a considerable slaughter of both sides. A new assault was to have been made next

day; but a great fall of rain happening the intervening night, obliged the whole detachment employed in the seige to return to the main army, lest the sudden overflowing of the Tweed should have renderd their retreat impracticable.

BRANKSTON.—ANNO 1524. June 21.

IN the end of May, Albany set out for France to bring over auxiliaries from thence. After his departure, a correspondence still continued between the queen dowager snd the court of England; but the project of peace not being brought to maturity, nor any truce subsisting, there were mutual incursions in the months of June and July, both in the eastern and wastern marches. On Trinity Sunday 500 Scotchmen passed the Tweed at different places, and lay in hallow grounds, nigh the high way, with a view of intercepting the traders and others going to a fair at Berwick on that day. They took much spoil and many prisoners; but being attacked near Brankston by a body of English, who gathered on the alarm, and were joined by the young Lord of Fowberry, at the head of 100 light horse, a fierce skirmish ensued, in which the Scotch were defeated, and in their flight 200 of them taken.

In the beginning of July, 900 English, led by Sir John Fenwick, Leonard Musgrave, and the bastard Heron, made a plundering inroad into the Merse; but being suddenly attacked by a much greater number of Scotch, they were obliged, after a stout resistance, to seek their safety in flight. A

considerable number were killed, and among these the bastard Heron; 200 were taken prisoners, of whom were Sir Ralph Fenwick, Leonard Musgrave, and other persons of distinction.

THE CASTLE of EDINBURGH blocaded.—ANNO 1525.

THOUGH the Queen-mother had always been a warm advocate for a strict alliance between England and Scotland, yet she disliked the means of bringing it about. She saw her husband's interest acquiring strength every day, and that he had brought over to his party the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who (according to Buchannan) durst not oppose him. The Queen and the Earl of Arran thought that their chief safety now lay in being possessed of the King's person and the castle of Edinburgh. They found it necessary to hold a parliament; but the strong affection which the citizens of Edinburgh bore towards Angus, prevailed on the Queen and Arran to issue the summons for the meeting to be within the castle, instead of the town of Edinburgh. This was a weak and unconstitutional measure, and gave great handle to Angus and his party, who exclaimed against this innovation. They excepted against meetings within a fortress in the power of the opposite faction, and where it would be dangerous to dispute their pleasure. They insisted upon the parliament being held in the town as usual, and that the young King should shew himself on horseback in passing to it from the place of his residence. The Archbishop

of St. Andrews, with the Bishops of Aberdeen and Dumblain, joined the the Earl of Angus, Lenox, and Argyll, who had now formed themselves into a triumvirate against the Queen in those remonstrances; but finding them ineffectual, they formed a blocade of the castle, with two thousand men, and threw up trenches round it, which cut off all its communication with the town. Every thing then tended towards a civil war. The triumvirate had stopped all provisions and necessaries from being sent into the castle, but such as were absolutely necessary for the King's person, under pretence that he was detained prisoner by a lawless faction, without the consent of the states, by which they had incurred the penalties of treason, and that they had shut up all the avenues of justice to the subjects. The Queen was weak enough to turn the cannon of the castle against the town, and some shot were actually fired, to force the inhabitants to break through the blocade, and supply the castle.

In this dismal state of affairs some ecclesiastics interposed, and matters were compromised, but in so imperfect a manner, that a future breach seemed almost unavoidable. It was agreed that the King should remove out of the castle to the palace of Holyroodhouse, from whence he should repair in pomp and splendour to his parliament, in the house where it was commonly held, where a finishing hand was put to all differences. This agreement was signed on the 25th of February. The parliament accordingly met, and the King's marriage with the Princess of England was confirmed; and,

so far as we know, no mention was made of his being sent into England for his education. Instead of that, the care of his person was committed to eight Lords of parliament, who were the two Archbishops, the bishops of Aberdeen and Dunkeld, the Earls of Angus, Arran, Lenox, and Argyll. But Angus and his party soon found means to have the sole direction of the kingdom; and the poor young King was kept as a state prisoner, to answer the purposes of his ambition and avarice.

MELROSE.—Anno 1526.

While Angus basked in the royal favour, or rather kept the King in servile subjection under him, to serve the designs of his ambition, many plots were laid by the other nobility to rescue their royal master from his confinement. One of these efforts was made in the neighbourhood of Melrose, as the King was on his return from a progress he had made to Jedburgh, to quell some flagrant disorders in the marches, Angus, with a body of his kindred and clients, attending the King on this expedition. Lord Hume, Cessford, and Fernehirst, with their followers of Angus's party, were also in the King's company. The Earl of Lenox was likewise present, who was the favourite and confidant of the young Monarch; and had contrived this progress, with a view to effect his liberation. For this purpose he had entered into a secret concert with Scott of Buccleugh, and had procured an order from the King to that potent chieftain to exert his power for his sovereign's release. Buccleugh

had designedly procured excesses to be committed on the marches, that occasion might be given to this expedition of the King. He had also declined appearing at Jedburgh; but as the King and his company, weakened by the separation of Hume and the Kerrs, who had a little before taken their leave, were passing the bridge at Melrose, Buccleugh suddenly appeared on the descent of the neighbouring hill, accompanied by 1000 horsemen, chiefly banditti of the borders. Having despised a summons to retire and disperse his forces, and declared his resolution to see the King, that the King should see the troops he had at that time ready to serve him, an engagement ensued. Hume and his party were still so near, as to be able in time to return to give a seasonable aid to Angus, who soon put Buccleugh and his men to the rout, with the slaughter of more than eighty of their number. Kerr of Cessford, pursuing too eagerly, was killed by a domestic of Buccleugh; which slaughter produced a deadly feud of long duration between the families.

The failure of this attempt only served to animate Lenox in a new enterprize for accomplishing the liberty of his master. He forsook the court, united himself to Angus's most determined and powerful enemies, and formed an army of his own dependents and theirs; the particulars of which will be seen in the following battle.

AVON.—ANNO 1527 Sept

WE may very propely adopt Solomon's maxim on this occasion—"Woe to the, O land! when "thy king is a child." This wise saying was never more verified, than in the nonage of James V. who was now fit to take the reins of his government into his own hands; but by the ambition (to say no worse of it) of the Earl of Angus, he was kept in the most abject slavery. The King discovered his sentiments to the Earl of Lennox, that he was very uneasy under the bondage of Angus. Lennox advised the King to cultivate the friendship of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, which he privately did. Lennox also received letters privately from James, directed to some of the chief nobility. He retired suddenly from court to Stirling, and there published a manifesto, summoning all loyal subjects to assist in deliveriug the King from his imprisonment. Lennox had, at this time, by his own authority, convoked a meeting of the King's friends at Stirling; and among them the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and some other prelates, who agreed unanimously to take the field. They were soon joined by the Earls of Cassils and Glencairn, Lord Kilmaurs from the west, with 2000 men, and by a considerable number from Fife, Angus, Strathern, and Stirlingshire, who had been raised by the queen-mother and Archbishop; so that, according to some authors, he was 10,000 strong, including 100 Highlanders, who came as volunteers. The Earl of Angus, without being daunted at this ap-

pearance, summoned the Hamiltons, Humes, and Kerrs, to his assistance; and hearing that Lennox was advancing to Lintlithgow, he hastily left Edinburgh, at the head of 2000 of his own followers, leaving the King in the hands of his brother Sir George, and his cousin the provost of Edinburgh, with orders to bring the King to the field, with all the forces they could muster. The citizens of Edinburgh put themselves under arms, and called for the King to head them. James pretended to be indisposed; but Sir George Douglas made him the following brutal speech—"Sir," says he, "rather than our enemies should take you from us, we will lay hold of your person, and should you be torn in pieces in the struggle, we will carry off part of your body." Upon this speech, which James neither forgot nor forgave, he mounted his horse and set out towards Lintlithgow, but with a very slow pace.

The Hamiltons had, by this time, taken possession of an advantageous ground near Lintlithgow: but the Earl of Arran having a great regard for Lennox, endeavoured to prevail upon him to desist from his enterprize. He told him how dangerous it was for him to take the field against his sovereign in person, and by frighting, soothing, and flattering him, tried every means to make him drop his design; but Lennox's answer was that of a gallant nobleman—"That he had gone too far to recede; that his honour was more to be dread than death, which he would willingly embrace, rather than not deliver his King from thraldom."

The King having mounted his horse, made so many feints and excuses, that Sir George Douglas, afraid of not arriving in time to support his brother, made use of many indecent expressions and actions to push James on to the field of battle. A second and third express arrived, advising, that if Lennox was not defeated, he was in the utmost danger. This quickened James's motion. He ordered his attendants to make all possible haste to the field of battle, (which lay near the monastery of Emanuel upon the river Avon, the bridge of which was possessed by Douglas's party) to put a stop to the bloodshed, and above all, to be careful that Lennox should receive no hurt. Sir James Hamilton, natural son to the Earl of Arran, (a monster, who delighted in blood and cruelty,) had persuaded his father to stand his ground against Lennox's men, without waiting for the King, that he might have all the glory to himself. Being advantegously posted on the rising ground, Lennox's men suffered greatly in the attack, from the stones rolling down upon them, which disordered their ranks; and the Earl of Angus sending a detachment to support the Hamiltons, the latter defeated their enemies. The Earl of Lennox was wounded and taken prisoner by Hamilton of Pardowye; but was murdered in cold blood by Sir James Hamilton, By this time the King's attendants were arrived on the field of battle; and Sir Andrew wood of Largo, a favourite with James, commanded both parties, in his master's name, to desist from fighting. He found the Earl of Glencairn, (or, according to

others, his son Lord Kilmaurs,) maintaining his ground, with no more than thirty men, against the Douglases, and arrived just time enough to convey the Earl, who was wounded, to a place of safety.

In another part of the field, he found the Earl of Arran mourning most bitterly over the dead body of his slaughtered nephew, the Earl of Lenox, which he had covered with his scarlet cloak, and he resigned him into Wood's hands to be buried.

In short, the Douglases and Hamiltons obtained a complete victory; but, though the slaughter on both sides was very considerable, we know of no good author who mentions the number of the killed. It is remarkable, that the Highlanders in Lenox's army fled in the beginning of the engagement, either because they were struck with a panic, or commanded by Chieftains whom they disliked. This action happened in September.

NEAR BERWICK.—ANNO 1532. Oct. 20.

WHILST Henry VIII. of England was quarrelling with the pope about his marriage, the Scotch committed many outrages on his dominions, both by sea and land. In order to redress these disorders, Henry sent down Sir Arthur Darcy to Berwick with 300 tall men for the defence of the marches.

The Scotch, soon after Darcy's arrival, to show they were not afraid of him, made an inroad into the middle marches, as far as Fowberry, in which

inroad they burnt several villages. Not content with doing this mischief, they boasted of it, saying, that Darcy had brought them good fortune, and that he and Angus slept well at Berwick. This provoked Darcy and the Earl to make an incursion from Berwick with 400 men, in which they set fire to a village; twice the number of Scotch soon assembled; upon which the English ordered a retreat to be sounded. Angus, however, with twenty men, making a stand upon a hill, and causing a trumpet to be blown behind them, the Scotch supposed there were two bodies of the enemy, and thereupon turned their backs. The English pursuing, slew several of them, and took many prisoners, who were brought into Berwick on the 20th of October. Afterwards, Darcy havincreased his forces, plundered and burnt Coldingham, Dunglass, and other villages, and ravaged the country towards Dunse.

ALDINBEH.—Anno 1542.

Donald Mackie of Strathnaver succeeded his brother John during the non-age of John; and after the death of his grandfather, Adam Earl of Sutherland, thinking this a fine opportunity to harrass and distress the people of Sutherland, he marched with a body of troops to the village of Knochartoll, burnt it, and carried off great booty from Strathberry. Sir Hugh Kennedy of Griffenmains dwelt then in Sutherland, having married Earl John's mother after the death of his father, Alexander, master of Sutherland. Sir Hugh be-

ing informed of Mackie's coming into Sutherland, and of his hostile intentions, consults with Hucheon Murray of Aberscors and Gilbert Gordon of Garth, what method they should take most effectually to annoy the enemy. Having collected their forces, they resolve to fight them. With their vanguards they unexpectedly overtook and attack Mackie near Aldinbeh. After a slight skirmish, Donald is defeated, and put to flight. John Macean Macangus, one of his chieftains, and several of his men, were killed. Donald, however, acted the part of a good general and brave soldier; for, in his flight, he killed, with his own hand, one William Sutherland, who most eagerly pursued him in his flight.

Thus did the inhabitants of Sutherland and Strathnaver continue to vex and harrass each other, till Donald was apprehended and imprisoned in the castle of Foulis by order of the Queen Regent, where he continued long in prison.

HALDANRIG.—Anno 1542. Aug. 24.

James V., to all appearance, was at this time in a most desirable situation. His domain, by forfeitures and otherwise, far exceeded that of any of his predecessors. He could command the purses of his clergy,—he had large sums of ready money in his exchequer,—his forts were stored and fortified,—and he was daily receiving remittances of money, arms, and ammunition, from France.

Henry of England, being disgusted at his nephew's connexions with France, and finding that

Francis had sufficient employment at home, resolved to invade Scotland, both by sea and land. He appointed a very considerable army to rendezvous upon the borders, under the command of Sir Robert Bowes, one of his wardens, the Earl of Angus, and his brothers. James had nominated the Earl of Huntly to command his army on the borders, consisting of 10,000 men; and his lieutenant was Sir Walter Lindsay of Torphichen, who had seen a great deal of foreign service, and was esteemed an excellent officer. Huntly acquitted himself admirably well in his commission, and was so well served by his spies, as to have certain intelligence that the English intended to surprise and burn Jedburgh and Kelso.

The English army, under Bowes and the Douglases, continued still on the borders; and the Scotch nobility and gentry had resolved not to attack them on their own ground, nor to act offensively, unless their enemies invaded Scotland.

Huntly being informed that the English had adadvanced, on the 24th of August, to a place called Haldanrig, and that they had destroyed a great part of the Scotch and debateable lands, resolved to engage them; and the English were astonished when they saw the Scotch drawn up in order of battle about day-break. Neither party could now retreat without fighting; and Torphichen, who led the van, consisting of 2000 of the best troops of Scotland, charged the enemy so furiously, that Huntly gained a complete and easy victory. Above 2000 of the English were killed, and 600 taken pri-

soners; among whom were their General Bowes, Sir William Moubray, and about sixty of the most distinguished northern barons; the Earl of Angus escaped by the swiftness of his horse. The loss of the Scotch was so inconsiderable that it is not mentioned.

SOLWAY MOSS.—Anno 1542. Nov. 23.

A BLOODLESS BATTLE.

At this time, James V. had lost the affections of most of his nobility, by his heaping too great favours on profligate churchmen and gentlemen of inferior rank, which highly provoked the nobility, who, from long possession, were apt to consider all the offices in the kingdom as properly belonging to them. Henry, his uncle, had appointed a meeting with his nephew, and had come to York for that purpose; but his courtiers had dissuaded him from it, so that he broke his agreement with him. That haughty and impatient monarch resented this affront so much, that he declared war against Scotland. His army was soon ready to invade the kingdom.

James was obliged to have recourse to his nobles for the defence of his dominions. At his command they assembled their followers; but with the same disposition that animated their ancestors in the reign of James III., and with a full resolution of imitating their example, by punishing those to whom they imputed their grievances; and if the King's ministers had not been men of greater abilities than those of James III., and of considerable

interest even with their enemies, who could not agree among themselves what victims to sacrifice, the camp of Fala would have been as remarkable as that of Lauder, for the daring encroachments of the nobility on the prerogative of the prince. But though his ministers were saved by this accident, the nobles had soon an opportunity of discovering to the King their dissatisfaction to his government, and their contempt of his authority.

Scarcity of provisions and the rigour of the season having obliged the English army which invaded Scotland to retire, James imagined he could attack them with great advantage in their retreat but the principal barons, with an obstinacy and disdain which greatly aggravated their disobedience, refused to advance a step beyond the limits of their own country. Provoked by this insult to himself, and suspicious of a new conspiracy against his ministers, the King instantly disbanded an army, which had so little regard to his orders, and returned abruptly into the heart of the kingdom.

An ambitious and high spirited prince could not bruik such a mortifying affront. His hopes of success had been rash, and his despair upon a disappointment was excessive. He felt himself engaged in an unnecessary war with England, which, instead of yielding him the laurels and triumphs he expected, had begun with such circumstances as encouraged the insolence of his subjects, and exposed him to the derision of his enemies. He saw how vain and ineffectual all his projects to

humble the nobility had been; and that though in times of peace a prince may endeavour to distress them, they will rise during war to their former importance and dignity. Impatience, resentment, and indignation, filled his bosom by turns. The violence of these passions altered his temper, and perhaps impaired his reason. He became pensive, sullen, and reserved. He seemed in the day to be swallowed up in profound meditation, and through the night he was disturbed with those visionary terrors which make impression on a weak understanding only, or a disturbed fancy.

In order to revive the King's spirits, an inroad on the west borders was concerted by his ministers, who prevailed upon the barons of the neighbouring provinces to raise as many troops as were thought necessary, and to enter the enemy's country.

Guthrie says—"The Earl of Arran and the Archbishop were openly to raise men, as if they intended to enter the east marches, where they were to make only a feint, while the Lord Maxwell was to make the real attempt upon the west."—"But," continues Dr. Robertson, "nothing could remove the King's aversion to his nobility, or diminish his jealousy of their power: he would not even entrust them with the command of the forces which they had assembled;—that was reserved for Oliver Sinclair, his favourite, who no sooner appeared to take possession of the dignity conferred upon him, than rage and indignation occasioned an universal mutiny in the army. Five hundred English, who

were drawn up in sight, attacked the Scotch in this disorder. Hatred to the King, and contempt of his general, produced an effect, to which there is no parallel in history. They overcame the fear of death, and the love of liberty, and 10,000 surrendered to a number so far inferior without striking a blow. No man was desirous of a victory, which would have been acceptable to his King and to his favourite. A few endeavoured to save themselves by flight; the English had the choice of what prisoners they pleased to take, and almost every person of distinction who was engaged in the expedition remained in their hands.

This astonishing event was a new proof to the King of the general disaffection of the nobility, and a new discovery of his own weakness and want of authority. Incapable to bear these repeated insults, he found himself unable to revenge them.—The deepest melancholy and despair succeeded to the furious passions, which are the enemies of life, preyed upon his mind, and consumed a vigorous constitution. Some authors of that age impute his untimely death to poison; but the diseases of the mind, when they rise to a height, are often mortal; and the known effects of disappointment, anger, and resentment, upon a sanguine and impetuous temper, sufficiently account for his unhappy fate. "His death," says Drummond of Hathornden, "proved his mind to have been raised to an high strain, and above mediocrity: he could die, but could not digest a disaster."—On word being brought him that his Queen was brought to bed,

the last words he was distinctly heard to say, were, "It will end as it began: the crown came by a "lass, and it will go by a lass." He died on the 18th of December 1542.

GLASGOW.—Anno 1544.

The Earl of Lennox now took the lead in opposition to the Cardinal, who entirely governed the Regent, and had raised an army to surprise and force Lennox to refund the money that had been sent from France. A meeting of the pensioned Lords (for such we may call them,) was held at Ayr, in the west of Scotland, where the reformation had made considerable progress; and the Regent was held in the utmost contempt for his pusillanimity and irresolution. It was there determined to raise an army to be commanded by the Earl of Lennox, which, by the dispositions of the neighbourhood and the power of the French money, was easily done; and Lennox directly marched for Leith, where the Regent's army was assembled, in hopes of seizing both him and the Cardinal. This, in all probability, must have been the consequence, had not the Cardinal prevailed with the Earl of Huntly to use his influence with Lennox for an accommodation, as the Regent's army was no way comparable to that of Lennox. A conference between the latter and the Regent at Edinburgh was accordingly agreed upon; and the Cardinal by this delay gained his point. The admitting this negotiation was undoubtedly a most unpardonable weakness in Lennox. Some days passed in trifling con-

ferences; and it is no wonder if Lennox forfeited the esteem of his friends and followers on this occasion. Many of them had served upon their own expences, which they could no longer continue, and returned home even before the conferences were ended, foreseeing that the least delay must be fatal to their undertaking. Lennox behaved to the Regent in the same friendly manner as if no difference had ever subsisted; but he was grossly outwitted in the negotiation; for, instead of prescribing, he was obliged to accept of terms from the Cardinal. Upon leaving Edinburgh, the Regent and Lennox went to Linlithgow, where the latter, beginning to suspect the secret intrigues carrying on against him, (which very possibly were meant to get possession of his money), posted privately to Glasgow, where he gave orders for fortifying the Archbishop's palace, and from thence to his own castle of Dumbarton. The Regent, pretending that this secession was a breach of the late accommodation, assembled his army, and marched directly to Glasgow. Though Lennox had sunk greatly in the esteem of his party, yet the Earl of Glencairn gallantly supplied his place; and being joined by the barons of Tullibardine, Houston, Buchannan, Macfarlane, Drumwhastile, and others of the shire of Renfrew, gave battle to the Regent, who, after a long bloody dispute, remained conqueror. Monypenny, who commanded the foot, with other persons of distinction on the part of Lennox, were killed on the spot. The provost of Glasgow was dangerously wounded; but the Earl of Glencairn escaped to Dum-

barton. No person of note, but a gentleman of the name of Cambus Keith, was killed on the part of the Regent. The slaughter fell chiefly on the citizens of Glasgow; who, as heretics and rebels, received little or no quarter. The Regent after this besieged the castle and the great tower, and having reduced them, he hanged eighteen of the garrison.

EDINBURGH.—Taken and Burnt Anno 1544.

Though the Scotch nation was never more unanimous than they were at this time against the English, yet the bloody unpopular conduct of the Cardinal disunited their public spirit, and rendered all their efforts languid. As the forfeitures of the Earl of Lennox and his followers had brought large sums into the government, and had ruined many families, the Regent shared in the Cardinal's unpopularity; but to do justice to both, they behaved with great spirit. Ambassadors and ministers were sent to France and Denmark, and other courts in alliance with Scotland, to complain of Henry's injustice and violence, and to solicit succours. The French King made them magnificent promises, which were but poorly performed; and all that the regent could do was to assemble about 12,000 men. The Cardinal proposed to fight the English with this force between Leith and Edinburgh; but the Regent, not daring to depend upon his troops, stood on the defensive, and the enemy desolated all the neighbourhood of Edinburgh.

As no formal declaration of war had been made, Sir Adam Otterburn, provost or chief magistrate

of that metropolis, repaired to the English camp, and demanded by what authority they had begun hostilities, offering at the same time quiet admittance into the town in a friendly manner. He was answered by the general, that he was commissioned to burn and lay waste the country, unless the young Queen of Scotland was delivered into his master's hands. To this Sir Adam replied, that his countrymen, rather than yield to such a demand, were determined to endure all extremities. By this time the English ordnance was landed, and the Lord Evers had joined the main body of their army with 4000 horse from Berwick, and the Regent retired with his army towards Linlithgow. The English failed in their first attempt to enter Edinburgh by Leith gate; but the inhabitants, discouraged by the Regent's retreat, abandoned the town in the night-time; and the English, battering down the gates with their cannon, barbarously set it on fire, and the burning continued for three days. They next laid siege to the castle, which was bravely defended by Hamilton of Stenhouse, who plied them so warmly with his artillery from the half-moon, which then, as now, commanded the best part of the town, that he dismounted their batteries, killed a number of their men, and forced the rest to an inglorious retreat towards Leith. Though this was an open town, it was at that time the great emporium of foreign trade for the southern parts of Scotland. The English most unmanfully revenged themselves for the repulse they had met with; they broke up and plundered all the

warehouses; and the riches they carried from thence far exceeded their expectations; and all the ideas they had formed of the foreign commerce of Scotland. The Earl of Hertford then ordered the town to be set on fire on the 13th of May, and the shipping in the harbour to be seized, and particularly the Salamander and the Unicorn, which were famous for their largeness and their beauty; (or, as Mr Stow calls it, notable fairness.) But affairs had now taken a different turn.

ANCRUM MOOR.—Anno 1545, Feburary 17.

Whilst the furious and bigotted Cardinal Beaton was persecuting the reformed, by the consent of the Regent, with relentless rancour, the subjects of Henry were ravaging Scotland with equal fury. They had burnt Leith and Edinburgh, and laid waste the whole country around. That blood-thirsty fury, the Cardinal, who had the sole ascendant over the Regent, not permitting him to enter upon vigorous measures, for repelling the cruel invasions of the English in the south, it is uncertain what the event might have been, had not the Earl of Angus been roused by the progress of the enemy. The Lord Evers and Sir Brian Latoun, Captain of Norham, represented to Henry the VIII. the conquests they had made in the Merse and Tiviotdale, and craving charters for these and the other lands they should conquer, to be held of the crown of England. This request was readily complied with; only the Earl of Angus, hearing of it, swore he would write the instruments of seisine

with sharp pins and red ink on their own skins,—which he effectually performed. He repaired to the Regent, and laid before him the danger of his country. He upbraided him for being misled by the Cardinal and the clergy, and with his neglecting the advice of his nobility, who were willing to sacrifice themselves in the defence of their country. His reproaches had the desired effect. The Earl and Regent set out for the south with no more than 300 horse; but the neighbouring gentlemen were summoned to join them, with all the force they could raise, to march against the enemy in the beginning of the year 1545. The Regent and Angus having advanced, with a few followers, to Melrose, the English who lay at Jedburgh, under Lord Evers and Sir Brian Latoun, made a motion to surprise them; upon which the Regent retired to a place called the Shiels, by advice of the Earl of Angus, and sent intelligence to the troops, who were advancing to join him, and to meet him at Gallashiels with all expedition. The English, finding Melrose abandoned, plundered it, and were returning to Jedburgh, when the Scots were joined by the famous Norman Lesly, eldest son of Lord Rothes, and a gallant company of Fifeshire gentlemen, all of them friends to the Reformation, and enemies to the Cardinal. The whole body under the Regent not exceeding 1700 men, the English were no way alarmed, and advanced to take them prisoners, but met with a defile in their way, which cost them some hours in passing. Meanwhile Scott of Buccleuch arrived, and informed the

Regent that his friends were on the march; and though the whole was far inferior to the English, yet he would return and draw them up in a place where they would not be discovered by the enemy, who, by the Regent's retreat, might be drawn into an ambush. The Earl of Angus approving of this disposition, the Regent began to retire with some apparent confusion; and the English, to the number of 5000, advanced, as secure of their prey, with the greatest precipitation. The Scotch continued retreating, till the English, harrassed and out of breath, with the wind and sun directly in their faces, fell into the ambush, and were totally defeated. The Lords Evers and Ogle, Sir Brian Latoun, and several gentlemen of distinction, were killed on the spot, as were about 500 common soldiers. Lord Evers and Brian Latoun were buried in Melrose Abbey. About twelve years ago, when the floor of the old abbey was clearing out, the author happening to be in Melrose, saw a stone coffin, inscribed *Dns. Ivers.* It was one entire stone, fitted to the head, neck, and body. The skeleton was entire, but soon mouldered into dust. The coffin of Sir Brian Latoun was only flag-stones. All agree that above 1000, some of them men of great families and fortunes, were made prisoners. As to the loss of the Scotch, who had not much above 1000 men in the field, only two men were killed by their own artillery.

A heroine, famed for her masculine courage at this fight, had a monument erected to her memory on the field of battle, with this inscription:—

Fair maiden Lilliard lies under this stone,
Little was her stature, but great was her fame;
On the English lads she laid many thumps,
And when her legs were off, she fought upoon her stumps.

Fragments of the monument were to be seen some years ago.

The Regent complimented the Earl of Angus, and his brother Sir George, for their gallant behaviour, and declared, at the head of the army, that their actions entirely effaced all the suspicions of their favouring the enemies of their country. The brave Buccleuch, to whom the fortune of the day was chiefly owing, had a like share of his public thanks, as had the Master of Rothes, Lochleven, and the other gentlemen, according to their respective merits. Marching to Jedburgh, they supped upon the provisions that had been made for their enemies.

WARK CASTLE.—ANNO 1545. July ult.

AN account of the great advantage gained by the Scotch at Ancrum Moor was soon transmitted to the French King, who sent 3000 foot and 500 horse to his allies in Scotland, under the command of Montgomery, Lord of Lorges, which having arrived in May, and being joined with about 15,000 Scotch, marched towards the borders in the end of July. The army encamped on the side of the Tweed, opposite to Wark castle, and sent parties over the river, who ravaged the neighbouring villages and fields in England, and had also some in-

considerable skirmishes with their enemies. Montgomery, seconded by Lord Home, made pressing instances that the whole army should advance into England: but to this the governor and his council would not agree, founding their refusal on the want of artillery, and other things necessary for reducing castles in their way. Lesly says, that they besieged Wark castle, and took the outworks of it; but being alarmed by a sudden inundation of the Tweed, they raised the siege. This army dispersed in a few days, without attempting any thing of consequence. The Earl of Hertford, who was again entrusted this summer with the command in the north of England, entered Scotland in the beginning of September with an army of 12,000 men, of whom a considerable number were foreign mercenaries. He marched up from Coldstream through the countries of the Merse and Tiviotdale, and ravaged and burnt the whole country in his way. The abbies of Kelso, Dryburgh, Melrose, and Jedburgh, places no longer sacred with the English, shared in this general calamity; nor did the Scotch attempt any where to make opposition, except in the abbey of Kelso, which was defended for a while by 300 men; but those were either killed or made prisoners by the assailants, part of whom were foreigners in English pay.

St. ANDREWS CASTLE Besieged.—Anno 1546.

Cardinal Beaton had rendered himself completely odious to the greater part of his country.

men by his haughty behaviour, but particularly by his relentless rage against the reformed. Normand Lesly, to whom his country owed so much at the battle of Ancrum Moor, had received many personal affronts and indignities from the Cardinal, which he deeply resented. Therefore he, and Kirkaldy, younger of Grange, with other accomplices, who were collected in the Albany churchyard, on the 29th of May 1546, scarcely three months from the martyrdom of Wishart, entered the castle while it was repairing, and at once put an end to the life of that cruel persecutor. Some say that the court of England were privy to this murder, and that the conspirators took possession of the castle, in hopes of receiving aid from thence.

Among other precautions which the Cardinal had taken for securing his power, was his getting possession of the sons of such noblemen as he suspected, whom he detained as hostages. Among them was the Regent's son, whose person the consiprators thought proper to secure for their own safety. After the murder became public, the conspirators admitted others of their party into the castle; so that their garrison at last consisted of about 140 persons. On the 10th of June, the Earl of Huntly was chosen chancellor of Scotland in the Cardinal's room, and summonses were issued for citing the murderers to appear on the 30th of July before the parliament at Edinburgh. A treaty was set on foot between the government and the chief of the conspirators, who offered to discover all they knew of Beaton's murder, and to set the Regent's son at

liberty, provided they were granted a pardon under the great seal. These proposals were agreed to, though opposed by many of the clergy. But it was soon discovered the conspirators sought only to gain time, till the return of a messenger, whom they had sent to England a few days before the murder. When the parliament met, they revoked their deed, declared the conspirators guilty of treason, confiscated their estates, and orders were issued for raising an army to besiege the castle of St. Andrews s.

The great deliberation, if not backwardness, with which this siege was undertaken, is a proof of the difficulties which government was then under. It was very natural for the Regent not to be forward in resenting the death of a man who had rendered him little better than a cypher in the state, whom he inwardly detested, while he outwardly appeared to be his friend, not to mention the natural affection he might entertain for his eldest son. Whatever may be in this, we know that the Regent made no progress in the siege; nor would he have undertaken it, had not decency, and the reproaches of the queen-dowager and her court, compelled him. In short, he besieged the place for three months without making any progress. The garrison ridiculed his impotent attempts; and he had only with him two pieces of battering cannon, while the conspirators were supplied from England by sea with every thing that was necessary, and availed themselves of the additional fortifications lately made by the Cardinal. On the

other hand, the queen-dowager and her party, perceiving that little was to be expected from the Regent's efforts, applied to France, and received the strongest promises of speedy and effectual assistance. At last the French fleet arrived; and Strozzi, the commander, in obedience to his orders, lost no time in battering the walls from his ships for three weeks, but with very little effect. At last he landed his artillery, which he mounted on the walls of churches and religious buildings, so that an Italian engineer, sent from England to assist the garrison, told them that they had now to deal with experienced soldiers. A large breach being made, a parly was now beaten by the besieged; who insisted, at first, upon high terms, but none were granted them, excepting pardon for their lives, and that they should be carried to France; and if they disliked their residence there, they might be conveyed to any other country, Scotland excepted. By this capitulation, the Regent recovered his son, and the French acquired immense booty, which was conveyed to France. The castle surrendered in August 1547, having been in the possession of the conspirators nearly fifteen months.

PINKIE BATTLE.—Anno 1547. Sept. 10.

The Duke of Somerset, eagerly bent on the union of Scotland and England, published a manifesto, in which he enforced all possible arguments for that measure, especially the two kingdoms being only one island,—the heirs of both being minors—the one a male—the other a female, &c. As

his manifesto had no effect upon the people of Scotland, the protector raised an army of 18,000 men, and equipped a fleet of sixty sail; the one half of which were ships of war—the other loaded with provisions and amunition. He gave the command of the fleet to Lord Clinton. He himself marched at the head of the army, attended by the Earl of Warwick.

The governor of Scotland summoned together the whole force of the kingdom, and his army, double the number of the English, had taken post on advantageous ground, guarded by the banks of the Esk, about four miles from Edinburgh. The English came within sight of them at Faside; and after a skirmish between the horse, where the Scotch were worsted, and Lord Hume dangerously wounded, Somerset prepared himself for a more decisive action. But having taken a view of the Scotch camp, along with the Earl of Warwick, he found it difficult to make any attempt upon it with any probability of success. He wrote, therefore, a second letter to Arran, and offered to evacuate the kingdom, as well as repair all damages which he had committed, provided the Scotch would stipulate not to contract the queen to any foreign prince, but to keep her at home, till she was of age to chuse a husband for herself. Such moderate terms were rejected by the Scotch, merely on account of their moderation, supposing they were dictated by fear. Actuated also by their priests, who had come in shoals to the camp, they believed the English were detestable heretics, abhorred by

God, and exposed to divine vengeance, and that no success could ever crown their arms. They were confirmed in this fond conceit, when they saw the Proctector change his ground, and move towards the sea; nor did they longer doubt that he intended to embark his army, and make his escape on board his ship, which at that very time sailed into the bay opposite to him. Determined, therefore, to cut off his retreat, they quitted their camp, and passing the river Esk, advanced into the plain. They were divided into three bodies: Angus commanded the van, Arran the main body, and Huntly the rear. Their cavalry consisted of light horse, which were placed on their left flank, strengthened by some Irish archers, whom Argyle had brought over for this purpose.

Somerset was pleased when he saw this movement of the Scotch army; and as the English had usually been superior in pitched battles, he conceived great hopes of success. He arranged his men on the left farthest from the sea; and ordered them to remain on the high ground on which he placed them, till the enemy should approach. He placed his main battle and his rear towards the right; and beyond the van he posted Lord Gray, at the head of the men at arms, and ordered him to take the Scotch van in flank, but not till they should be engaged in close fight with the van of the English.

While the Scotch were advancing on the plain, they were galled by the artillery from the English

ships. The master of Graham was killed, the Irish archers were thrown into disorder, and the other troops began to stagger; when Lord Gray, perceiving their situation, neglected his orders, left his ground, and, at the head of his heavy-armed horse, made an attack upon the Scotch infantry, in hopes of gaining to himself all the honour of the victory. Advancing, he found a slough and ditch in his way, and behind were ranged the Scotch infantry armed with spears, and the field on which they stood was fallow ground, broken with ridges, which lay across their front, disordered the movement of the English cavalry. From all these accidents, the shock of this body of horse was feeble and irregular; and as they were received on the point of the Scotch spears, which were longer than the lances of the English horsemen, they were in a moment pierced, overthrown, and discomfited. Gray himself was dangerously wounded. Lord Edward Seymour, son to the protector, lost his horse. The standard was near being taken; and had the Scotch possessed any good body of cavalry who could have pursued the advantage, the whole English army had been exposed to great danger.

The protector, meanwhile, assisted by Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir Ralph Vane, employed himself with diligence in rallying the cavalry. Warwick shewed great presence of mind in maintaining the ranks of foot, on which the horse had recoiled. He made Sir Peter Mentus, captain of the foot Harquebuziers, and Sir Peter Gamboa, captain of some Italian and Spanish ditto, to advance on horseback,

and ordered them to ply the Scotch infantry with their shot. They marched to the place, and discharged their pieces in the faces of the enemy. The artillery, planted on a height, infested them from the front. The English archers poured in a shower of arrows among them, and the van descended from the hill, advanced leisurely and orderly towards them. Dismayed with all these incumbrances, the Scotch van began to retreat; the retreat soon changed into a flight, which was begun by the Irish archers. The panic of the van communicated itself to the main body, and passing thence to the rear, rendered the whole field a scene of confusion, terror, flight, and consternation. The English army perceived from the heights the condition of the Scotch, and began the pursuit with loud shouts and acclamatious, which added still more to the dismay of the vanquished. The horse in particular, eager to avenge the affront which they had received in the beginning of the day, did the most bloody execution on the flying enemy; and from the field of battle to Edinburgh, for the space of five miles, the whole ground was strewed with dead bodies. The priests, above all, and the Monks, received no quarter; and the English made a sport of slaughtering men, who, from their extreme zeal and animosity, had engaged in an enterprize so ill suited to their profession. Few victories have been more decisive, or gained with smaller loss to the conquerors. There fell not 200 of the English; and, according to the most moderate computation, there perished above 10,000

of the Scotch. About 1500 were taken prisoners. This action was called the battle of Pinkie, from a gentleman's seat in the neighbourhood.

HOME CASTLE.—ANNO 1547. Sept. 21.

ON the day after the battle of Pinkie, the English army advanced to Leith. There the protector received the submission of some Scotchmen, and took measures for securing the command of the important friths of Forth and Tay, for fortifying Inchcolm in the former, and sent some ships to reduce the Castle of Broughty-Craig, situated on the north side of the entrance of the latter. The advanced season of the year, and intelligence of plots carrying on against him at the English court, determined the protector to leave Scotland, without pursuing any farther at that time the great advantage he had gained. He spared Edinburgh; but Leith, contrary to his inclination, was set on fire by the soldiers the day before he left it. In his return, he took a short turn over Soutry hill, probably in the view of reducing, as he passed, the counties of Merse and Tiviotdale. On the second day of his march he arrived at Lauder, and on the third, he encamped in a field, about a mile to the west of Home Castle. The army continued there the two following days, while the surrender of the Castle was transacted with Lady Home, her son Andrew, and John Home of Caldinknows, a near kinsman of the family, and others who had the charge of the place. To enforce the argument used for this surrender, the protector blocked up

the Castle, by surrounding it with his troops, to prevent all ingress or egress, without his liberty, and afterwards erected on the south of it a battery of eight pieces of cannon, under cover of baskets filled with earth. The Lady's concern for the safety of her eldest son, who was a prisoner in the English camp, inclined her to surrender the place; but some of them who had the joint charge of it, asked a delay until they should consult their Lord, who continued at Edinburgh dangerously ill of the wounds he had received in the late battle. This request being rejected, the castle was surrendered to Lord Gray, on the second day after their arrival there. The garrison, to the number of 78, marched out with what baggage they could carry, leaving behind them their warlike stores and provisions. Sir Edward Dudley, afterwards Lord Dudley, was made governor of the place, with a garrison of 60 musqueteers, 40 horsemen, and 100 pioneers.

HOME CASTLE.—ANNO 1548. December 26.

THE successes of the English did not hinder the Scotch from such enterprizes as opportunities invited, and were proportioned to their inferior strength. D'Esse failed in an attempt to surprise Haddington in the beginning of October; but, in the end of December, the Castle of Home was recovered, by a sudden assault made upon it in the night, on the side where it was strongest, and consequently most weakly guarded. An old gentleman of sixty, of the name of Hume, is said to be the first who

mounted the wall. He was discovered through the dusk by a sentinel, who gave an alarm to the garrison. This the old man perceiving, had the address and presence of mind immediately to retire, and conceal himself with his companions near the foot of the wall. No enemies being heard or seen, it was concluded the sentinel had been mistaken, and his companions, in great security, retired to rest. Upon which, Hume again mounted the wall, and having stabbed the first he met with upon watch, all the rest of the garrison were either made prisoners, or quickly shared his fate.

HADDINGTON SIEGE.—Anno 1548.

About the middle of April, Lord Gray marched into Lothian with a large body of troops, and fortified Haddington; but he had no sooner left Scotland, than six thousand men, conducted by the Sieur D'Esse, an able experienced general, sent by the French King to assist the Scotch, landed at Leith. Not many days after their arrival they laid siege to Haddington. The governor, and several of the nobles, who were present at this siege, held a parliament in the Abbey, near the town, and there resolved to send the young queen over to France; —the governor being induced to this by the honours and rewards conferred upon him by the French King; and it was in consequence of this, that Henry sent over to Scotland so considerable a body of troops. But though they displayed great conduct and courage in the siege of Haddington, yet the English garrison made so resolute a defence, that

the siege was changed into a blockade. The inland situation of Haddington, its distance from the English frontiers, and the range of hills that lay in the way, made it very difficult to supply it with necessaries. One convoy, escorted by 200 horsemen, got safe into the place during the night, and brought them seasonable relief. But a far greater aid, sent by Lord Gray from Berwick, was totally destroyed. This disaster hastened the march of 15,000 men, commanded by the Earl of Shrewsbury, and was attended by a fleet under the conduct of Lord Clinton. The French retired upon the Earl's approach, who reinforced the garrison with fresh troops, and supplied them with necessaries of all kinds, after they had been reduced to the utmost extremity. Marching from thence to Musselburgh, where the French lay encamped, and where a numerous body of Scotch had joined them, the English general offered battle; but the Scotch were now become wiser by experience, and, from a remembrance of their former defeat at that place, they chose a situation where the English durst not attack with safety. Upon which the English general bent his course homeward. As he passed Dunbar, the Germans in his army burnt the town. For securing the communication between Haddington and Berwick, it was judged necessary to build a new port at Dunglas. To defend those employed in carrying on this work, the Germans, with some horse and foot, remained there after the rest of the army was gone to England. Lord Gray, who accompained Shrewsbury in his late expedi-

tion, and remained after his Lordship's departure, invested with the chief command on the borders, having collected the cavalry stationed on the marches, and carrying also along with him the German foot, over-ran Tiviotdale and Liddesdale, ravaging and destroying the country without mercy. The English found means to supply and hold out Haddington, till their regency thought proper to abandon it about the beginning of October 1549.

FARNEHIRST.—Anno 1549.

The Scotch regency, apprehending that the English intended to fortify Jedburgh, sent the French general D'Esse thither to prevent it, and to annoy the neighbouring English marches. D'Esse's first exploit in this expedition, was the recovering the Castle of Farneherst, situated at a small distance above Jedburgh, on the east side of the river Jed. The Scotch exercised great cruelties on this occasion: but they excused themselves by the barbarous treatment the neighbouring country had received from the garrison of that place. D'Esse continued some time at Jedburgh, and made, by detached parties, successful inroads into the English borders. In one of these incursions, the castle of Cornhill, an old house of considerable strength, was taken by a body of Frenchmen, and spoils found in it of very considerable value.

FAST CASTLE.—Anno 1549, January.

Not long after the taking of Hume Castle, Fast Castle was also taken by surprise. Certain young men of the neighbouring country, by order of the English governor, had conveyed thither some provisions on horses, for the use of the garrison. Having unloaded the horses, and taken up the provisions on their shoulders, they were allowed to pass over the bridge, which joined two high rocks, and enter the castle. But, suddenly throwing down their loads in the entrance, and producing the weapons they secretly carried, they slew the sentinels; and, being supported by their companions, who instantly poured in after them, the English garrison were overpowered, and all of them either killed or taken prisoners.

FORD CASTLE.—Anno 1549.

The Scotch and French, encouraged by the taking of Farneherst and Cornhill, marched into England, D'Esse carrying with him all his forces, with four field-pieces. In this expedition he attacked the Castle of Ford, took and burnt the greatest part of it; but was obliged to retire, leaving one of the towers, which was defended by Thomas Car. The French and Scotch are said at this time to have burnt some villages in the neighbourhood of Ford. A body of light horsemen being drawn together to defend the country, the invaders were obliged to retire; but their retreat was so well conducted, that they carried off in safety to Jedburgh the booty they had col-

lected, which was very considerable. Soon after, the English collected a little army at Roxburgh, which they intended to employ in driving D'Esse out of his post at Jedburgh, from which he had much annoyed them: But the French general, receiving intelligence of their design, and not having above 1500 foot and 500 horse fit for action, retired first to Melrose, thence into the interior parts of the country, where his enemies could not follow him.

GARWARRIE.—Anno 1555.

The Earl of Arran having delivered up the government of Scotland into the hands of the Queen-regent, she made a progress into the north as far as Inverness. There Y-Mackie, the son of Donald, was summoned to appear, because he had plundered and ravaged the county of Sutherland, during the absence of Earl John in France with the Queen-regent. Mackie refusing to compear, a commission was granted to the Earl of Sutherland to attack him, which he did, and besieged the castle of Borwe, the strongest fort of the country, which he took by storm, —hanged the governor, and then demolished the fort. Y-Mackie was so environed on all sides, that he was obliged to surrender himself to the Earl. Sir Hugh Kennedy conducted him to Edinburgh, where he was long confined a close prisoner in the castle. During his absence, his cousin, John Moir-Mackie, who had the management of his estates, taking advantage of the absence of Earl John in the south, invaded Sutherland with an

army of the bravest and most courageous men in Strathnaver;—they burnt the chapel of St Ninians, in Navidell, where the inhabitants of the country, upon this sudden irruption taking place, had conveyed some of their effects. Thus having pillaged that part of the country, they returned home. The inhabitants of Sutherland assembled under the conduct of Macjames, the Terrel of the Doil; and James MacWilliam quickly pursued and overtook Mackie at the foot of the hill called Bin-moir, in Berridell, and attacked them near the river Garwarrie, where an obstinate and bloody action ensued. The people of Strathnaver were totally routed and put to flight; above 120 of them were killed, and some drowned in the river. This was the last conflict between Sutherland and Strathnaver.

CHEVIOT.—Anno 1557, October 13.

For several years past, a kind of truce prevailed between Scotland and England: but Philip king of Spain, the husband of Mary of England, importuning the English to join him against France, who had been long the ally of Scotland, and the Scotch Queen being now in France, was married next year to the dauphin; which circumstances could not fail to unite the two nations against the English. Incursions were made in the former part of this year by the Scotch, but nothing of consequence happened, as several of the Scotch nobility, now favouring the Reformation, which had made some progress in England during the

life of Edward the VI., made them not so fond as formerly of harassing the English. This aversion was not unknown to their Queen; and, at the same time, she could very ill afford the expence of a great armament. Her preparations were therefore slow, and very unequal to the strength wherewith the Scotch approached her frontiers. In these circumstances, the retreat of their army, which happened a few days before, was very acceptable news to the court of England. Part of the English forces, who had assembled under Northumberland, Westmorland, and Talbot, to protect the borders, remained to annoy the enemy in the neighbourhood of Berwick. It was necessary to guard this corner against the incursions of D'Oysel, who, after the retreat of the Scotch army, remained with the French troops at Eyemouth. Other companies, paid by the French king, were stationed on the Scotch march at Kelso, and other convenient places; while the Scotch nobles, in their turns, attended the same service with bodies of cavalry. About Martinmas, the Earl of Nothumberland sent his brother, Sir Henry Piercy, Sir John Forrester, and others, chiefly those of the middle march, to make an inroad into Scotland. They were met by Sir Andrew Kerr, and a great many people from Tiviotdale, in the neighbourhood of Cheviot, almost on the boundary between the kingdoms. A sharp engagement ensued, in the beginning of which the English were repulsed; but, recovering themselves, they gained a considerable advantage over she Scotch, taking prisoner their leader, with

several of his men. Sir John Forrester fought courageously in this skirmish, wherein he was sorely wounded, and had his horse killed under him; and to his valour was chiefly ascribed the victory gained by his countrymen.

GRINDON.—Anno 1558.

In the summer of this year, about a thousand horse and some foot, either French, or commanded by French officers, passed the Tweed into England. The horse began immediately to plunder and burn the country; but, in order to check their progress, Northumberland marched to oppose them with a large body of horse. Sir Henry Piercy came up with the Scotch at Grindon, and forced them to retreat over the Till. There the foot whom they had left behind joined them, and both repassed the Tweed in good order, though not without some loss, as they were attacked both by the English horse, and also by some bands of foot from Berwick. As soon as the Scotch crossed the river, they formed themselves into so compact a body, and maintained such good order in their retreat, that though the English cavalry, under Sir Henry, was joined by those under his brother, and pursued them two miles, they were not able to make any impression upon them. It is probable the English judged too rashly, that so small a handful of infantry could easily be destroyed by their horse, and for that reason had made their foot pass the river. But, that their horse might not return without doing some mischief to their enemies, they ad-

vanced farther into the country, and burnt several villages, among which was Ednam, in the neighbourhood of Kelso.

HALIDON HILL.—Anno 1558.

The fortress of Edrinton was situated so near the bounds of Berwick, as naturally to tempt the attacks of the English. It was taken by them in this war, as it had been in the two preceding. Its garrison consisted of sixteen Frenchmen, who made so brave a defence, that several of the assailants lost their lives in reducing it.

Soon after there was a hot skirmish on Halidon Hill. Some bands of soldiers of the Berwick garrison were stationed there, for the protection of those employed in mowing and carrying in the hay of the common fields. Many days having passed without any disturbance from the enemy, this party grew secure, and, throwing aside their armour, spent their time in sports. The garrison of the Scotch and French stationed at Eyemouth, informed of their remissness, surprised them with a fierce and sudden attack; for which they were so ill prepared, that notwithstanding the brave efforts of their captains to rally them, they were thrice driven from the height of the hill. At length Sir James Crofts, coming up with a reinforcement from Berwick, put an end to the contest, compelling the enemy to retire towards Eyemouth, after the skirmish had, with considerable loss on both sides, continued from one till four in the afternoon.

Beside these incursions and encounters, there were two great inroads made into Scotland by the earls of Westmorland and Northumberland. The Lord Talbot accompanied the latter, having the command of some demi-lances. But concerning these enterprizes no further particulars are recorded. There were also descents made by the English in the course of this war on the Orkneys, and on the western coasts and islands; but the force employed in them was small, and the events they produced were of little moment.

HALTWELL SWEIR.—Anno 1558.

The earl of Bothwell, during the time of his attendance on the border-service, made a very successful inroad into England. Having sent a sufficient number of horse to burn the town of Fenton, he remained with the rest of his troops at Haltwell Sweir. There he was attacked by Henry Piercy, at the head of 1000 horse; but Piercy's cavalry being thrown into a panic, by a sudden discharge of fire-arms from some of Bothwell's men, fled in disorder, and were pursued over the Till. Above 120 of them were taken prisoners; among whom were Errington and Kerr, captains of the light horse.

LEITH SIEGE.—Anno 1560.

Mary queen of Scots was by this time married to the dauphin of France. The Reformation had made great progress in Scotland; in order to quench, and, if possible, to extirpate the reformed, the king of

France had sent over men and money to the queen-mother, who was made Regent, and the popish party in the kingdom raised all the forces they could muster to crush the Reformation. The Reformers applying to Queen Elizabeth, she sent them 6000 foot, and 2000 horse, under the command of Lord Gray of Wilton, who entered Scotland early in the spring. The members of the Congregation (that was the name the Reformers assumed) assembled from all parts of the kingdom to meet their new allies, and having joined them, with great multitudes of their followers, they advanced together towards Leith. The French were little able to keep the field against an enemy so much superior in numbers. A strong body of troops, destined for their relief, had been scattered by a violent storm, and had either perished on the coast of France, or with difficulty had recovered the ports of that kingdom. But they hoped to be able to defend Leith, till the Princes of Lorrain should make good the magnificent promises of assistance, with which they daily encouraged them; or till scarcity of provisions should constrain the English to retire into their own country. In order to hasten this latter event, they did not neglect the usual, though barbarous precaution, of distressing an invading enemy, by burning and laying waste all the adjacent country. The zeal, however, of the nation frustrated their intentions: eager to contribute towards removing their oppression, the people produced their hidden stores of support to their friends; the neighbouring counties supplied every thing necessary; and

far from wanting assistance, the English found in their camp all sorts of provisions at a cheaper rate than had for some time been known in that part of the kingdom.

On approach of the English army, the Queen-dowager Regent retired into the Castle of Edinburgh. Her health now was in a declining state, and her mind broken and depressed by the misfortunes of her administration. To avoid the danger and fatigue of a siege, she committed herself to the protection of Lord Erskine. This nobleman still preserved his neutrality, and by his integrity and love of his country merited equally the esteem of both parties. He received the Queen with the utmost honour and respect; but took care to admit no such retinue as might endanger his command of the Castle.

A few days after they arrived in Scotland, the English invested Leith. The garrison, shut up within the town, was almost half as numerous as the army which sat down before it, and, by an obstinate defence, protracted the siege to a great length. The circumstances of this siege related by contemporary historians, men without knowledge and experience in the art of war, are often obscure and imperfect, and at this distance of time are not considerable enough to be entertaining.

At first the French endeavoured to keep possession of Hawk Hill, a rising ground not far distant from the town; but were beat from it with great slaughter, chiefly by the furious attack of the Scotch cavalry. Within a few days the French

had their full revenge. Having sallied out with a strong body, they entered the English trenches, broke their troops, nailed part of their cannon, and killed at least double the number they had lost in the former skirmish.

Nor were the English more fortunate in an attempt to take the place by assault; they were met with equal courage, and repulsed with considerable loss. From the detail of these circumstances by the writers of that age, it is easy to observe the different characters of the English and French troops. The latter, trained to war under the active reigns of Francis I. and Henry II. defended themselves not only with the bravery, but with the skill of veterans. The former, who had been more accustomed to peace, still preserved the intrepid and desperate valour peculiar to the nation; but discovered few marks of military genius, or experience in the practice of war. Every misfortune or disappointment during the siege must be imputed to manifest errors in conduct. The success of the besieged in their sally, was owing entirely to the security and negligence of the English. Many of their officers were absent; their soldiers had left their station, and the trenches were almost without a guard. The ladders that had been provided for the assault wanted a great deal of the necessary length; and the troops employed in that service ill supported. The trenches were opened at first in an improper place; and as it was found expedient to change their ground, both time and labour were lost. The weakness of their own

generals, no less than the strength of the French garrison, rendered the progress of the English wonderfully slow. The length, however, of the siege, and the loss of part of their magazines by accidental fire, reduced the French to extreme difficulties, which the prospect of relief made them bear with admirable fortitude.

Whilst the hopes and courage of the French protracted the siege beyond expectation, the leaders of the Congregation were not idle. By new associations and confederacies, they laboured more perfectly to unite their party. By publicly ratifying the treaty concluded at Berwick, they endeavoured to render the alliance with England firm and indissoluble.

Nothing could now save the French troops but the immediate conclusion of a peace, or arrival of a powerful army from the continent. The situation of France constrained them, though with reluctance, to turn their thoughts towards pacific councils; and, by the articles of peace, the foreign troops were to be removed out of the kingdom, and the fortifications of Leith and Dunbar to be immediately razed.

CORRICHIE.—Anno 1562.

It seems difficult rightly to comprehend the true source of the Earl of Huntly's rebellion. Some assign one reason, and some another for it; but it appears to me, that the real cause was the advancement of the Prior of St Andrew's to be Earl of Marr, and bestowing upon him the lands of that

name, which were Royal domains, but had for some time been possessed by the Earl of Huntly. On this occasion, he had not only reason to complain of the loss he sustained, but had cause to be alarmed at the intrusion of a formidable neighbour in the heart of his territories, who might be able to rival his power, and excite his oppressed vassals to shake off his yoke. Another reason for his rebellion was, the Queen's severity to his third son, who happened to have a scuffle in the streets of Edinburgh with Lord Ogilvy, who was wounded in the scuffle. Both these may have wrought up the Earl to a sudden start of resentment, without being guilty of any premeditated purpose of rebellion.

On Mary's arrival in the north, Huntly employed his wife, an artful woman, to soothe the Queen, and to intercede for pardon to their son. But the Queen peremptorily required that he should deliver himself into the hands of justice, and rely on her clemency. But, instead of going to Stirling castle, as she had ordered him, he made his escape from his guards, and returned to take the command of his followers, who were rising in arms all over the north. These were destined to second the blow, by which his father secretly purposed at once to cut off Marr, Morton, and Maitland, his principal adversaries. The time and place for executing this horrid deed were frequently appointed; but the execution of it was wonderfully prevented, by some of those unforeseen accidents, which so often occur

to disconcert the schemes, and to intimidate the hearts of assassins.

The ill success of the efforts of private revenge precipitated Huntly into open rebellion. The Queen was entirely under the direction of his rivals; it was impossible to work their ruin, without violating the allegiance he owed to his Sovereign. On her arrival at Inverness, the commanding officer in the castle, by Huntly's orders, shut the gates against her. Mary was obliged to lodge in the town, which was open and defenceless; but this, too, was quickly surrounded by a multitude of the Earl's followers. The utmost consternation seized the Queen, who was attended by a very slender train. She every moment expected the approach of the rebels, and some ships were already ordered into the river to secure her escape. The loyalty of the Monros, Frasers, Macintoshes, and some neighbouring clans, who took arms in her defence, saved her from this danger. By their assistance she even forced the Castle to surrender.

This open act of disobedience was the occasion of a measure more galling to Huntly than any the Queen had hitherto taken. Lord Erskine having pretended a right to the earldom of Marr, Stewart resigned it in his favour; and, at the same time, Mary conferred upon him the title of Earl of Murray, with the estate annexed to that dignity, which had been in possession of the Earl of Huntly since the year 1548. From this he concluded that his family was devoted to destruction; and dreading to be stripped gradually of these possessions, which,

in regard of their services, the gratitude of the Crown had bestowed on himself, or his ancestors, he no longer disguised his intentions, but, in defiance of the Queen's proclamation, openly took arms. Instead of yielding up these places of strength which Marr required him to surrender, his followers dispersed or cut to pieces the parties which she dispatched to take possession of them; and he himself advancing with a considerable body of men towards Aberdeen, to which place the Queen was now returned, filled her small court with consternation. Murray had only a handful of men in whom he could confide. In order to form the appearance of an army, he was obliged to call in the neighbouring barons; but as most of these either favoured Huntley's designs, or stood in awe of his power, from them no cordial or effectual service could be expected.

With these troops, however, Murray, who could gain nothing by delay, marched briskly towards the enemy. He found them at Corrichie, posted to great advantage. He commanded his northern associates instantly to begin the attack; but on the first motion of the enemy, they treacherously turned their backs; and Huntly's men, throwing aside their spears, and breaking their ranks, drew their swords, and rushed forwards to the pursuit. It was then that Murray gave proof both of steady courage and prudent conduct. He stood unmoveable on a rising ground, with the small but trusty band of his adherents, who, presenting their spears to the enemy, received them with a determined reso-

lution, which they little expected. The Highland broadsword is not a weapon fit to encounter the Scotch spear. In every civil commotion the superiority of the latter has been evident, and has always decided the contest. On this occasion, the irregular attack of Huntly's troops was easily repulsed by Murray's firm battalion. Before they recovered from the consternation occasioned by this unforeseen resistance, those who had begun the flight, willing to gain their credit with the victorious party, fell upon them, and completed the rout. Huntly himself, who was extremely corpulent, was trode to death in the pursuit. His sons, Sir John and Sir Adam, were taken, and Murray returned to Aberdeen in triumph with his prisoners.

The trial of men taken in actual rebellion against their sovereign was extremely short. Three days after the battle, Sir John Gordon was beheaded at Aberdeen. His brother Adam was pardoned on account of his youth. Lord Gordon, who had been privy to his father's design, was seized in the south, and upon trial, found guilty of treason, but, through the Queen's clemency, the punishment was remitted. The first parliament proceeded against this family with the utmost rigour of law, and reduced their power and fortune to the lowest ebb.

DUNBAR.—Anno 1567, October 1.

After the Queen of Scots was committed close prisoner in Lochleven Castle, the Earl of Murray was chosen Regent, or guardian, of the kingdom during the minority of James VI. No sooner had

the Earl taken the reins of government into his hands, than he displayed great vigour in establishing and exercising his power. One of the first acts of it was, his summoning some gentlemen of the Merse, to attend himself and council, to give their advice about administering justice, and keeping the peace within bounds of the eastern march. His attention to a much more disorderly part of the marches, appeared by a secret expedition which he made in person to Hawick, in the end of October. The Earl of Morton, and the Lords Hume and Lindsay, accompanied him in this expedition, wherein more than forty of the Liddisdale thieves were taken. The castle of Dunbar continuing in the possession of Bothwell's friends and dependents, who refusing to give it up to the Regent, it was resolved to reduce that fortress by a siege. For this purpose heavy artillery was carried thither from Edinburgh; and the garrison, seeing no hopes of relief, soon capitulated. Murray ordered the artillery and ammunition belonging to it to be carried to Edinburgh, and committed the keeping of it to the town of Dunbar, till the ensuing parliament in December, which made an act for demolishing both that castle and the fort of Inchkeith, on account of their present ruinous state, and their heavy and useless expence to government.

LANGSIDE.—Anno 1568.

The murder of Darnly, and Mary's marrying Bothwell, raised up many enemies against her; and matters were come to that pass, that the confede-

rates, as they were called, took her prisoner, and confined her to Lochleven castle, from whence, by her address and kind insinuating behaviour, she prevailed upon George Douglas, her keeper's brother, to set her at liberty. She rode off in great haste to Hamilton, where in a few days her court was filled with a great and splendid train of nobles, accompanied by such numbers of followers as formed an army of six thousand strong.

At the time when the Queen made her escape, the Regent was at Glasgow holding a court of justice. This event gave a mighty shock to his adherents; some of them began to carry on private negociations with the Queen, and others openly revolted to her. Some of those who adhered to the Regent advised him to retire towards Stirling. But, on the other hand, arguments were urged of no considerable weight. The citizens of Glasgow were well affected to the cause; the vassals of Glencairn, Lennox, and Semple, lay near at hand, and were both numerous and full of zeal. Succours might arrive from other parts of the kingdom in a few days. In war, success depends upon reputation as much as upon numbers. Reputation is gained or lost by the first step one takes. In his circumstances, a retreat would be attended with all the ignominy of a flight, and at once dispirit his friends, and inspire his enemies with boldness. In such dangerous circumstances as these, the superiority of Murray's genius appeared, and enabled him both to choose with wisdom and act with vigour. He declared against retreating, and fixed

his head quarters at Glasgow. Pretending to hearken to some overtures, he amused the Queen, whilst he was industriously employed in drawing together his adherents from different parts of the kingdom. He was soon in a condition to take the field; and, though inferior to the enemy in numbers, he confided so much in the valour of his troops, and the experience of his officers, that he broke off the negociation, and determined to hazard a battle.

At the same time the Queen's generals had commanded their army to move. Their intention was to conduct her to Dumbarton Castle, a place of great strength, which the Regent had not been able to wrest out of the hands of Lord Fleming, the Governor: but, if the enemy should endeavour to interrupt them, they resolved not to decline an engagement. In Mary's situation no resolution could be more imprudent. A party only of her forces were assembled. Huntly, Ogilvy, and the northern clans, were expected. Her sufferings had removed or diminished the prejudices of many of her subjects; the address with which she surmounted the dangers that obstructed her escape dazzled and interested the people;—the sudden confluence of so many nobles added lustre to her cause;—she might assuredly depend on the friendship of France;—she had reason to expect the protection of England. Her enemies could not possibly look for support from that quarter. She had much to hope from slow and cautious measures;—they had every thing to fear.

But Mary, whose hopes were naturally sanguine, and her passions impetuous, was so elated by her sudden transition, from the depth of distress to such appearance of prosperity, that she never doubted of success. Her army, which was almost double to the enemy in number, consisted chiefly of Hamiltons, and their dependents. Of these the Archbishop of St. Andrews had the chief direction, and hoped, by a victory, not only to crush Murray, the ancient enemy of his house, but to get the person of the Queen into his own hands, and oblige her either to marry one of the Duke's sons, or at least commit the chief direction of her affairs to himself. His ambition proved fatal to the Queen, to himself, and to his family.

Mary's imprudence in resolving to fight was not greater than the ill conduct of her generals in the battle. Between the two armies, on the road to Dumbarton, there was an eminence called Langside Hill. This the Regent had the precaution to seize, and posted his troops in a small village, and among some gardens and inclosures adjacent. In this advantageous situation he waited the approach of the enemy, whose superiority of cavalry could be of no use to them on such broken ground. The Hamiltons, who commanded the van-guard, ran so eagerly to the attack, that they put themselves out of breath, and left the main battle far behind. The encounter of the spearmen was fierce and desperate; but, as the forces of the Hamiltons were exposed, on the one flank, to a continual fire of musqueteers, at-

tacked on the other by the Regent's most choice troops, they were soon obliged to give ground, and the rout immediately became universal. Few victories in a civil war, and among barbarous people, have been pursued with less violence, or attended with less bloodshed. Three hundred fell in the field;—in the flight scarce any were killed. The Regent and his principal officers rode about, beseeching the soldiers to spare their countrymen. The number of prisoners was great, and among them many persons of distinction. The Regent marched back to Glasgow, and returned public thanks to God for this great, and, on his side, almost bloodless victory.

During the engagement Mary stood on a hill at no great distance, and beheld all that passed in the field, with such emotions of mind as are not easily described. When she saw the army, which was her last hope, thrown into irretrievable confusion, her spirit, which all her past misfortunes had not been able entirely to subdue, sunk altogether. In the utmost consternation she began her flight; and so lively were her impressions of fear, that she never closed her eyes till she reached the Abbey of Dundrennan, in Galway, full sixty Scotch miles from the field of battle.

MOSSTOWER, &c.—ANNO 1570, April 17.

THE affairs of Scotland remaining unsettled, Elizabeth, determined not to suffer the entertainment and aid given to her rebels, and the injuries her subjects had sustained, to pass unrevenged,

therefore gave orders to the Earl of Sussex, her Lieutenant in the north, to lead her army against her enemies on the Scotch borders. This expedition was entirely designed against the party that adhered to the Scotch Queen, whose estates lay upon the borders. The Earl of Sussex, setting out from Berwick about the middle of April, marched up the south side of the Tweed towards Tiviotdale, and arrived in the evening at the Castle of Wark. On the day following, they entered Scotland over the dry march in hostile array, destroying as they advanced every place belonging to their enemies. In particular, they burnt and razed a tower called, from its situation in a marsh, the Mosstower, that belonged to Buccleugh. Proceeding to Crailing, they destroyed a castle of some strength, possessed by the mother of Farneherst. At this place they were met by Sir John Forrester, warden of the middle march, who had likewise committed ravages in the tract through which he had passed. Advancing to Jedburgh, they spared it, as also the Laird of Cessford, who were of the King's party.

From Jedburgh they marched to Hawick, which they laid in ashes for the perfidy of the inhabitants. Carrying the same ravages in their return, they laid waste, by two detachments, the narrow tracts of country on the sides of the rivers Bowmont and Kail; the latter of which belonged to Buccleugh and his kindred. After these maraudings, they came to Kelso, where they remained a night, purposing to lay siege to the Castle of Home; but found this impracticable for want of battering

cannon, their horses being inadvertently sent to Berwick the day before. This made it necessary for the whole English army to march back to that place six days after they had set out from it; having in their short expedition destroyed and spoiled more than fifty castles and piles, and above 300 towns and villages. The Lord Scrope, warden of the west marches, made at the same time an inroad into the Scotch territories over against him, and committed great depredations, without meeting with any considerable opposition.

HOME CASTLE.—Anno 1570, April 27.

On the fourth day after the return of Sussex from his marauding expedition, as mentioned in Mosstower, he again marched from Berwick to reduce the Castle of Hume. Having arrived in the evening at Wark, he sent Drury, the Marshal of Berwick, next morning about day break, with a body of horse and musqueteers to invest Hume Castle, and to chuse a proper place for encamping the army. On the same day, about ten, the rest of the army and ordinance got over the river, through which the horse carried the foot. The general and Lord Hunsdon, with a proper escort, then marched forwards to examine the strength and situation of the fortress, in the neighbourhood of which the whole army arriving in the afternoon, encamped under cover of a rock. The English musqueteers, covered by a trench, and the ruins of some houses near the Castle, which the Scotch had burnt, greatly annoyed the garrison, who appeared on the tops of

the battlements, or through the embrazures. In the meantime, a battery was carrying on by the pioneers on the north side of the Castle, and by five o'clock next morning was ready for receiving the artillery, of which two pieces were planted upon it. The garrison being then summoned in vain to surrender, the guns began to play, and were answered by those of the Castle. But the latter were soon silenced; the master-gunner being disabled by the loss of his leg, which was carried away by a shot levelled against him by one of the English cannoneers. About two o'clock the captains of the garrison requested a parley with Drury, and leave to send a messenger to Lord Home, to know his pleasure; alleging that, as he had entrusted them with the keeping of his castle, they could not deliver it up without his consent. These requests were granted them, but with severe warnings of the revenge that should be taken, if any thing indirect or fraudulent appeared in their conduct. Lord Home, who was not far off, agreed to meet with Drury at a place three miles from the Castle, and found himself obliged to surrender his fortress to the enemy, on condition that the lives of the garrison should be spared, and that they should march out in their common wearing apparel, leaving behind them all their arms and baggage. Such Englishmen as should be found among them were excepted from the benefit of this capitulation. In pursuance of this agreement, the castle-gates were opened at eight o'clock in the evening, the keys delivered to Drury, and by him presented to Sussex.

The garrison, consisting of 168 men, marched out, and, having made their subjection to the English general, were dismissed in safety. In this short siege only two of the English were killed, and as many of the Scotch; but great numbers were wounded. Much booty was found in the place, —some of which belonged to Home,—others to other gentlemen, who had brought it there as a place of safety. Soon after, Fast Castle was also taken with little opposition.

DUMBARTON CASTLE Taken by Surprise.—Anno 1571, April 2.

Though this can neither be called a siege nor battle, yet the seizing a fort, which was hitherto reckoned impregnable, will not, we hope, be disagreeable to our readers, especially as it shall be served up to them in the words of the elegant and learned Dr Robertson:—

"On the day after the expiration of the truce," says he, "which had been observed with little exactness on either side, Captain Crawford of Jordan-Hill, a gallant enterprising officer, performed a service of great importance to the Regent, by surprising the Castle of Dumbarton. This was the only fortified place in the kingdom of which the Queen had kept possession ever since the commencement of the civil wars. Its situation, on the top of a high and almost inaccessible rock, which rises in the middle of the plain, rendered it extremely strong, and, in the opinion of that age, impregnable. As it commanded the river Clyde,

it was of great consequence, and esteemed the most proper place in the kingdom for landing any foreign troops that might come to Mary's aid. The strength of the place rendered Lord Fleming, the governor, more secure than he ought to have been, considering its importance. A soldier, who had served in the garrison, and had been disgusted by some ill usage, proposed the scheme to the Regent, endeavouring to demonstrate that it was practicable, and offered himself to go the foremost man in the enterprize. It was thought prudent to risk any danger for so great a prize. Scaling ladders, and whatever else was necessary, were prepared with the utmost secresy and dispatch. All the avenues to the castle were seized, that no intelligence of the design might reach the governor. Towards evening Crawford marched from Glasgow, with a small but determined band. By midnight they arrived at the bottom of the rock. The moon was set, and the sky, which hitherto had been extremely clear, was covered with a thick fog. It was where the rock was highest that the assailants made their attempt, because in that place there were few sentinels, and they hoped to find them least alert. The first ladder was scarcely fixed, when the weight and eagerness of those who mounted brought it to the ground. None of the assailants were hurt by the fall, and none of the garrison alarmed by the noise. Their guide and Crawford scrambled up the rock, and fastened the ladders to the roots of a tree, which grew in a cleft. This place they all reached with the utmost difficulty;

but were still at a great distance from the foot of the wall. Their ladders were made fast a second time; but in the middle of the ascent they met with an unforeseen difficulty. One of their companies was seized with some sudden fit, and clung, seemingly without any life, to the ladder. All were at a stand. It was impossible to pass him. To tumble him down was cruel, and might occasion a discovery. But Crawford's presence of mind did not forsake him. He ordered the soldier to be bound fast to the ladder, that he might not fall when the fit was over; and turning the other side of the ladder, they mounted with ease over his belly. Day now began to break, and there still remained a high wall to scale; but after surmounting so many great difficulties, this was soon accomplished. A sentinel observed the first man who appeared upon the parapet, and had just time to give the alarm, before he was knocked on the head. The officers and soldiers of the garrison run out naked and unarmed, more solicitous for their own safety than capable of making resistance. The assailants rushed forwards with repeated shouts, and with the utmost fury took possession of the magazine, seized the cannon, and turned them against their enemies. Lord Fleming got into a small boat, and fled all alone into Argyleshire. Crawford, in reward of his valour and good conduct, remained master of the castle; and as he did not lose a single man in the enterprise, he enjoyed his success with uninterrupted pleasure. Lady Fleming, Verac, the French envoy, and Hamilton,

Archbishop of St Andrews, were the prisoners of greatest distinction. Verac's character protected him. The lady was treated with great politeness and humanity. But the archbishop was condemned, and executed, or hanged, at Stirling."

STIRLING Surprised.—Anno 1571.

Scotland at this time, as often before, was divided into two factions; the one adhered to Mary, the other to the Regent.

After the example of the parliament of Edinburgh, that of Stirling began with framing acts against the opposite faction. But, amidst all the security, which confidence in their own numbers, or distance from danger, could inspire, they were awaked one morning by shouts of the enemy in the heart of the town. In a moment the houses of every person of distinction were surrounded, and before they knew what to think of so strange an event, the Regent, the Earls of Argyll, Morton, Glencairn, Cassels, Eglinton, Montrose, and Buchan, the Lords Semple, Cathcart, and Ogilvy, were all made prisoners, and mounted behind troopers, who were ready to carry them to Edinburgh. Kirkaldy was the author of this daring enterprise; and if he had not been induced, by the ill-timed solicitude of his friends about his safety, not to hazard his own person in conducting it, that day might have terminated the contest between the two factions, and have restored peace to his country. By his direction 400 men, under the command of Huntly, Lord Claud Hamilton, and Scott of

Buccleugh, set out from Edinburgh, and, the better to conceal their design, marched towards the south; but they soon wheeled about to the right; and horses being provided for the infantry, they rode straight to Stirling. By four in the morning they arrived there;—not one sentry was posted on the wall;—not a man was awake about the place. They met with no resistance from any person they had seized, except Morton. He defended his house with obstinate valour; they were forced to set it on fire, and he did not surrender, till forced out of it by the flames. In performing this, some time was consumed; and the private men, unaccustomed to regular discipline, left their colours, and began to rifle the houses and shops of the citizens. The noise and uproar of the town reached the castle. The Earl of Marr sallied out with thirty soldiers, fired briskly upon the enemy, of whom almost none but the officers kept together in a body. The townsmen took arms to assist their governor. A sudden panic struck the assailants;—some fled,—some surrendered themselves to their own prisoners; and had not the borderers, who followed Scott, prevented a pursuit, by carraying off all the horses within the place, not a man would have escaped. If the Regent had not unfortunately being killed, the loss on the King's side would have been as inconsiderable as the alarm was great. "Think on the Archbishop of St. Andrew's," was the word among the Queen's soldiers; and Lennox fell a sacrifice to his memory. The officer to whom he surrendered, endeavouring

to protect him, lost his own life in his defence. He was killed, according to the general opinion, by the command of Lord Claud Hamilton. Kirkaldy had the glory of concerting this plan with great secrecy and prudence; but Morton's fortunate obstinacy, and the want of discipline among his own troops, deprived him of succes,—the only thing wanting to render this equal to the most applauded military enterprize of the kind.

TILLIANGUS.—Anno 1572.

The families of the Gordons and Forbeses were great and powerful clans in Scotland; but their long-rooted enmity against each other now broke out with redoubled fury. The Gordons had long lived with great harmony and unanimity among themselves in the enjoyment of the King's favour. By kindly indulging their own dependents and vassals, they became wealthy and powerful, and besides, by acts of kindness and beneficence, they procured the good-will of their neighbours. The Forbeses, on the other hand, had continual broils, feuds, and animosities with one another, which daily impaired their strength, and rendered them an unequal match for the Gordons. Though these two families were nearly allied to each other by marriage, yet nothing could suspend the fatal effects of their long-rooted rancours. Two reasons may be assigned for this, viz. their taking different sides in the civil wars between the factions of the King and Queen;—also, that the Master of Forbes had divorced his wife, who was the daughter of the Earl

of Huntly. To this he was instigated by his uncle Arthur, who mortally hated the family of Gordons; and though he was a man of great courage, was, however, ambitious of aggrandising his family by every method in his power.

Thus, by Arthur's persuasion, his friends and coadjutors appoint a time and place for a meeting, not only for strengthening their own union, but also for undertaking some enterprise against the Gordons, and the rest of their party. The Earl of Huntly being then at Edinburgh, his brother, Adam of Auchindowne, got secret intelligence of their designs, drew together his kindred and vassals, and advanced with them to Tilliangus, in the beginning of the year 1572. Forbes perceiving the enemy marching up the hill towards him, fortified himself with a strong camp, and divided his men into two bodies. Arthur commanded that which lay encamped next to the Gordons. Adam Gordon, though far inferior to the enemy in numbers, yet, with great spirit and undaunted courage, vigorously attacked Arthur's brigade. Mr Robert Gordon fell upon the other with no less conduct and valour; his men burst into the enemy's camp, broke down their fortifications, and rushed furiously upon their spears. The battle continued long, and prodigious courage was displayed by both parties. At last Arthur, with many other gentlemen of distinction, were killed; a general rout took place, and their troops were pursued to the very gates of Drummour, the seat of Lord Forbes. Few of the Gordons were killed, and no

person of distinction except John Gordon of Buckie. They were again defeated at Aberdeen; 300 killed, and 200 taken.

DALKEITH.—Anno 1572.

Had it not been for the conduct and intrepidity of Morton, who still kept possession of Leith and Dalkeith, the King's party must at this time have been extinguished in Scotland, beside his Danish guard, which had been brought over by one Captain Wemyss. He had with him a small body of veteran soldiers, who had served under the Regent Murray. Well knowing, however, the weakness of the Regent's party, and conscious of his own unpopularity, he secretly advertised Elizabeth in what a dangerous condition her friends were in Scotland, and the necessity of her interposing to save them. Elizabeth (who still affected a great shew of impartiality,) ordered Drury, the marshal of Berwick, to mediate between the two parties, and privately to confer with the Regent's friends how to recover the town and castle of Edinburgh from the loyalists. In the meantime, the latter, in hopes of retrieving the reputation they had lost, by not intercepting Morton, and by suffering him to form, in a manner, a blockade of the capital, by cutting off its supplies of provisions, and pressing both men and horses into his service, formed a plan, which was to be conducted by the Earl of Huntly and Lord Claud Hamilton, for surprising Morton at Dalkeith. They accordingly marched out with a body of horse and foot; bnt as soon as

day broke, they found Morton, who had been apprised of their intention, ready to receive them, at the head of a small but well disciplined party. The loyalists attacked him; but, notwithstanding their superiority of numbers, they were repulsed; they soon, however, rallied, and returned to the charge. It is hard to say what the event might have been, had not a quantity of powder, which the loyalists carried along with them, taken fire, and killed a number of their men, with one of their most active officers. The loss on both sides was inconsiderable; but Mary's friends were disheartened by the miscarriage of the attempt, and the resolution with which the small handful under Morton fought.

Some time after, the loyalists attacked Morton a second time, received another defeat, and were driven back to Edinburgh with considerable slaughter; 150 prisoners, among whom was Lord Hume, were taken, as well as a great number of horses, and two field-pieces, all which were carried in great triumph to Leith.

CRAIBSTANE.—Anno 1572.

After the battle of Tilliangus, John, Master of Forbes, with Arthur, his nephew, and the chiefs of his family, repaired to court, where the Earl of Marr, then Regent, resided, and received from him five companies of foot and some horse; besides, he sent letters to several of the nobility around them, who favoured his party, desiring them to join and assist the Forbeses. These, with many other fa-

milies of their relations and neighbours, being met, raised John's spirit to such a height, that he now thought himself more than a match for his enemies. He therefore marched straight to Aberdeen, to expel Adam Gordon from thence; but he having intelligence of these preparations, and the near approach of his enemies, quickly drew together his friends and followers, and led them out of the town. He then sent a company of musqueteers, under the conduct of Captain Thomas Carr, to lie in ambush in a convenient place, with strict orders not to stir till the battle began. He also commanded some of Sutherland's bowmen (who had left the country during the Earl's minority) to take a long circuit, and fall upon the enemy's rear. He and his brother Robert, with the rest of his men, waited the enemy's coming, at a place called Craibstane, near the port of New Aberdeen. When the Forbeses were in sight of Aberdeen, they began to deliberate on their future conduct. Some were of opinion that their fittest course was to go to Old Aberdeen, and from thence annoy the new town, and oblige Gordon to quit it. But this scheme was over-ruled by the Master of Forbes and his friends, who declared for giving battle to the enemy, which was complied with by the whole army. In consequence of this, they advanced courageously towards the Gordons, who received them with equal resolution. At the first onset, Auchindowne, who lay in ambuscade, attacked the Forbeses with such fury that he killed many of them. Both armies displayed such heroic courage and valour,

as might be expected from men who entertained the utmost hatred and revenge for each other. Pitsligo, two of Forbess' brothers, and many others of that name, were killed. Captain Chisholm, with the troops sent by the Regent, were put to flight by the Sutherland bowmen, who keenly plied and pursued them with great slaughter. Chisholm himself, with three other captains, were among the number of the slain, which, as soon as the Forbeses perceived, they likewise took to their heels.

The general, John Forbes, with many other chiefs, were taken prisoners. Adam Gordon made a very moderate use of this victory; for, after the fury of the engagement was over, he suffered no man to be put to death. The first thing he did after the action was to repair to the church of Aberdeen, and to return thanks to Almighty God for this victory. Alexander Forbes of Strathgarnock, the author of all these troubles, was taken prisoner, and would have been beheaded, but Auchindowne prevented it, and kindly entertained the Master of Forbes and the rest of the prisoners; and after carrying them all with him to Strathbogie, he set them at liberty.

BOURD OF BRECHIN.—Anno 1573.

The ensuing summer, after the battle of Craibstane, Adam Gordon of Auchindowne, in consequence of that victory, entered the Mearns, and, besieging the castle of Glenbervie, occasioned great consternation to the Regent's party in that province. The Earl of Crawford, the Lords Gray,

Ogilvy, and Glamis, taking part with the Regent against the Queen, assembled all the forces of Angus to oppose Auchindowne, and stop his passage to Brechin, where they encamped. But Gordon, knowing their proceedings, left most part of his men at the siege of Glenbervie, from whence he departed in the night with the most courageous of his men, with a design to attack those Lords; and, arriving at Brechin, he knocked down the watch, with many others—surprised the town—fell upon the Lords—drove them out—and took possession of the town and Castle of Brechin. The next morning, the Lords being informed of Auchindowne's paucity of troops in comparison of theirs, collected their broken forces, and marched to Brechin to give him battle, who courageously met them; but the Lords, unable to stand the first shock of their enemies, turned their backs and fled. Above 80 of them fell by the sword, and many of them were taken, among whom was Lord Glamis, who was carried to Strathbogie, where, after he had been detained a long time, he and the rest were set at liberty. Adam Gordon then returned to the siege of Glenbervie, which he took. From it he marched to Montrose, and took that town also. In his return he took the Castle of Down, and, after paying a visit to the people of Angus, he returned home, well satisfied with his success.

EDINBURGH CASTLE Besieged and Taken.—Anno 1573, May 29.

By this time all the leaders of the Queen's party, considering how much the miseries of civil discord had afflicted Scotland almost for five years, a length of time far beyond the duration of any former contest, at last concluded a peace with the Regent, under the mediation of Killegrew, Elizabeth's ambassador.

Kirkaldy, though abandoned by his associates, who neither discovered solicitude, nor made provision for his safety, did not lose courage, nor entertain any thoughts of accommodation. And though all Scotland had now submitted to the King, he still resolved to defend the Castle of Edinburgh in the Queen's name, and to wait the arrival of the promised succours. The Regent was in want of every thing for carrying on a siege. But Elizabeth, who determined at any rate to bring the dissension in Scotland to a period, before the French could find leisure to take part in the quarrel, soon afforded him a sufficient supply. Sir William Drury marched into Scotland with fifteen hundred foot, and a considerable train of artillery. The Regent joined him with all his forces; and trenches were opened, and approaches regularly carried on against the Castle. Kirkaldy, though discouraged by the loss of a great sum of money, remitted to him from France, and which fell into the Regent's hands through the treachery of Sir James Balfour, the most corrupt man of that age,

defended himself with bravery, augmented by despair. Three and thirty days he resisted all the efforts of the Scotch and English, who pushed on their assaults with courage and with emulation. Nor did he demand a parley, till the fortifications were battered down, and one of the wells of the castle was dried up, and the other choked with rubbish. Even then his spirit was unsubdued, and he determined rather to fall gloriously behind the last entrenchment, than to yield to his inveterate enemies. But his garrison was not animated with the same heroic or desperate resolution, and, rising in a mutiny, forced him to capitulate. He surrended himself to Drury, who promised, in the name of his mistress, that he should be favourably treated. Together with him, James Kirkcaldy, his brother, Lord Hume, Secretary Maitland, Sir Robert Melvil, a few of the citizens of Edinburgh, and about 160 soldiers, were captured.

RED SWIRE.—Anno 1575, July, 7.

At a meeting held in the accustomed time and manner, at a hill called the Red Swire, on the middle march between the kingdoms, Sir John Forrester, the warden of that march on the side of England, who was then also governor of Berwick, and Sir John Carmichael, warden on the opposite march in Scotland, were employed in the ordinary business of hearing causes and redressing wrongs. In the process of this work, an Englishman, who had been convicted of theft, and was a notorious offender, was demanded by the Scotch warden to

be delivered up, according to the law of the marches, to be the prisoner of the owner of the goods stolen, until satisfaction should be made for them. This delivery being excused for the present by Forrester, on some pretence that did not satify Carmichael, he entered into expostulations with Forrester, who being thereby provoked, behaved haughtily, and gave signs of resentment, apparent to all around him. This was sufficient incitement to some of his attendants to attack those of the other side, which they did by a flight of arrows, that killed one Scotsman and wounded several others. The Scotch, by this unexpected assault, were driven off the field; but being met in their flight by the people of Jedburgh, who were coming to attend the warden, they were encouraged to turn back on their enemies, which they did so vigorously, that they entirely defeated them. In this skirmish Sir George Heron, keeper of Tyndale and Ridsdale, a man much esteemed in both realms, lost his life, together with 24 of his countrymen. The English warden himself, his son-in-law Francis Russel, son to the Earl of Bedford, and several other persons of distinction, were imprisoned. Being carried to Morton at Dalkeith, they were treated with the utmost humanity. But he detained them a few days, in order to give time to their resentment to subside, which in its first emotions might have been the occasion of much mischief. He also required them to subscribe engagements to make their appearance on a certain day, and then dismissed them with great expressions of regard.

ALDGOWNIE & LOCHMELINE.—

Anno 1585.

George Earl of Caithness having married the Earl of Huntly's sister, by his connexions, and by Huntly's mediation, the Earls of Caithness and Sutherland were reconciled. These two Earls resolved in conjunction to take a severe revenge on the Clan-Gun, because they were supposed to be the authors of the troubles that were like to ensue. It was determined to send two companies of men and surround the Clan, who resided in Caithness. John Gordon of Backies, and James Macrorie, commanded Sutherland's company; Henry Sinclair, the Earl's cousin, conducted those of Caithness. It fortunately happened, that Henry and his men first encountered the Clan Gun, who were now assembled at a hill called Brine-Grime, and along with them was William Mackie of Strathnaver, and nephew to Henry Sinclair, who commanded the troops of Caithness. By this time the Clan Gun were informed of the vast preparations made against them, and no sooner were they within sight of each other, than the battle began with prodigious exertions of courage and intrepidity by both parties. The Clan-Gun, though inferior in numbers, had, however, the advantage of a hill, which prevented the Caithness arrows from doing much execution. But the Clan spared theirs till the enemy was near, and then they fell with more force. A dreadful conflict ensued at a place called Aldgownie, where Henry Sinclair was cut off

with 120 of his men: the rest were put to flight; and doubtless most of them would have been put to the sword, had not the darkness of the night favoured their escape. As soon as George Gordon, James Macrorie, and Neil Macean-Macwilliam, heard this, they pursued the Clan-Gun all the way to Loch Broom, in the heights of Ross, wither they had fled, and coming up with them, they fell upon them at Lochmeline. After a violent skirmish, the Clan were entirely routed and put to flight; 32 of them were killed, and their Captain George, was wounded and taken prisoner, whom they carried along with them to Dunrobin, and there delivered him to the Earl of Sutherland. This second skirmish happened in the year 1586.

CREACH LAIRN.—ANNO 1587, February.

SOME dissensions happened between the Earls of Sutherland and Caithness. George Gordon of Marle, natural son of Gilbert Gordon of Gartie, had affronted and enraged the Earl of Caithness, who highly resented Gartie's insolent conduct; and therefore assembling a body of horse and foot, he advances by night, and surrounds George's house at Marle, who makes all possible resistance. As the Earl's troops were eagerly employed in assaulting the house, George kills a principal gentleman belonging to the Earl, called John Sutherland; after which he rushes out of the house, and leaps into the river Helmisdell, which was hard by, thinking to escape by swimming, but was pierced with arrows, and killed in the water.

The Earl of Sutherland being highly displeased at George's death, was determined to revenge it: To accomplish which, he makes interest at court, and obtains a commission to prosecute Gordon's murderers; upon which he sent 200 men into Caithness in February 1588, under the command of John Gordon of Golspitour, and John Gordon of Backies, who over-ran the parishes of Dumbaith, and Lathorn in Caithness, in a hostile manner, destroying them with fire and sword, and killed John Johnston, a gentleman of Caithness, with several others.

Bloodless Battle of the Bridge of DEE.—Anno 1587.

The Earl of Huntly, being in high favour with James the VI. was by him made captain of his guards, a post which the master of Glamis had formerly enjoyed. In order to be revenged on Huntly for depriving him of this, the master of Glamis, and some of his companions, associating themselves with the English ambassador, then at Edinburgh, they inform the King that some letters sent by him to the King of Spain were intercepted in England. Huntly is immediately sent for to court; he compears, and boldly denies that any letters had been either written, or sent by him, but only contrived by his enemies in order to ruin him, and deprive him of the King's favour. He is, however, incarcerated in the end of February; and after being tried and found guiltless, he is released the 7th of March.

Upon this the Earls of Crawford, Huntly, and Errol, repair to the north, and in their way to Perth are informed that the Earls of Athol, Morton, and the master of Glamis, had convened their forces to seize them in Perth. Upon which the three Earls, with what few men they had with them, came out of the town, and attacked Glamis with such impetuosity, as obliged him to retreat. They pursued and took him prisoner at Kirkhill, and carried him along with them to the north.

Chancellor Maitland, and other friends of Glamis, hearing of what had happened, excited the King's indignation against the three Earls, and persuaded him to raise an army, and go in person to chastise them. During this time Huntly was not idle, for he soon raised an army of 10,000 men, and marched forward to the bridge of Dee, with a resolution to give his enemies battle on the 20th of April 1589. But upon hearing that the King was advancing against him in person, he disbanded his army, and threw himself upon the King's mercy; yet he was committed to jail, first at Edinburgh, then at Borthwick, and afterwards at Finnevin; from which he was soon after released by his Majesty's order. The Earl of Errol was also confined in Edinburgh Castle, and was detained there till he paid a sum of money, which Maitland applied to his own use.

LA-NE-CREIGH-MOIR.—ANN 1588.

No sooner were the ravaging and burning Creagh-Lairn over, than Alexander Earl of Suther-

land, attended with Hutcheon Mackie, who had been lately reconciled to the Earl his superior, entered Caithness with all his forces, laying waste and destroying all the country, till he came to Girnigo, now called Castle Sinclair, where the Earl of Caithness then lay. In their way to Girnigo they took and burnt the town of Weick, they besieged the Castle of Girnigo for twelve days; but it was so well defended by the Earl of Caithness, and a brave garrison, that Sutherland was obliged to raise the siege; but he sent his men through the country of Caithness in pursuit of the men who had been at the slaughter of Gordon. Having cut off many of them, and ravaged the country, the Earl returned to Sutherland in February this year.

KRISALISH AND CREAHKAINKISH.—ANNO 1589.

After the skirmish above mentioned, the Earl of Caithness, in order to avenge these injuries, and repair his losses, assembled all his forces, and sent them into Sutherland, under the conduct of his brother, the laird of Murkle, who entering Sutherland, killed three of the tenants in Liriboll, setting fire to the house about them. From thence they advance farther into the country. The Sutherland people, under the conduct of Hutcheon Mackie, and John Gordon of Backies, met them at a place called Krisalish, where they had a slight skirmish, with little bloodshed to either party. After which, Murkle returned home, and Sutherland sent to Caithness, in return, 300 men, commanded

by John Gordon of Backies, who entered the country in a hostile manner. He plundered and laid it waste all the way, till he came within six miles of Girnigo. Having killed above 30 men, he returned home with a great booty.

CLYNE.—Anno 1590.

The Earl of Caithness, to repair his former losses, convened his army. Penetrating into Sutherland, he encamped near the Backies. Having remained there one night, he returned homeward next day, driving before him vast booty. By this time about 400 or 500 of the Sutherland troops were got together, and perceiving their enemies on the sands of Cleu-trendal, they immediately engaged them at a place called Clyne. There ensued a furious battle, fought with great obstinacy and perseverance on each side, and continued till night parted the combatants. Nicholas Sutherland and thirteen men of Caithness were killed, and many in both armies were wounded.

Next morning, betimes, the Earl of Caithness returned in haste to defend his own country; for while he was in Sutherland, Mackie had entered Caithness with his army, and laid it waste as far as Thurso; but before Caithness could overtake him, he had returned into Strathnaver with a great quantity of spoils.

Thus did these two Earls distress each other with continual ravages, till the Earl of Huntly interposed his kind offices, procured a meeting at Strathbogie, and so far prevailed upon them as to

agree to a peace, which was finally concluded in the year 1591.

BURROWMOOR Skirmish.—Anno 1594. April 2.

Though King James the VI. seemed to favour several of the Popish Lords, he, however, had an implacable hatred at Bothwell, who was obliged to fly into England, and his residence there the English Queen connived at, because of James's lenity to the Popish cause. Nay more, Elizabeth's ambassador had instructions from her to encourage Bothwell to make a new attempt of effecting a change at court in the forcible method that had been so long in fashion, and had so often succeeded in this feeble monarchy. The king, informed of Bothwell's designs, hastily raised some troops; but upon his not appearing, they were as hastily disbanded. Yet soon after Bothwell arrived from England with 400 horse well-armed, and was joined by Lord Ochiltree with 100 more. From Kelso Bothwell marched next day to Dalkeith, and thence in the night to Leith, where he arrived early next morning. On the same morning Lord Home came to Edinburgh with about 150 horse. The King harangued the citizens of Edinburgh in their principal church, warned them of being plundered by the banditti of the borders, who followed Bothwell, and promising them to prosecute the Popish Lords with the utmost rigour, prevailed upon them to follow him against that incorrigible rebel, who was braving him at so small a distance. Bothwell,

informed of the king's approach, and disappointed in his expectations of being joined at Leith by the forces of Athol, and others from Fife, resolved to retreat by the way he came. But some of Lord Home's horse, who were employed in observing the motions of the rebels, approached so near as to provoke an attack from Bothwell. Home's small troop was immediately broken; and flying towards the King, who was with the citizens of Edinburgh and their cannon at Burrowmoor, was vigorously pursued by Bothwell and a part of his company. In the pursuit a few of the fugitives were wounded and taken prisoners. The pursuit ceased by Bothwell's falling from his horse, and receiving a bruise in his fall. He retired, however, unmolested to Dalkeith, where he passed the night, and next day marched to Kelso, where having spent the night following, his forces separated, and he and they returned to England, or to some of their wonted lurking places in the neighbourhood.

GLENLIVAT.—Anno 1594.

The King's too great indulgence to the Popish party in Scotland, and their encouragement and support from Spain and other Popish countries, rendered them bold and intractable. They had received a supply of money in the spring from Philip. What bold designs this might inspire, it is no easy matter to conjecture. From men under the dominion of bigotry, and whom indulgence could not reclaim, the most desperate actions were to be dreaded. The assembly of the church remonstrat-

ed against them with more bitterness than ever, and unanimously ratified the sentence of excommunication pronounced by the synod of Fife. James also, provoked by their obstinacy and ingratitude, afraid that, by his forbearance, he should displease both the English and his own subjects, called a parliament, and laid before it all the circumstances and aggravations of the conspiracy, he prevailed on them, by his influence and importunity, to pronounce the most rigorous sentence the law can inflict. They were declared to be guilty of high treason, and their estates and honours forfeited. At the same time, statutes, more severe than ever, were enacted against the professors of the Popish religion.

How to put this in execution was a matter of great difficulty. Three powerful barons, cantoned in a part of the country almost inaccessible, surrounded with numerous vassals, and supported with aid from a foreign prince, were more than an over-match for a Scotch monarch. No entreaty could prevail upon Elizabeth to advance the money necessary for defraying the expences of an expedition against them. To attack them in person with his own forces alone might expose him to disgrace and danger. He had recourse to the only expedient which remained, in such a situation, for aiding the importance of sovereign authority. He delegated his power to the Earl of Argyle and Lord Forbes, the leaders of two clans at enmity with the conspirators; and gave them a commission to invade their lands, and seize the castles which be-

longed to them. Bothwell, notwithstanding all his pretensions of zeal for the Protestant religion, having now entered into a close confederacy with them, the danger became every day more urgent. Argyle, solicited by the King, and roused by the clergy, took the field at the head of seven thousand men. Huntly and Errol met him at Glenlivat with a far inferior army in point of numbers, but composed chiefly of gentlemen of the low countries mounted on horseback, and who brought along with them a train of field-pieces. They encountered each other with all the fury which hereditary enmity and ancient rivalship add to undisciplined courage. But the Highlanders, disconcerted by the first discharge of the cannon, to which they were unaccustamed, and unable to resist the impression of cavalry, were soon put to flight. Argyle, a young man of eighteen, was carried by his friends out of the field, weeping with indignation at their disgrace, and calling on them to stand, and to vindicate the honour of their name.

On the first intelligence of this defeat, James, though obliged to pawn his jewels in order to raise money, assembled a small body of troops, and marched towards the north. He was joined by the Irvings, Keiths, Leslies, Forbeses, and other clans at enmity with Huntly and Errol, who having lost several of their principal followers at Glenlivat, and others refusing to bear arms against the king in person, were obliged to retire to the mountains. James wasted their lands, put garrisons in some of their castles, burnt others, and left the Duke

of Lenox, as his lieutenant in that part of the kingdom, with a body of men, sufficient to restrain them from gathering to any head there, or from infesting the low country. Reduced at last to extreme distress by the rigour of the season, and the desertion of their troops, they obtained the Kings' permission to go beyond seas, and gave security, that they should neither return without his licence, nor engage in any new intrigues against the protestant religion, or the peace of the kingdom.

CARLISLE EXPLOIT.—Anno 1596, April 3.

Early in the year 1596, the public both, of England and Scotland, being alarmed at a report of a new Spanish invasion, James published a proclamation, commanding all his subjects to appear at a general muster on the 2d of February following. The proclamation seems to have been drawn up by Elizabeth herself, or some of her ministers, so much is it in favour of his alliance with England, and so zealous for her glory. I do not perceive that the Spaniards had any real friends in Scotland, except a few enthusiastic priests; and I believe the popish Lords, had they made any promises to serve Philip, never thought of performing them but to obtain money. The brave independent subjects of Scotland disdained the tame compliances of James with a princess, whose avowed conduct pointed out slavery to him and themselves. Buccleugh, the son of the same spirited baron, whom I have so often mentioned, says Guthry, had then the com-

mand of Liddsdale upon the borders, being one of the Scotch wardens. He had served with great reputation in the Netherlands in the cause of liberty at the head of a regiment, which he had raised and carried over. Upon his return he had some dealings with Lord Scroop, who was the opposite warden; and as the pusillanimity of James suffered the English to treat him as a vassal of their mistress, they carried off one Armstrong prisoner to Carlisle on the very day of conference, which the laws and customs of the borders had rendered sacred from hostilities and personal arrests. Buccleugh complained loudly of this breach of national faith, and the indignation done to his master. Elizabeth and her ministers laughed at their remonstrances, and detained the man prisoner, till Buccleugh's indignation impelled him to draw out 200 of his own followers, with whom he scaled and surprised the castle of Carlisle, and freed the prisoner. This brave action was performed with so cool a resolution, that Armstrong, when delivered from his fetters, bade Lord Scroop and his deputy (who were in the next house) good night. No door was forced open but that where the prisoner was confined. No booty was made, though Buccleugh might have plundered the place, and taken the English warden prisoner; he however carried off Armstrong unmolested by any of his own or his master's enemies, who inhabited the places through which he carried him.

Elizabeth's haughty spirit could not brook this gallant action. She ordered Bowes to demand

satisfaction, and that Buccleugh should be delivered up her prisoner. His defence was modest and manly. He pleaded he had done nothing but what was strictly consistent with the laws of the borders; that he had offered voilence to none, nor committed any hostilities. He submitted at the same time to be tried by the commissioners appointed by the two monarchs, according to ancient treaties. The indignity done to Scotland by Elizabeth's demand raised a spirit against the English, which James was for some time forced seemingly to comply with; but this shew of resolution was not of long duration. Hostilities now broke out upon the borders, and Elizabeth insisted upon satisfaction. James was mean enough to commit Buccleugh prisoner to St Andrews, from whence he was soon after released, on condition of delivering himself up to Elizabeth, who permitted him to return home.

LOCH GORMAT in ILA.—Anno 1598.

Ambition and thrist of revenge hurried on Sir Lauchlan Maclean to lay claim to the whole island or Ila, though it was formerly the sole and only possession of the Clan Donald. Sir James Macdonald, the righteous heir, being young, and his father Angus very old, made Maclean imagine it would be esay for him to accomplish his design; he therefore raises an army, and in a hostile manner invades Ila, and takes possession of it by a new right, which he had lately obtained. Sir James being informed of his uncle's scheme, repairs with his friends, and what troops he could assemble, to Ila,

that if possible he might disappoint his uncle's ungenerous designs. The friends of both laboured hard to reconcile them, but all to no purpose; for though Sir James generously offered to give his uncle the half of the island, upon condition that he should acknowledge him as his superior, as his predecessors had formerly done. But Maclean running headlong to his own ruin, refused all terms of peace, unless his nephew would resign to him the rights and possession of the whole island, upon with both resolved to do justice to themselves by the sword. Sir James, though inferior to his uncle in number of men, yet some of them had lately been employed in the wars of Ireland, and had thereby acquired greater experience than their enemies. Now both sides prepared for an engagement, which was maintained for a long time with great courage and resolution by each. When the battle began, Macdonald ordered his van to take a long circuit, as if they had designed to retreat. By this means they got the sun on their backs, and had a hill near at hand to retire to, if they had occasion. Maclean after this van was put to flight, and his main body, entirely routed fell fighting with the utmost valour. About 80 of his relations and 200 common soldiers lay dead around him. His son Lauchlan was grievously wounded, and pursued with the rest of his men to their ships. Sir James Macdonald was shot through the body with an arrow, and thereby dangerously wounded; and, to add to his misfortune, he was left as dead most part of the ensuing night on the field of battle. There fell about 30 of his men, and above 60

were wounded. Thus that unatural war, begun in the year 1585, was finished this year; which so provoked the king, that finding both Ila and Kintire of right belonged to himself, he gave it to Argyll and the Campbells which has been the occasion of many broils and contentions between the Macdonalds and Campbells ever since. By means of Argyll, Sir James was imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, from whence he afterwads made his escape by the activity of his cousin Macranold, who fled with him into Spanish Flanders, where they continued in the Spanish service till the year 1620, when the King recalled them home, and settled a yearly pension upon them.

BINGULLIN.—Anno. 1601.

Donald Gorm Macdonald had married the sister of Sir Rorry Macleod of Herris, and becoming jealous of her, he put her away. Her brother sent a messenger to Donald, and desiring him to take back his wife; but so far was he from complying with this message, that he divorced her, and married the sister of Kenneth Mackenzie, Lord of Kintail. Macleod was highly incensed at his brother-in-law for repudiating his sister, so that assembling his countrymen in haste, he lays waste part of Donald's lands in the Isle of Sky, with fire and sword; which lands Sir Rory laid claim to as belonging to himself. Donald soon made retaliation, by wasting, destroying, and plundering the Herris. In this predatory manner the war was carried on for some time, mutually infesting each other's lands, till the

inhabitants were reduced to such extremity, that they were obliged to live on the flesh of horses, dogs, cats, rats, &c. At last Donald assembled his whole forces, in order to try the event of a battle. He invades Sir Rory's lands, in purpose to provoke him to fight; but he was then in Argyleshire, consulting with the Earl, and imploring aid of him against his enemy: But his brother Alexander determines in his absence to fight Donald. He therefore assembled his brother's tenants and dependants with the whole tribe of the Seil Tormont, and some of the Seil Torquille out of the Lewis, and encamped near the hill Binguillin in the Isle of Sky, with a resolution to fight Donald next morning, who no sooner arrived, than a most dreadful fight began, and continued the whole day, both contending for victory with the most undaunted obstinacy and courage. Fortune at last favoured the Clan-donald, and gave them a complete victory. Alexander Macleod was wounded and taken prisoner, also Neil Macallaster-Roy, and 30 others of the chief men among the Seil Tormot John Mactarmot, and Tormot Mactormot, two relations of Sir Rory, and many others, were killed. After this skirmish, a perfect reconciliation took place, through the mediation of old Angus Macdonald of Kintire, the Laird of Cole and others; and they have remained in peace and quitness ever since.

THURSO.—Anno 1612.

A dissension arose between the families of Sutherland and Caithness, which for some time disturbed the peace of that part of the kingdom. The occa-

sion of it was this. One Arthur Smith and his servant were apprehended for coining money of a base metal, and contrary to the laws of the realm, and were both sent prisoners to Edinburgh, where the servant was hanged; but Smith made his escape, went to Caithness, and remained there some time with the Earl. As soon as the king heard of his being in that country, he gave a commission to Sir Robert Gordon, Sutherland's brother, to apprehend Smith; but as Sir Robert was setting about the performance of these orders, he received instructions to accompany Sir Alexander Hay, (then secretary of Scotland) in order to seize John Lesly and some other rebels in Garioch. Upon this, Sir Robert sent his nephew, Donald Mackie of Farr, John Gordon of Gospiter, junior, and John Gordon, junior, of Backies. They departing from Sutherland with 36 men, came to Thurso, a town in Caithness, the residence of Smith. John Sinclair of Skirkag, upon hearing this, got together the inhabitants of Thurso, and, without regarding the King's order, attacked his commissioners in the streets, where a sharp skirmish ensued. Skirkag was killed, and John Sinclair of Dunn mortally wounded. Smith was also left dead on the street, and several of the Gordons were wounded; but when they perceived Smith among the slain, they returned home.

Upon this, both parties were summoned to appear before the King's council at Edinburgh. The Earl of Caithness prosecuted Sir Robert Gordon for the murder of John Sinclair, his nephew. They

in their turn accused the inhabitants of Thurso for resisting the King's commissioners. The privy council had orders from the King to try every method of reconciliation between them, but all to no purpose. An arbitration of friends was also appointed with the same design; but it had no better effect. At last, after various means were used, George Gordon Earl of Enzie brought about a perfect reconciliation, then both families visited each other.

The Castles of EDINBURGH and DALKEITH Surprised.—Anno 1639.

Charles the I. intending to establish episcopacy in Scotland, thereby put the whole nation into a ferment, which was the occasion of a civil war.

The covenanters now avowed their principles of liberty, and many of them disclaimed either of allegiance or pupremacy, though their writings and speeches were filled with the most dutiful professions of obedience to the royal authority. They had surprised the castle of Edinburgh, and the house of Dalkeith, where the regalia were lodged; and they fortified Leith against the royal fleet, which was then at sea. Hamilton was greatly blamed by those, who were ignorant of the true state of things, for not providing better than he did for the defence of Edinburgh castle; and Charles ordered the earl of Traquair to confine himself to his own house, till he should account for the reason why he gave up Dalkeith before any cannon was brought before the place. A few well affected nobility still

made head against the covenanters. The Earl of Roxburgh preserved Tiviotdale in its allegiance; but was soon obliged to yield to the covenanters. The Marquis of Douglas, by being popish, could not do the king the service he wished; and his castle of Tantallon was seized by the covenanters; so that almost all Scotland south of the Tay fell under their power without bloodshed.

NEWCASTLE.—ANNO 1640. August 27.

CHARLES the I. by his too great partiality to the episcopal clergy, had irritated the presbyterians so much, that they determined to repel force by force; and after various skirmishes in different parts of Scotland, they raised an army of 20,000 men, with which they marched into England, with the sword in one hand, and the solemn league and covenant in the other. Leslie at this time remained at Edinburgh, and received the surrender of the castle, which Eserick would not defend, as his garrison were entirely destitute of water. Before he returned to the army, Montrose passed the Tweed, wading the water, and being the first man of the army who set foot on English ground. Their committees were six noblemen, six gentlemen, and six burgesses, who sat in all their councils of war; and Leslie having now joined them, their progress was so rapid, that Lord Conway, who commanded the English, was at a loss how to behave. The subjects of the north of England refused to take the field without money; and he had none to give them. He was in no con-

dition to fortify the castle; and he resolved, after much deliberation, to make a stand at Newberry, where in all probability the Scotch would attempt their passage. Leslie demanded liberty to pass the river with his army, that his countrymen might present their petition to the King: but Charles had proclaimed the Scotch traitors upon their entering England, and Conway paid no regard to their request. The Scotch passed the river under a vast discharge of English artillery. Till then, it is said, the English had been made to believe that the Scotch army had no fire arms of any kind; and Bishop Burnet says, that the discharge of their cannon struck the English as if it had been magic. As soon as the Scotch reached the southern banks of the river, the English cavalry retreated to a hill on their right, instead of covering their infantry on the left. Wilmot, who was an excellent officer, opposed them with six troops, which were drawn up in the front. Ballanden, a brave Scotch officer, wheeled to attack the English body of reserve, who being put into disorder by the Scotch artillery, the cavalry under Lord Conway refused to fight, and Wilmot himself was taken prisoner.

The errors of the English generals on this important day are scarce credible. Their loss was not above 60 men, and, instead of fighting the Scotch, which they might have done, after the latter had passed the river by a conduct so truly military, Conway ordered his horse to march to Durham, and his foot to Newcastle, though he knew it was not tenable, and had resolved not to de-

fend it. Charles and the Earl of Stafford seem, upon this occasion, to have been under the same infatuation as Conway. They sent him orders to retire with his army to Hull, and to leave only 2000 men in the castle, though they knew it was not tenable. The event was, that the Scots, after passing the river, entered Newcastle without opposition, and took possession of all the royal magazines, which were considerable. An imposition of 850 pounds a-day was laid upon the town and the neighbouring counties; and the Earl of Louthian was appointed governor of Newcastle, with a garrison of 2200 men.

MARSTON MOOR.—Anno 1644.

By this time Montrose had joined Charles, and was created a Marquis by him. The Scotch army were 20,000 strong, and were joined by Fairfax at Tadcaster, and soon after by the Earl of Manchester, Cromwell, and other English officers. Finding that the supplies granted by the two houses of parliament were not so readily paid as they had been cheerfully voted, their discontent rose next to a mutiny; and they would have returned home, under pretence of covering their country against Montrose, had they not been in hopes of defeating the army, which was advancing under Prince Rupert, and sharing largely in the spoils of the loyalists.

The parliament's troops were now drawn out in battle array upon Marston Moor, in full confidence of beating Prince Rupert, who was far inferior to

them in strength. They were disappointed, for the prince proceeded towards York, leaving only a party of horse to observe the motions of his enemies. Could he have been persuaded not to hazard a battle but upon his own terms, he might probably have gained a bloodless victory ; but his natural disposition for fighting, was quickened by a letter from Charles, and his own violent hatred of the Scotch in general.

The Marquis of Newcastle, and his lieutenant, general King, a brave Scotch gentleman, earnestly dissuaded him from fighting : but the prince, who had taken the chief command in York, told the Marquis in a cold but peremptory manner, that he was resolved to draw out the garison, which consisted of 7000 men, next day to fight the enemy. The parliament's generals, who were preparing to march southwards, could scarce believe their good fortune, when they saw the dispositions the prince was making to fight them. The two armies were pretty equal in numbers, each consisting of about 14,000 foot, and 9000 horse, attended by a train of 25 pieces of cannon. The affront put upon the Marquis by the Prince, had exasperated the Yorkshire men, and was of the worst consequences to the King's affairs.

The right wing of the parliament's army, in which the Scotch cavalry were posted, was commanded by Fairfax and the Scotch general. The Earl of Manchester, and Cromwell under him, commanded the left wing. The accounts, even of those who were present, differ as to the action. It

is agreed, however, that Rupert's charge was so furious, that he broke the Scotch, and, as usual, pursued the chase too far; so that, before he could return, the Yorkshire forces were cut in pieces by Cromwell, and about ten at night the parliament's army had obtained a complete victory, having killed 4000 of the royalists, and taken 1500 prisoners, among whom were Sir Charles Lucas, and about 100 officers. On the parliament's side about 300 common soldiers and a few officers were killed. The behaviour of the Scotch in this battle has been variously reported. Their cavalry behaved well, but their infantry very indifferently. All the Prince's artillery fell into the hands of the enemy, as did 10,000 stand of arms, 100 colours, and all the baggage of the army. Had there been a good understanding between the Prince and the Marquis of Newcastle they might still have defended York; but Sir Thomas Glenham was obliged to surrender it, the Prince having marched to join Charles, and the Marquis went abroad in disguise.

The Scotch army under Lesly, not being permitted to enter York, marched to Newcastle, and took it, after an obstinate siege of two months.

TIPPERMOOR.—Anno 1644. Sept. 1.

Montrose thought he could not do too much to wipe out the stain of his former disloyalty. He had, with a small flying army, been very active in the north of England. He took and plundered Morpeth, as he did a fort at the mouth of the Tyne, and threw a supply of corn into Newcastle. His

intelligence was too late for him to be present at the battle of Marstonmoor. After resigning the few troops he had to his friend Lord Ogilvy, he went in disguise to Scotland, and lurking there for some time, he heard of a body of Irish who were landed in the north, and were marching through the Highlands to his assistance: he found means to acquaint them where he was, and appointed the rendezvous to be in Athol, where they were joined by a body of Scotch Highlanders from Badenoch, who had taken arms, upon hearing that Montrose had declared for the royal cause. His whole army did not amount to 1500 men; his Irish auxiliaries only 1100, though 10,000 were promised; and those were either miserably armed, or had no arms at all. Among the first manœuvres was his putting the estates of the covenanters under contribution, and giving their houses to plunder, for having insulted his little army.

The landing of the Irish, and their having been joined by the Highlanders, with the fame of Montrose, alarmed the covenanters; and Montrose found himself between two of their armies, one commanded by Lord Elcho, and the other by Argyll. It happened that Lord Kilpont and Sir John Drummond had been obliged to raise their followers to join the covenanters: but, being royalists in their hearts, they joined Montrose with 500 men. He soon saw Elcho's army drawn up in order of battle upon Tippermoor; but though the greatest part of Montrose's men were armed with nothing but stones, their enemies were entirely routed; 2000 of

them were killed on the spot; the most part of the rest were taken prisoners, their cavalry alone escaping, as Montrose and all his army had no more than one lame horse, and two fit for service. The town of Perth, that very day, surrendered to the conqueror; and he was joined by the Earl of Kinnoul and some neighbouring gentlemen.

It is amazing with what rapid progres Montrose afterwards proceeded; and how with a small handful he defeated great armies of his enemies; and had he been properly supported, in all probability he would have fixed his royal master on the throne, in spite of all opposition.

ABERDEEN.—Anno 1644. Sept. 12.

The Marquis of Montrose, after gaining the battle of Tippermoor, upon the news of Argyll's approach with a very superior army, was obliged to march towards Angus, where the royal interest was strong, and where he was joined by a considerable body of the Ogilvies, under one of the Earl of Airly's sons. Soon after he got an addition of troops from Fife, and marched north to fight Lord Burleigh, who commanded 2000 foot and 500 horse near Aberdeen. The greatest part of Montrose's Highlanders had, as usual, by this time returned home, so that he had with him not above 1500 foot and 44 horse; but he again obtained a complete victory, and almost that whole body of the covenanters were cut in pieces, after an obstinate dispute for four hours. The amazing success of Montrose in these two battles was of greater service

to his own reputation than to the cause he supported. Though all the country round was well disposed to the King, yet Montrose's conduct had given the Marquis of Huntly and his numerous followers such prepossessions, that few of them were active in other parts of the country against the covenanters.

FYVIE.—Anno 1644.

After the battle of Aberdeen, Montrose was obliged to retire to the mountains, upon hearing of Argyll's approach, having dispatched Sir William Rollock to inform the King of his victories and the state of his affairs; and that he must still be ruined, if supplies were not sent him. Argyll, upon his retreat, entered Aberdeen, where proclamation was made, declaring Montrose and his adherents traitors, and offering a reward of 20,000 pounds Scots to any one who would bring him dead or alive.

Argyll, whose chief strength consisted in his horse, did not think proper to pursue Montrose, but ordered the inhabitants of Murray, Ross, and Sutherland, to take arms; and Montrose was for some time confined to his bed at Badenoch through sickness, but soon recovered. He had previously buried his cannon; and Argyll's motions being very slow, his light infantry fatigued the cavalry so much, that they marched into Angus, and from thence back to Strathbogie and the country of the Gordons, leaving his enemies far behind. The situation of that noble family was then particular.

Lord Gordon, the eldest son, was in Argyll's hands; the Earl of Aboyne was shut up in Carlisle, which was then besieged; and the third son, Lord Lewis, was an officer in his uncle Argyll's army, while the father was still skulking in the Highlands. In those days, and in that country, even loyalty was but secondary to chieftainship; and though the Gordons were passionate royalists, yet Montrose could bring none of them to the field. Leaving Strathbogie, he had almost been ruined at Fyvie through false intelligence; for, while he thought the enemy to be at a great distance, he found Argyll and Louthian encamped, within two miles of his quarters, with 2500 foot and 1200 horse. Montrose thought himself then in imminent danger. Macdonald was absent in the Highlands with a detachment of his army; so that he had not with him above 1500 foot and 50 horse. Not choosing to shut himself up in the castle of Fyvie, he intrenched himself in the best manner he could, and repelled two furious charges made upon him by the covenanters. When his ball and ammunition failed, he supplied it, by melting into balls all the pewter vessels he could find in the castle and the village, and made so good a defence, that Argyll was obliged to retreat, and left Montrose to pursue his march once more to the Highlands. The fatigues of his officers, who, among his low country forces, were more numerous than his private men, together with the practices of Argyll, who still hung upon his rear, were such, that most of them left him at Badenoch. It is almost incredible that

David Earl of Airly, though past sixty years of age, whose eldest son was a prisoner with the covenanters, still attended him through all his dangers and difficulties, with his two sons, Sir Thomas and Sir David Ogilvy.

INVERLOCHY.— Anno 1645. Feb. 2.

The rest of Montrose's campaign gives almost a sanction to romance. In the midst of winter he travelled through almost untrodden paths, filled with snow, twenty-four miles in one night, and drove Argyll from Dunkeld to Perth, which had again received a garrison of the covenanters. Macdonald returned from the Highlands, with the Captain Clanronald, and 500 of his men, which determined Montrose to carry the war into the heart of Argyll's own country. This resolution, which was equally wise and spirited, was the more extraordinary, as Montrose, ever since his arrival in Scotland, had neither arms, food, clothing, nor ammunition, for his men, but what he took from his enemies. Montrose was encouraged, however, by the unpopularity of Argyll, through his oppressive practices; and he executed his resolution with such amazing quickness, that, while Argyll thought he was at the distance of 100 miles, the former was obliged to throw himself into a fishing boat, to prevent his being seized at his own house of Inverary.

Major General Baillie succeeded Argyll and Louthian in their commissions, and was declared commander in chief. He appointed the first rendezvous of his army to be at Perth. Montrose

was all this while in Argyll's country, where there is too much reason to think that his men indulged themselves in the greatest licentiousness and barbarity. He advanced from thence to Lochness, where he heard that the Earl of Seaforth, a very powerful nobleman in the north, was advancing against him with 5000 men, and that Argyll, having resumed his arms, was near Inverlochy with 3000 more. Montrose resolved to fight the latter; and making a forced march of 30 miles over the mountains of Lochaber, Argyll's army was completely routed on the 2d of February, with the loss of 1500 men; that of Montrose being no more than three, besides a few wounded. The brave Sir Thomas Ogilvy died of his wounds. He was esteemed one of the most accomplished gentlemen of his country. After this victory, Montrose returned by painful marches over the mountains, and took possession of Elgin, where the Lord Gordon having escaped from the custody of his uncle Argyll, offered him his service as the King's lieutenant. He, and the few followers he brought with him, were gladly received by Montrose, whose army soon amounted to 2000 foot and 200 horse. With these he beat Sir John Urie, who was esteemed one of the best of the enemy's officers, near Brechin; and Urie joined Baillie with the remains of his army. The exploits of Montrose were now such, that some of their best regiments were recalled both from England and Ireland, with a resolution to put at once an end to the war. This rendered Montrose cautious, so that Baillie could not fight him but upon his own terms.

AULDERNE.—Anno 1645. May 4.

After the battle of Inverlochy, and his defeating Sir John Urie at Brechin, Montrose sent his baggage northwards, and stormed Dundee, one of the strongest and richest towns belonging to the covenanters; and had not the Highlanders and Irish been intent upon plunder and strong liquors, it must have been reduced to ashes.

While Montrose's men were busy plundering, an account came that Baillie and Urie were not a mile distant with 3000 foot and 800 horse. Montrose saw it was in vain to fight, his army having that day undergone prodigious fatigues; but he made a most masterly retreat northwards, till he reached the skirts of the Highlands, where he knew he was safe. This retreat did great honour to Montrose as a soldier, and the greatest military men, both at home and abroad, preferred it to his most celebrated victories.

Montrose having reached Glenesk, sent northwards Lord Gordon, who undertook to bring back the gentlemen whom his brother had carried off. This weakened his army so much, that he was almost surprised by Baillie in Perthshire. Urie having marched north to oppose Lord Gordon, he was followed by Montrose, who was joined by Lord Gordon with 1000 foot and 200 horse. We may observe here, that those marches of Montrose would appear incredible at present, were it not for those which their descendants performed in later times. Montrose being thus reinforced, resolved to fight

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Urie, who was then lying at Elgin, and thought that Montrose was on the south side of the Grampians. Urie retreated in great haste towards Inverness; and being warmly pursued, reached it with great difficulty, while Montrose encamped at the village of Aulderne. The Earl of Seaforth had now returned north, and was waiting with a body of men at Inverness, which joined Urie, and made his army 3500 strong in foot, and 400 in horse, with whom he marched out to fight Montrose, who had with him no more than 1500 foot and about 250 horse. The latter would have gladly retreated, as he understood that Baillie had passed the Grampians, and was advancing on his rear with an army still greater than that of Urie. Finding it impracticable to retreat, or to maintain his ground, till the rest of his army, whom he had left behind, could come up, he made an excellent disposition of his few troops; and though his right wing was in danger of being cut in pieces, he was again victorious. This victory was the more glorious for Montrose, as he gained it over an experienced general; and it was so complete, that not above 500 of the enemy escaped, 3000 falling in the field. It was remarkable, that the greatest part of Urie's foot were killed in their ranks; and all Montrose's loss was one private man in the right, and fourteen in his left wing.

ALFORD.—Anno 1645. July 2.

After the above almost miraculous victory, Montrose marched to Elgin to refresh his army,

while Urie, who had carried off his horse, joined Baillie. Montrose declined fighting them, as his men had of late suffered amazing fatigues, and retired to Balveny, while Baillie, desisting from the pursuit, as he found his men dispirited, went to Inverness. Montrose marched southwards to have fought the Earl of Lindsay, who was the chief Lord next to Argyll in credit and command among the covenanters; but found himself of a sudden deserted by all his north country forces, excepting his friend Lord Gordon. This made him desist from his enterprize against Lindsay, in which he had promised himself undoubted success. Lord Gordon's credit with his father's followers soon after repaired that loss to Montrose; and Macdonald had considerable success in raising recruits of Highlanders. Baillie, in like manner, was joined by Lord Lindsay, and was carrying fire and sword through the estates of the royalists. Montrose, after many marches and counter marches, took a convenient camp at Alford, near the Don, which river Baillie passed; so that a battle was now unavoidable. Both armies made the proper dispositions, the foot being pretty equal in numbers, though Baillie was strongest in horse. Victory again declared in favour of Montrose, though he bought it dearly by the loss of the brave Lord Gordon, whose fall affected his friends and followers so much, that little execution was done in the pursuit. Two other gentlemen were killed on Montrose's side; but it is said he did not lose a single private man, though all the enemy's foot, a very few excepted, fought very

bravely, and, having refused quarter, were put to the sword.

Montrose, after performing, in the most solemn manner, the obsequies of Lord Gordon, marched to Mearns, and from thence into Angus, and was joined by different companies of the Highlanders; so that if he could have raised a body of cavalry, he would have marched to Stirling and to Perth, to both which towns the parliament, which was to have met at Edinburgh, was adjourned, on account of the plague.

KILSYTH.—Anno 1645. Aug. 15.

Though Montrose had not with him above 100 horse after the battle of Alford, yet his foot was in excellent order; and expecting daily reinforcements under the Earls of Aboyne and Airly, he marched towards Perth, where the parliament was sitting. This alarmed the covenanters; but they soon perceived, by his skirting along the high grounds, that he was deficient in cavalry; and receiving strong reinforcements from Fife, and other counties, they offered him battle; but he kept within his fastnesses till he was joined by a reinforcement at Dunkeld. The covenanters now took up a strong ground, where Montrose did not think proper to engage them; but turning short, he marched into Fife, where the strength of his enemy's interest lay. He did not, however, judge it safe to penetrate farther than Kinross, from whence he advanced towards Stirling, where he received an account that Baillie was on his march to fight him, and that the

Earls of Lanark, Englinton, Cassils, Glencairn, and other heads of the covenanters, were raising great levies in their respective counties, which the flames of war had not yet reached. Montrose was at this time at the head of a much better army than he had ever commanded, his numbers being about 5000, of whom 500 were horse. The Marquis of Argyll, and the Earls of Lanark and Lindsay, had been joined in command with Baillie by their parliament at Stirling; and their army consisted of 6000 foot, and 1000 horse. Montrose having retired to Kilsyth, that he might choose a proper ground for fighting, the covenanters thought he was flying, and called upon their generals to pursue him, and, if possible, to cut off his retreat from the Highlands. Baillie, who knew Montrose to be as sagacious and cautious as he was brave and enterprising, did all he could to dissuade them from fighting, but to no purpose. The battle at last began, in a field so broken and irregular, that, did not tradition and history concur, it could hardly be believed, that it had ever been the scene of any military operation. It lies around a hollow, where a reservoir is now formed for supplying the great canal, a little north of Shaw-end. Two or three of Baillie's regiments began, by attempting to dislodge a party from the cottages and yards; but, meeting with a very warm reception, were forced to retire. A general engagement now commenced, in a manner altogether tumultuary. A thousand Highlanders in Montrose's army, without waiting for orders, marched up the hill to the charge. Though displeased with

their rashness, but seeing it necessary to support them, he sent a strong detachment under the command of the Earl of Airly to their assistance, whose arrival not only preserved this resolute corps from being overpowered by a superior force, with which they were going to engage, but turned the balance against their antagonists, who were obliged to retreat. By this time the whole army of Montrose had advanced, and, making a general assault, threw that of Baillie into so great confusion, that he found it impossible to rally any part of them. Upon this disaster, the general, who, during the action, had exerted himself with all the activity which his present fettered situation would admit, rode with full speed to bring up the *corps de reserve*, in order to make an attempt to retrieve the state of affairs; but he found that that body had also taken to flight.

A total rout ensued, and the conquerors pursuing, committed dreadful slaughter, insomuch that few of the foot escaped. The Irish, too, in Montrose's army, not satisfied without mercy those that fled from the battle, massacred many of the unarmed inhabitants of the country.

This was the most complete victory that Montrose had ever gained, and, with a very small loss upon his side, only seven or eight persons having been slain, three of whom were named Ogilvie, being relations of the family of Airly. This account appears almost incredible, when we consider the different rencounters which appear to have happened in the field, and the brisk fire given for a little

by five of Baillie's regiments. Near the field of battle, upon the south, lies a large morass, called Dolater Bog, through the midst of which the canal now stretches. Several of Baillie's cavalry, in the hurry of their flight, ran unawares into this bog, where they perished. The dead bodies of both men and horses, according to common report, have been dug up there, in the memory of people yet alive. And, as moss is endowed with a quality which long preserves dead bodies from putrefaction, they are said not to have been greatly consumed. Yea, as tradition goes, one was found upon horseback, with all his military accoutrements upon him, in the very posture in which he had sunk.

At the time of this battle, guns were fired, by applying a match to them, flints not being in use. It was reported, that several of Baillie's regiments not being properly supplied with these instruments, fired none at all.

A great number of prisoners was taken, and, after the victory, Montrose became master of all the country. Edinburgh and Glasgow, with sundry other towns and shires, compounded with him for large sums of money. Being lifted up beyond measure with this success, he wrote a letter to the King, informing him of the great and prosperous efforts he had made in his cause, and dissuading him from entering into any terms with his undutiful subjects; moreover, assuring him, that, as he was now entire master of Scotland, he would be able, in a few months, to march into England with his victorious army. In one of his letters, written

about that time, he concludes with these words:—"I have gone over the whole land, from Dan to Beersheba, come thou and take this city, lest I take it, and it be called by my name." This letter, however, never reached Charles; for, upon Montrose's defeat at Philiphaugh, his papers were seized before he had dispatched the courier.

After the defeat, the Marquis of Argyll, and the rest of the nobility, fled to different places. General Baillie, with such of the cavalry as he could collect, repaired to Stirling; he was afterwards called to account by the Committee of Estates for the loss of the battle; malicious aspersions having been raised against him, as if he had not acted with proper vigour and fidelity; but he vindicated himself, and was found to have acted in every step in strict conformity to the directions of the field-committee, which had been appointed to attend him.

PHILIPHAUGH.—Anno 1645. Sept. 12.

Montrose's victory at Kilsyth had the most interesting consequences. Few of the covenanting nobility thought themselves safe in their own country. Some of them fled to England, some to Ireland, and others pretended to be converts to the royal cause. Nothing was now to be heard of but professions of allegiance to the King, who had sent Montrose a commission to be lieutenant-governor and captain-general of all his forces in Scotland. This so displeased most of the loyal nobility, that few of them ever after seemed to be hearty in the King's cause.

Montrose imagined, as appears by a letter from Sir Robert Spottiswood, one of the wisest and most worthy of the Scotch royalists, that the King's generals would have found work in the north of England for Leslie, who commanded the Scotch cavalry. Montrose was flattered by warm addresses from the Earls of Traquair, Roxburgh, and Hume, who invited him to enter England. The Earl of Aboyne, not thinking himself and his family sufficiently considered, carried northward the greatest part of his horse; so that, upon the whole, Montrose was abandoned by 3000 of his best troops, which ruined the royal cause. Perhaps, his new commission made him act with a haughtiness which had disgusted the royalists; and he had too great a contempt for an enemy he had so often and so shamefully defeated. He still hastened southwards to forward the levies, and was joined by a troop of horse under Lord Linton, Traquair's son; but, when at Kelso, he had reason to believe, that the Earls of Roxburgh and Hume had suffered themselves to be taken prisoners by a party of Leslie's horse, and sent to Berwick; and that Traquair, without consulting him, ordered his son, with his troop of horse, to leave the army.

He would have returned northward, but received particular orders to the contrary from the King; and Lesly, who had entered Scotland by the way of Berwick, had reanimated the covenanters, and made disposition for cutting off his retreat to London.

From the narrative given us by all parties, it

seems pretty plain (as was observed above) that the high commission conferred upon Montrose by the King contributed to the ruin of his cause, as appears by what follows.

The house of Huntly, and Sir Alexander Macdonald in the Highlands, on whom and their followers he chiefly depended, thinking they were ill treated, by his being considered and rewarded as the only Scotch subject who had done the King service, and had left his army, with a resolution to fight no longer under his banners; so that, after various marches, all which were betrayed to Leslie, who was then in East Lothian, he arrived at Selkirk on the 12th of September, with an intention to march northwards to the Highlands. He had with him then no more than 500 foot and 200 horse, most of them new raised men; and he trusted for intelligence to his scouts, who betrayed him; so that his small handful was sruroundedby Leslie with 6000 horse and foot, while Montrose thought him still in East Lothian. Though it was almost madness to think of resistance, yet Montrose's intrepidity and presence of mind never forsook him; and, after a gallant defence, he cut his way through the enemy, and carried off his horse. About 200 of his foot obtained quarter, and threw down their arms; but Leslie, who neither could nor durst resist the importunity of the covenanting preachers, ordered them all, together with the women and boys attending, to be put to death in cold blood. The rest of Montrose's foot joined him in his flight.

WETHERBY—Anno 1648. Aug. 15.

King Charles had by this time granted to the Scotch presbyterians all that they demanded for presbytery and the covenants in Scotland; but the Marquis of Argyll and his party insisted upon the English royalists conforming themselves to the presbyterian religion, and likewise in taking the covenants. Their resisting this gave a handle for Argyll and his party to discredit the royal service, and to obstruct Hamilton's measures in a war against England, or rather against the party that opposed the King.

Though the parliament of Scotland had voted 30,000 foot and 6000 horse to be raised, and that Monro, who commanded the Scotch in Ireland, should be recalled with his army; yet that under the Duke of Hamilton, when mustered, amounted to no more than 10,000 foot and 4000 horse, and these so miserably provided with arms, from the disappointment they received from the Queen and the Prince, that they had not a single field-piece among them. This may likewise be accounted for, from the opposition of Leven, Leslie, and Argyll. The Earl of Callendar, however, was made lieutenant-general, and Middleton, major-general of the horse, who continued ever afterwards a firm royalist. Lambert, the Parliament's general in the north, had invested Carlisle, and Langdale, Musgrave, and other royalists, obliged Hamilton, against his own and his brother's inclination, to march to its relief, with one of the worst appointed bodies of infantry that ever left Scotland. Crom-

well, after subduing the Welsh, was marching into the north of England; and he sent Lambert orders not to fight the Scotch before he could join him.

Upon this he retired from the siege; and the English royalists put both Berwick and Carlisle into Hamilton's hands; whose army, strengthened by 2000 veterans under Monro, and Langdale was ready to join him with the same number; but the generals differed among themselves. Monro did not incline to take orders from Callendar; and the latter was for much brisker measures than Hamilton approved of. Instead of collecting their force into one quarter, it was dissipated by the general's orders for easing the people of the country, as he pretended; so that there was sometimes a distance of above twenty miles between the van and the rear of their army; and Langdale's forces were kept in a separate body upon the front. The sentiments of their generals were as much divided as the quarters of their troops; and their intelligence was so bad, they did not know Cromwell was on full march to join Lambert, who continued retiring, till, on the 19th of July, he came to Penrith, from whence he moved to Appleby, skirmishing with the van guard of the Scotch army all the way till he came to Kirby Steven.

A council of war being held, it was carried against the opinion of Hamilton, (according to Burnet) that they should march into England through Lancashire, instead of Yorkshire. Monro and his division were at this time thrown into the rear, on pretence of bringing up artillery from Scotland;

so that he remained at Appleby, where he was joined by some of the English royalists. The Scotch army, preceded by Langdale's division, were still advancing through Lancashire by Kendal and Hornby; when, on the 27th of July, Lambert was joined by part of Cromwell's forces near Barnard Castle, having taken that rout, in order to cover Yorkshire; and on the 15th of August, his army and that of Cromwell joined between Knaresborough and Wetherby, before the Scotch suspected that they were within 150 miles of each other. Their front at this time was about thirty-five miles distant from the rear; while Cromwell's intelligence was so good, that he charged Langdale's division, so as to cut it off from the main body of the Scotch. The behaviour of the royalists was, however, very gallant; but, after an obstinate dispute, they were forced into the town of Preston. It appears, that, at this time, Callendar and Middleton, with the Scotch cavalry, had advanced as far as Wigmor.

According to the most probable conjecture that can be formed, Callendar's intention was to have pushed forwards into England, as Cromwell's and Lambert's army were much fatigued by their long and severe marches, and the Scotch cavalry in excellent condition. The disputes that happened between Hamilton and his officers about relieving Langdale were childish and trifling, and their efforts were but languid. The whole ended in the slaughter of the brave English; while the Scotch were seized with such a panic, that their infantry

under Baillie retreated from post to post, being slaughtered all the way by Cromwell's men, till they came to Warington bridge, where they offered to capitulate with Cromwell, and ten thousand of them actually throwing down their arms, both officers and soldiers became prisoners of war to the parliament.

Callendar breaking through the enemy with a resolute body of his friends, they escaped to their own country, while he pushed forward to London, and from thence he went over to Holland. Cromwell sent Lambert in pursuit of the Scotch cavalry under Hamilton, who surrendered himself and them prisoners of war. They were sent to different prisons, and he himself to Windsor.

DUNBAR.—Anno 1650.

Notwithstanding the desire of the English presbyterians to be reunited with their brethren of Scotland, yet Cromwell's interest in the House of Commons, and the vigilance of Lambert's army on the borders, put an end to all hopes of that kind, which were entirely incompatible with Cromwell's views. His management was such, that when Fairfax declared to accept of the command against the Scotch, he was laid aside, and Cromwell declared captain-general of all the forces raised, or to be raised, within the commonwealth of England. On the 20th of June he left London to head his army.

Whatever correspondence the covenanters might formerly have had with Cromwell, they looked up-

on the march of the English army towards Scotland as an attempt upon the independence of their country. They took their measures so well, that, when Cromwell, on the 18th of July, arrived at Berwick, he found he could depend upon no supplies but what he drew from the fleet, which were precarious and difficult.

Leslie had been appointed commander in chief of the Scotch. His army consisted of about 21,000 men, but most of them aukward and ill disciplined, and differing in principles as well as profession. That of Cromwell amounted to 18,000 of the best troops in the world. It was a farther disadvantage to the Scotch, that the clergy had inspired the Scotch soldiers with notions of certain victory, in case of an engagement. This rendered all the prudent dispositions of their generals useless. Cromwell had struggled with great difficulties from the time he had left Berwick till he reached Dunbar. He was cut off by the Scotch, as well as by the stormy weather, from all communication with the sea. The castle of Edinburgh was in the hands of his enemies, and their army was posted so advantageously near that city, that it could not be attacked. He had a space of about eighteen miles, between Edinburgh and Dunbar, to range in. He practised every stratagem of war to entice the Scotch to battle; he was victorious in all the skirmishes between his soldiers and theirs: but all was ineffectual for exciting them to fight him, or procuring assistance to his troops. He at last pitched his camp on Pentland Hills to fight (as Whitlock ex-

presses it) for his victuals, and he marched from thence, on the 1st of September, to Dunbar, in hopes of obtaining relief from his ships.

His distress rendered the covenanters eagerly bent for battle. Their officers were obliged to submit, and putting their army in motion, marched to gain a pass between Dunbar and Edinburgh; but they found it possessed by the English. Cromwell was then at the Earl of Roxburgh's, and felicitated his officers upon their deliverance, as a battle was now unavoidable, and he thought that fighting and beating the Scotch was the same thing. He supported the pass with the main body of his army, and his veterans attacked the undisciplined Scotch with so much success, that though the latter were by that time double the number of their enemies, they scarcely met with any resistance. The field became a scene of slaughter rather than that of battle. Four thousand fell on the spot, and ten thousand were taken prisoners in their flight towards Edinburgh. One half of the latter were desperately wounded, or unfit for service: the other half were sent to London, from whence they were transported to the English plantations. All their colours, arms, ammunition, tents, and baggage, with the greatest part of their officers, fell into the hands of the enemy, whose loss was very inconsiderable.

The dispatch, containing the particulars of this fatal battle, reached London in three days.

WORCESTER.—Anno 1651.

After the above decisive victory, Cromwell took Edinburgh castle, and having reduced several other forts, and gained some skirmishes, as Charles II. was raising men in the north, and hastening towards Stirling, he ordered Lambert to get between him and the northern counties, which gave Charles no alternative, but that of either fighting Cromwell or marching southward. Having collected twenty-two thousand men, he resolved to march into England, where he expected to be joined by Lord Derby; but that nobleman was routed by the rebels. Charles depended upon the English presbyterians, the inveterate enemies of Cromwell, and the independents; but on their discovering, by some intercepted letters, that he was in his heart an irreconcileable enemy to the covenants, they laid aside all thoughts of joining him; nor were even the English royalists very fond of enlisting with an army of Scotch invaders. Charles's army had dwindled by desertions to fourteen thousand; and Leslie their major-general's opinion was, that even these would not fight. The Duke of Hamilton, though he dreaded the perdition that attended the invasion, yet he acted with great spirit and magnanimity. He saw an end of all Charles's promising resources out of England. He did all he could to animate his troops, and prevent further desertion.

Charles had hopes that Shrewsbury and Gloucester would declare for him, and had some

thoughts of marching into Wales; but all his prospects failed him, and on the 15th of August, he had in his front an army of 6000 horse, commanded by Lambert and Harrison, besides 3000 foot, who had taken possession of Warrington bridge.

Though Charles and Hamilton were not seconded by Leslie (according to Guthrie,) yet they beat the enemy from Warrington bridge; and Lambert's foot must have been destroyed, had not Leslie given it as his opinion, against that of the Duke of Hamilton, not to pursue them. It is supposed that Lambert had orders from Cromwell to suffer the Scotch army to advance farther into England, and the Duke of Hamilton proposed to march directly to London. This would have been the worst measure they could have pursued; but the English, under the Earl of Derby and Lord Widrington, refused to join them; and so much time was lost, that Lambert posted himself on the road to London, and Charles, upon the approach of Cromwell, marched through Worcester, while the party under Derby was defeated by Lilburn. When Charles arrived at Worcester, he found his affairs desperate; but he made the best disposition he could, by fortifying the city, and taking a very advantageous and proper encampment in its neighbourhood.

In about twenty-four hours after Charles took post at Worcester, he was surrounded by an army of 30,000 veterans, and 20,000 militia, commanded by Cromwell in person. The Scotch cavalry at-

fines. The peasants, who knew they were to expect no mercy, were soon joined by others, who surprised and disarmed other parties of soldiers. They were now joined by some country gentlemen, and their behaviour was far more moderate and peaceable than could have been expected from their provocations. Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace and one Major Learmonth were their chief officers: but they expected to be headed by Major-General Montgomery of the house of Eglintoun. In this, however, they were disappointed, which struck a great damp upon their cause.

At Ayr, the place of their rendezvous, their numbers amounted to two thousand, notwithstanding the dreadful disappointment they met with;—and at Ochiltree they formed themselves into the appearance of an army, of which Wallace was chosen commander in chief. General Dalziel remained still at Glasgow, and seemed perfectly easy at the progress of the insurgents, whose numbers would, in a short time, he thought, decrease. He was not mistaken; for though, when they advanced to Lanark, in their way to Edinburgh, they were three thousand strong, yet they diminished every day after. Dalziel followed them slowly;—they, however, avoided an engagement, having placed great hopes in the citizens of Edinburgh, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring counties. But, though they marched to Corstorphine, within two miles of the capital, they found no encouragement, as both the city and castle were fortified against them. Above one half of their numbers had

now left them; and Mr John Guthrie, one of the most animated leaders they had, was taken so ill, that he was obliged to leave the field. All hopes of success being now over, the Duke of Hamilton, and some gentlemen of rank, offered to procure their pardon, if they would lay down their arms. Some negociations of that kind were held; and it appears, by the papers published by Mr Woodrow, that Wallace did send proposals to the council, where Sharp continued to preside; but they were rejected, as the King's proclamation contained no promise of pardon.

All hopes of obtaining terms being now at an end, they resolved to march to Biggar by the Pentland hills; but, on a muster, they found they had not nine hundred men, and those weak and dispirited through fatigue and disappointment. Dalziel was then close on their rear, and an engagement was unavoidable. In the action Wallace's men behaved with great courage, and in several attacks repulsed the King's troops; but the dispute at last was finished by Dalziel's superiority in cavalry, and the insurgents were totally defeated. Not above fifty were killed in battle, but some hundreds were taken prisoners. Wallace, who, through the whole of this expedition, appears to have acted with no contemptible military abilities, escaped to Holland; and his whole army must have been killed or taken prisoners, had it not been for the darkness of the night.

This conflict happened on the 28th of November.

BOTHWELL BRIDGE.—Anno 1679.

After the murder of Sharp, Lauderdale and his friends made it a handle for justifying and increasing the persecutions of the presbyterians.—They issued bloody mandates to the soldiers to fall upon all persons assembled at conventicles (as they were pleased to call them), and put them to the sword. This, instead of dissipating, cemented the presbyterians, who were not ignorant of the untoward state of Charles's affairs in England, and about eighty of them assembled at Rutherglen in Clydesdale. They were headed by one Hamilton, a preacher, who, with two hundred and fifty peasants, half armed, entirely defeated Claverhouse, a most violent persecutor, and killed about thirty of his soldiers, made as many prisoners, and he himself narrowly escaped with his life.

Elated with this advantage, they took possession of the town of Hamilton, and the regular forces were alarmed at Glasgow. So dreadful an account of the rebellion was sent to London, that the Duke of Monmouth was nominated to command the King's forces in Scotland, and Dalziel was appointed his lieutenant-general. This appointment of the Duke, who was thought to have some bias towards the Opposition in England, and to be no friend to Lauderdale, was agreeable to all parties.

The Duke, who had left London with favourable ideas of the Scotch presbyterians, was surprised when he received orders not to treat with

them; but the caution was needless, for Hamilton and his party were averse to any application of that kind. They were now dwindled to less than half their number, and even these remained united only by the principle of common danger. A majority of them agreed upon a petition to the Duke, who received it with great civility, and some show of affection; but told them that he would enter upon no treaty with them, unless they laid down their arms, and threw themselves upon the King's mercy, giving them but half an hour to consider of the proposal.

Their army was then encamped on the south side of Clyde, near Hamilton, and masters of the pass of Bothwell bridge. Upon the return of the deputies, Hamilton and his friends disclaimed all they had done, and the half hour being expired, the Earl of Linlithgow beat their advanced guards, after a smart dispute from the bridge, and drove them back upon their main body, which remained under Hamilton, and had never advanced to defend the pass, as they unnoubtedly ought to have done. Mr Woodrow, who lived at that time, alleges, that Hamilton was deficient in point of courage as well as conduct. It is certain, when the artillery was brought to play on the main body of his men, Hamilton was amongst the first who fled; all the horse followed him in his flight; some of the foot escaped from the field; twelve hundred surrendered themselves without a stroke; about five hundred were killed in the field, besides those who fell in the pursuit. The loss of the royal

army did not exceed four or five soldiers.—This affair happened on the 22d June.

KILLIKRANKIE.—Anno 1689.

After the revolution, the Viscount of Dundee was the only prop of James's cause in Scotland. He summoned the Highland clans to join him, which they did to the number of two thousand; and he drove Colonel Ramsay, who commanded under General Mackay from the Highlands, at the head of his regiment of cavalry. Mackay found that his own regiment, on the first opportunity, would desert to Dundee; and it was with difficulty that he saved himself by a precipitate retreat, till he was joined by Ramsay's dragoons, and an additional number of English infantry;—upon which Dundee, who had not with him above two thousand men, retired towards Lochaber, where it was impossible to force him to a battle.

Mackay put his men into quarters of refreshment, after undergoing vast fatigues; and the Athole Highlanders, who had been raised by Lord Murray, the Marquis's son, deserted their young chief, and declared for King James. About three hundred miserable new raised foot at this time arrived from Ireland, instead of the numerous reinforcements promised by James and Melfort to Dundee. The latter was not discouraged with this disappointment, and marched to raise the siege of the castle of Blair, which held out for King James. By this time Mackay had again taken the field, and had advanced to the pass of Killikrankie. A

battle ensued, in which Mackay was defeated, with the loss of about two thousand men, and almost all his artillery. But Dundee, in giving orders about the pursuit, was killed by a random shot; and with him perished all the surviving hopes of the rational Jacobites in Scotland.

It is said that five hundred were taken prisoners, and that Mackay himself, with his chief officers, must have undergone the same fate, had not the Highlanders been so intent upon plunder.—The loss of Dundee's men (says Guthrie) was so inconsiderable, that I do not find it mentioned.

CROMDELL.—Anno 1690.

The death of Viscount Dundee did not discourage the Highland Jacobites. Colonel Cannon, an Irish officer, who had succeeded Dundee in the command, had retired to the Isle of Mull; but no sooner did King William recall his troops from the north of Scotland into Ireland, than they renewed their incursions under Sir Hugh Cameron, Locheil, who had nearly surprised the town of Inverness. As to Cannon, finding he was not popular among the Highlanders, and that all the heads of the Jacobites in the Lowlands had either deserted the cause, or were confined, he went to Ireland, and left the command with Cameron, whose numbers soon amounted to two thousand. Two frigates were sent by King James from Dublin with ammunition, clothes, and arms, for their use, and one Colonel Buchan, with about forty other officers, to head them.

By this time they had fallen down Strathspey in the county of Murray, where they expected further reinforcements; but they were surprised by Sir Thomas Livingstone, a Dutch colonel, who defeated Buchan, after killing one hundred of his men, and making about four hundred prisoners, with little or no loss to himself.

This happened at a place called Cromdell; but Sir Thomas had no instructions to follow his blow; so that the Highlanders still remained in a body.

The ruin of King James's affairs in Ireland, his losing the battle of the Boyne, and his return to France, were urged by the more serious Jacobites as reasons for their accepting of the pardon tendered them by Government; and King William would willingly have agreed to it, had not Cameron, and some other of their desperate leaders, opposed all treaty with the Prince of Orange, as they called him.

SHERIFFMOOR.—Anno 1715.

Upon the advancement of George the I. to the crown of Great Britain, he expressed the highest regard for the Whig nobility; many of whom he admitted to higher titles, and the first places of the government, while the Tories found themselves under a cloud. The versatile Earl of Marr, who, for some time had professed himself a violent Tory, would gladly have made his peace with the Whigs; but the King ordered him to be deprived of the seals of secretary of state, upon which he with-

drew to Scotland, and made preparations for a rebellion in favour of the Pretender. He was soon followed by the young Earl Marshal, who lost his second troop of horse guards, and a number of suspected persons were seized in Great Britain and Ireland.

The Earl of Marr soon found the dispositions of the northern Scotch to be so much in favour of the Pretender, that he was soon at the head of a formidable body of men, though he had not yet received any authority to command them. He fixed his head-quarters at Perth; and his Highlanders, who were by far his best troops, were well armed. He held at first a correspondence with Forrester Viscount of Panmure, the Earls of Nithsdale, Carnwath, and Wigtoun, the Earl of Derwentwater, Lord Widrington, and other Jacobites, who were in arms in the north of England and south of Scotland. Marr sent a body of about two thousand men across the Forth under Brigadier Macintosh, to join their friends in the south; but though his plan was well laid, it miscarried through the blunders of Macintosh, who, upon landing on the Lothian side, marched directly to Leith, and from thence to England.

After various marches, proclaiming the Pretender in different places, they were attacked at Preston by the King's troops under Carpenter and Wills, to whom they ingloriously surrendered themselves prisoners. They were then carried ignominiously to London, where the Earl of Derwentwater and Viscount Panmure were beheaded.

The Earls of Winton and Nithsdale made their escape while under sentence of death.

On the day that the rebels surrendered at Preston, the battle of Dumblane, or, as it is called, Sheriffmoor, was fought between the Earl of Marr and the Duke of Argyll. The Earl had for some weeks before made several feints for advancing to Stirling, where the Duke's head quarters were, that he might pass the Forth, and join the rebels in the south. The Duke thinking it dishonourable to be insulted, had advanced towards Dumblane, with about 3500 regular troops, while the forces of the rebels amounted to above 7000. The charge of the rebels upon the left of the royal army was so furious, that, in less than ten minutes, it was entirely defeated; and General William gallopped with the utmost precipitation to Stirling. The right of the rebels returning from the pursuit, found that the Duke and Brigadier Wightman had defeated their left; but neither army desiring to renew the action, the victory was claimed by both parties. The Duke was the first who left the field, and retired towards Dumblane, as the rebels did to Ardoch. About six hundred of the King's troops were killed, and double that number of the rebels. The Duke next day returned to the field of battle, buried his dead, and carried off some of the enemy's cannon, as a token of his victory.

PRESTONPANS.—Anno 1745. Sept. 21.

During the French war, that crafty people, in order to distract the British Government, and

draw off their attention from foreign affairs, made use of the young Pretender, Charles Stuart, to raise a rebellion in Scotland. His first intention was to have landed a body of troops in South Britain; but the vigilance of the English admirals defeated that project. He landed, however, in Lochaber, where he was soon joined by a number of followers. Sir John Cope, who was commander in chief for the King in Scotland, assembled between 3000 and 4000 men, and marched to Inverness in quest of the Prince, who had given him the slip. He therefore returned back to Aberdeen, where he embarked his troops, and on the 16th day of September landed at Dunbar, near thirty miles to the east of Edinburgh. Here he was joined by two regiments of dragoons, who had retired from the capital at the approach of the Highland army. With this reinforcement he began his march for Edinburgh to give battle to the enemy, who was now arrived at Edinburgh with his Highland army, consisting of about four thousand.

On the 20th September, General Cope encamped in the neighbourhood of Prestonpans, having the village of Tranent in his front, and the sea in his rear. Being encamped in this situation, about two o'clock they saw the enemy extending themselves along the brow of Carberry hill. Both armies continued to view each other at a distance till five in the afternoon, when the Prince's army, by their motions, seemed as if they designed to begin

the attack; but that was only a feint to amuse the enemy. After this, they held a council of war, when some were for attacking directly; but Sullivan prevailed upon them to defer it till the dawn of the morning, when the spirits of the private men, like the mercury in the thermometer, would be subsided. They agreed to his advice, and returned to their former ground.

About three o'clock next morning, some crossing through the enclosures, and others fetching a compass about the hill of Tranent, they joined in about two hours after below Seton-house, the place agreed upon. About one hundred horse and a few servants occupied their former ground to deceive the royalists. Their first line having got sight of Cope's army, crawled on their hands and feet, till they were close in with the sentinels, who abandoned their posts without firing a gun, and carried consternation along with them; while the other wing were advancing in form of a wedge towards the artillery, which being ill guarded, upon firing two shots it fell into their hands. They attacked the royalists sword in hand with such impetuosity, that, in less than ten minutes after the battle began, the King's troops were broken and totally routed. The dragoons fled with great precipitation at the first onset; the general officers, after making some unsuccessful efforts to rally them, thought proper to consult their own safety by an expeditious retreat towards Berwick. Almost all the infantry were either killed or taken prisoners; and the colours, artillery, tents, baggage, and mi-

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litary chest, fell into the hands of the victor, who returned in triumph to Edinburgh.

Never was victory more complete, or obtained at a smaller expence, for not above eighty of the rebels lost their lives in the engagement: Five hundred of the King's troops fell in the battle, and among them Colonel Gardiner, a gallant officer, who disdained to save his life at the expence of his honour. When abandoned by his own regiment of dragoons, he alighted from his horse, joined the infantry, and fought on foot, until he fell covered with wounds in sight of his own threshold. Within these few days, an old servant of the Colonel's told me, that General Cope commended the agreeable situation of his house and policy. "It shall all be yours," said the Colonel, "for two hours' command." To which the General replied, that he had received a charge, and must be accountable for it.

From this victory the Prince reaped manifold and important advantages. His soldiers were armed, his party encouraged, and his enemies intimidated. He was supplied with a train of field-artillery, and a considerable sum of money, and saw himself possessed of all Scotland, except the fortresses, the reduction of which he could not pretend to undertake without proper instruments and engineers. Though some of the Highland chiefs joined him after the battle, yet he was not in a condition to take the advantage of that consternation which his late success had diffused through the kingdom of England.

FALKIRK.—Anno 1746. Jan. 17.

Prince Charles, after the battle of Prestonpans, invested Stirling castle, which General Blakeney commanded; but his soldiers were so little used to enterprizes of this kind, that they made very little progress in their operations.

By this time, Lieutenant-General Halley, having assembled a well-disciplined, though not numerous army, in the vicinity of Edinburgh, marched to the relief of Stirling castle. Arriving at Falkirk, he encamped on the north-west, near the bloody field of yore, where Sir John de Graham and Sir John Stewart of Bonkill, the friends of Wallace, had testified their patriotism in the arms of death. He halted here for a day or two, intending, as soon as he had obtained sufficient intelligence, to attack the foe; of whom, from what he had seen of the Highlanders at Sheriffmoor, he had formed a very low estimate. His antagonists, however, so far from being intimidated by his approach, or waiting till attacked, had formed a plan of assaulting him in his camp. Marching, on the 17th, from the rendezvous at Bannockburn, they were about crossing the Carron at Dunipace, within two miles of Falkirk, ere they were perceived. The better to conceal their design, their standard, distinctly seen from the camp at Falkirk, continued flying. To divert the attention of the enemy, a small party appeared, about eleven forenoon, on the opposite side of the river, while the main body was fetching a compass to charge on the side least expected.

Halley's troops were preparing dinner; and he had gone on invitation to dine at Callander with the Countess of Kilmarnock, whose husband had a command in the insurgent army, and who was herself a friend to the cause.

A little before one, two officers (one of whom was afterwards Colonel Teesdale), climbing a tree near the camp, and fixing a telescope, descried the Highlanders marching towards them by the south side of Torwood. Lieutenant-Colonel Harley, who had the left in command, instantly repaired to the General at Callander. Halley said that the men might put on their accoutrements, but that there was no necessity for being under arms. Between one and two, some riders galloping into the camp, reported that the enemy was about crossing the Carron at Dunipace. Halley's troops, notwithstanding his absence, had formed in front of the camp; and when, at length, he had arrived, he ordered the dragoons, consisting of three regiments, to march towards a hill, above a mile southwest, to the summit of which he saw the Highland infantry rapidly directing their steps. His infantry he commanded to follow. It was now a race, whether Halley's horse or Charles's foot should get first to the top of the hill. The latter won the race.

The Highlanders drew up in battle-array, forming two lines, and a reserve in rear. Lord George Murray commanded the right, and Lord John Drummond the left. The Prince took the rear of the second line with the Irish piquets and some

horse, as a body of reserve. The troops of Government formed in two lines, fronting those of the enemy, across a ravine. The convexity of the ground rendered the wings mutually invisible.—The left, consisting of dragoons, and stretching along more than two-thirds of the enemy's line, was commanded by Halley; the right, of infantry, partly in rear of the cavalry, and outlining, by two regiments, the left of the enemy, by Major-General Huske. The reserve in rear was composed of the Glasgow militia, Howard's regiment, and Argyleshire Highlanders. The deepness of the roads prevented Halley's artillery from arriving; the Highlanders had, in their hurry to get before Halley's dragoons, left theirs about a mile behind.

About three past noon, the armies stood within a hundred yards; when Halley ordered his dragoons to advance sword in hand. Meeting with a warm reception, several companies, after the first onset, and one volley, at the distance of ten or twelve paces, by the Highlanders, at the head of whom Lord George Murray marched with sword and target, galloped out of sight. They had disordered the infantry next them, and caused their left flank to be exposed. The Highlanders, taking the advantage, outflanked them with the broad sword, made them give way, and commenced a pursuit. A tempest of wind and rain from the south-west had proved a powerful auxiliary to the *clay-mor*, by disturbing the eye-sight, and wetting the gunpowder of the King's forces, while the in-

surgents were not incommoded. The former had been entirely routed, but for the spirited exertions of two regiments under Brigadier Cholmondely, and of some scattered battalions rallied by Brigadier Mordaunt. These, firing briskly, greatly checked their adversaries, who fell back a little, but still kept their side of the ravine. The pursuit ceased, and the pursuers made the best of their way back. Many of the second line of the Highlanders had followed the first line as pursuers; but some of those who had not, hearing the action renewed in the dusk, and dreading a defeat, went off westward. Thus had part of either army fled. Not one regiment of the second line of the insurgents remained in its place; for the Athole brigade, being left almost alone near the right extremity, joined the M'Gregors and the M'Donalds of Keppoch at the extremity of the first line. A gap in the centre was now traversed by the straggling parties returned from the chase, unable to find their former comrades, and armed only with swords. The M'Gregors, the M'Donalds of Keppoch, and the Athole brigade, repaired thither, under Lord George Murray, and were joined by Charles, with his reserve. The Prince encouraged the stragglers, made them snatch up the muskets with which the ground was thickly strewed, and, ordering them to follow, led to the brow of the hill. This had the effect of driving back a regiment of dragoons, which were coming up, but now joined in the general retreat of the King's forces through Falkirk to Linlithgow. Their cannon, in number

seven, which, before the action, had stuck fast nearly a mile behind, were taken, with much provision, ammunition, and baggage General Halley had set fire to the tents. His total loss, in killed, wounded, and missing, was 280. The loss on the other side has not been exactly estimated, but must have been considerable, as it suffered greatly from the fire of the retreat.

Charles, with his army, remained that night at Falkirk, and next day returned to Bannockburn. Lord George Murray and the Highlanders remained, while the Duke of Perth with the Lowlanders, Lord John Drummond's regiment, and the Irish piquets, returned to Stirling, and resumed the siege of the castle. Most of the prisoners taken by them were sent from Stirling to Doune castle.

CULLODEN.—Anno 1746. April 16.

In the beginning of April the Duke of Cumberland began his march from Aberdeen, and on the 12th passed the deep and rapid river Spey, without opposition from the rebels, though a considerable number of them appeared on the opposite side. Why they did not dispute the passage is not easily accounted for; but, indeed, from this instance of neglect, and their subsequent conduct, we may conclude they were under a total infatuation. His Royal Highness proceeded to Nairn, where he received intelligence that the enemy had marched from Inverness to Culloden, about the

distance of nine miles from the royal army, with an intention to give him battle.

On the 16th of April, the Duke having made the proper disposition, decamped from Nairn early in the morning, and, after a march of nine miles, perceived the Highlanders drawn up in order of battle, to the number of five thousand men, in thirteen divisions, supplied with some pieces of artillery. The royal army, which was much more numerous, the Duke immediately formed into three lines, disposed in excellent order, and about one o'clock in the afternoon the cannonading began. The Prince's artillery was ill served, and did very little execution, but that of the King's troops made a dreadful havoc among the enemy. Impatient of this fire their front line advanced to the attack, and about five hundred of the clans charged the Duke's left wing with their usual impetuosity. One regiment was disordered by the weight of this column; but two battalions advancing from the second line, sustained the first, and soon put a stop to their career, by a severe fire that killed a number. At the same time, the dragoons under Halley and the Argyleshire militia pulled down a park-wall that covered their right flank, and, falling in among them sword in hand, completed their confusion. The French piquets on their left did not fire a shot, but stood inactive during the engagement, and afterwards surrendered themselves prisoners of war. An entire body of the clans marched off the field in order, with their pipes playing: the rest were routed with great

slaughter, and their Prince was, with reluctance, prevailed upon to retire. In less than thirty minutes they were totally defeated, and the field covered with the slain. The road, as far as Inverness, was strewed with dead bodies; and a great number of people, who, from motives of curiosity, had come to see the battle, were sacrificed to the undistinguishing vengeance of the victors. About two hundred rebels were slain in the field and in pursuit. The Earl of Kilmarnock was taken, and in a few days after, Lord Balmerino surrendered himself to one of the detached parties.

The glory of the victory was sullied by the barbarity of the soldiers. They had been provoked by their former disgraces to the most savage thirst of revenge. Not contented with the blood which was so profusely shed in the heat of the action, they traversed the fields after the battle, and massacred those miserable wretches who lay maimed and expiring. Nay, some officers acted a part in this cruel scene of assassination; the triumph of low illiberal minds, uninstructed by sentiment, and untinctured by humanity.

The vanquished Adventurer forded the river Ness, and reached Aird with a few horse, where he conferred with old Lord Lovat: then he dismissed his followers, and wandered about, a wretched and solitary fugitive, among the isles and mountains, for the space of five months; during which he underwent such a series of dangers, hardships, and miseries, as no other person ever outlived.

Thus, in one short hour, all his hopes vanished, and the rebellion was entirely extinguished.

ARTHUR'S SEAT RETREAT.—ANNO 1778. Sept. 25.

THE martial spirit of the Scotch has of late discovered itself in a handful of the northern islanders, who, being untainted by effeminacy and luxury, braved the arms of all the King's forces near Edinburgh. These spirited sons of Fingal had enlisted themselves under the auspices of the Earl of Seaforth, who had formed them into a regiment, which, both for appearance and martial spirit, commanded respect from every beholder.

This regiment was quartered in the castle of Edinburgh, and seven transports, with a ship of war, had arrived at Leith roads to convey them to Guernsey. For some time an unlucky difference had subsisted betwixt the officers and private men of this regiment; the latter complained of bad usage, and of arrears of pay and enlisting-money being due them. Thursday the 25th being appointed for the embarkation, a large body of those billeted in the suburbs assembled in the morning on the Castlehill with their arms, and several rounds of powder and ball. Some of the officers endeavoured to satisfy them; but they absolutely refused to embark till they received full payment of their arrears, and till they saw their colours; that then they would cheerfully go upon any service his Majesty should order them. Receiving no satisfactory answer, they came down the street,

proceeded to the Canongate guard-house, broke open the door, and liberated some of their companions who had been confined. A small scuffle then happened, wherein some officers were slightly wounded. One of the men rashly fired his piece at an officer, but the ball luckily missed him, and lodged in the guard-house door.

Between twelve and one, Lord Seaforth marched out of the castle, with about five hundred, for Leith. The refractory party getting notice of this, came up, and persuading several of those to join them, another scuffle ensued near the Bridge-street, when several of both officers and men were wounded with swords and bayonets. Two men were carried to the infirmary; one had his nose and cheek cut off, and the other his thumb.

They next went down the Easter Road to Leith, and met Lord Seaforth's detachment in the Links. His Lordship was here very much abused. He condescended so far as to kneel down, and ask pardon, if he had offended them, and begged they would return to their duty; but so exasperated were they, that one of them knocked him down with his musket; and had not the officers and some other gentlemen rescued his Lordship, and carried him to a gentleman's house in the neighbourhood, he must certainly have been run through with their bayonets, and fallen a victim to their rage. Several shots were fired here, but no person was hurt; one gentleman narrowly escaped, the cane in his hand being snapped in two with a ball.

By the persuasions of the officers, about three hundred of the regiment embarked; a great number came back to the town and dispersed; and the remainder, to the amount of nearly five hundred, marched off the Links in a body, and went up to the top of Arthur's Seat, accompanied by a great crowd of people, where, after placing sentinels at the foot of the hill, in case of an alarm, and regaling themselves with bread and beer, they rested all night.

On Wednesday and Thursday several messages passed between General Skene and them. They were also visited by the General, Lord Dunmore, Lord Macleod, and other noblemen and gentlemen, who endeavoured to persuade them to accept of the lenient terms proposed. In this they succeeded on Friday morning;—and the terms were, 1st, A general pardon for past offences: 2dly, All the arrears and levy-money due them to be paid before they embark: and, 3dly, That they shall not be sent to the East Indies. A bond was given for implementing these articles, signed by the Duke of Buccleuch, Earl of Dunmore, Sir Adolphus Oughton, and General Skene.

At eleven o'clock the men marched down the hill, headed by the Earl of Dunmore, to St Anne's Yards, where they were met by General Skene, whom they saluted with three cheers. They then formed a hollow square, and had the articles of war read over, and delivered to them. After which the General addressed them in a short speech, advising them to behave well, and inform-

ing them that a court of inquiry would be held upon their officers next morning, to be composed of officers belonging to other regiments, when every man who thought himself aggrieved might attend, and he would get justice done him.

The court of inquiry accordingly sat, and, after examining a number of witnesses, were unanimously of opinion, that there was not the smallest degree of foundation for complaints against any officer of the regiment in regard to their pay and arrears; and that the cause of their retreating to Arthur's Seat was from an idle and ill-grounded report that the regiment was sold to the East India Company, and that their officers were to leave them upon their being embarked on board the transports.

During the continuance of this unhappy dispute, the humanity and prudence of the Duke of Buccleuch, the Earl of Dunmore, Generals Oughton and Skene, and the other gentlemen concerned, cannot be sufficiently commended, as, by their interposition, this disagreeable affair, from which the most fatal consequences were at first apprehended, was amicably settled.

The generosity of many of the people of Edinburgh and suburbs were very conspicuous on this occasion: many sent them bread and ale, others went with their whisky bottle, which is always relished by a Highlandman. A gentleman on the south side of Edinburgh, well known for his humane disposition, sent them several loads of gingerbread. One gentleman in particular, whose gene-

rous and public spirit, some years ago, shone forth with splendour in the cause of the noble Corsicans, when struggling against Gaelic tyranny for their liberty, was very active in sending relief to the poor deluded Highlanders.

What is very remarkable, that all the time they remained on the hill, no accident happened, except one who was shot by his neighbour through the thigh by accident, and another fell down the hill, and was killed.

On Wednesday part of the 11th regiment of dragoons, two hundred more of the Duke of Buccleuch's fencibles, four hundred of the Royal Glasgow Volunteers, &c., arrived in town; but happily there was no occasion for employing them.

The Highlanders afterwards embarked peaceably on board the transports in Leith roads for Guernsey.

THE END.

[illegible] years ago, along [illegible] in the service of the noble [illegible] who, smarting under Gallic tyranny for [illegible] years, was very active in sending relief to the poor [illegible] Highlanders.

It has been remarkable, that all the time [illegible] remained on the hill, no accident happened, except [illegible] was slain by his neighbour running the [illegible] through by accident, and another fell down the hill, and was killed.

On Wednesday part of the 11th regiment of dragoons, two hundred more of the Duke of Hamilton's regiment, four hundred of the Royal Glasgow Volunteers, left, arrived in town; but happily there was no occasion for employing them.

The Highlanders afterwards embarked peaceably on board the transports in Leith roads for Ostend.