THE SCOTTISH WARS OF THE EDWARDS

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THE SCOTTISH WARS OF THE EDWARDS

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Introduction

The land of Scotland and of the Scots has long furnished much material for story, song and romance. The strains of the bagpipe, the swirl of the kilt or the picture of some mysterious and beautiful loch, is sufficient to call up a romantic train of thought in many people. This interest in things Scottish is no less strong today than when the romantic story of that land was first displayed to the world by such masters as Sir Walter Scot and Robert Burns. It is all part of a general admiration for the Scottish nation and its long struggle to maintain its independence.

My own interest in Scotland was greatly stimulated by a visit to that country in the summer of nineteen fifty. I had an opportunity to see at first hand many of the places and monuments made famous by Scottish history. Such places as Glasgow and the lofty castle of Edinburgh, as well as York, Ripon, Durham, Newcastle-upon-Tyne in England increased my interest in the period of the Scottish Wars of the Edwards.

Perhaps no period in Scottish history is more colorful than this thirteenth and fourteenth century epoch, which witnessed the rise of legendary figures like Wallace, Bruce, and Douglas. People acquainted with this period in the history of Scotland have frequently been amazed that the Scots managed to marshal such resistance against their

overwhelming enemy. Scotland was poor and thinly populated, but the Scots chose the path of independence and rebellion rather than submission to England.

The purpose of this paper is to try to shed some light on the resistance that Scotland offered England. It will not be possible to attempt an exhaustive study of the Scottish Wars of the Edwards. The materials at hand and the scope of the project make that a difficult undertaking. Rather, an attempt will be made to analyze the military aspects of this turbulent time, along with the fortuitous circumstances which played into the hands of the participants.

In order to do this, one must know something about the causes of the Scottish Wars of the Edwards and the general and specific policies of the leaders. The battles, while important in all wars, are not always the deciding factors in determining future policy. Rather, issues are settled by the use made of available resources and the ability of the commanders to find and adopt a workable formula for winning. These, then, will be the factors with which this paper will deal: (1) causes of the war (2) policy and character of the commanders as these two factors relate to the prosecuting of the war and (3) an analysis of those military factors which enabled the Scots to maintain their independence.

It is hoped that this will also clarify the means by which one nation was able to hold off a vastly superior enemy until it could unite with its adversary on favorable terms and conditions.

CAUSES OF THE WAR

1. Conditions in Scotland after Alexander's Death

The Scottish Chroniclers agree that one of the most tragic events that ever happened to their land was the death of Alexander III in 1285. Subsequent events bear out this opinion. Andrew of Wyntoun, in particular, sets forth the great sorrow of the Scottish people over the death of Alexander and the great loss to the kingdom.[1] John of Fordun, in his turn, tells of an old prophecy which had been made in Scotland, and observed that all of it came true after the death of Alexander.

> While twice three years, and moons
> thrice three roll by
> Under no prince the widowed land
> shall lie.[2]

Alexander gave Scotland good government. Not only was Scotland peaceful and prosperous, but her relations with England were excellent. Scottish documents indicate the pains both Alexander of Scotland and Edward of England took to maintain this good relationship between their respective lands.[3]

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[1]Andrew Wyntoun, The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland ed. David Laing (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1827), II, 305.

[2]John Fordun, Chronical of The Scottish Nation ed. William F. Skene, (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1871), II, 305.

[3]Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland Preserved in Her Majest's Public Record Office, ed. Joseph Bain, (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1884), II, 23.

It is possible that if Alexander's children had lived, there might never have been a Scottish War for any Edward. Alexander had three children but only one of them lived to produce an heir. His only daughter, Margaret, who was married to the King of Norway had died and left an only daughter, Margaret. The succession to the crown had been accordingly determined and would fall to the newly born daughter of Margaret, if Alexander failed to produce a male heir.[4] This order of succession was necessary because Margaret died shortly after the birth of her child. In 1285, Alexander, in hope of an heir, married "Yolet", daughter of the Comte de Dru, but he died before a child had been born.[5]

Alexander met his death in 1286. The Lanercost Chronicle, which was composed by a contemporary, says that on the nineteenth of March, 1286, the wind and rain were so strong that a man could not face into the storm. That same evening King Alexander had been holding a council at Edinburgh castle. When the storm reached its height, Alexander decided he must join his new wife at Fifishire. He insisted on plunging out into the wild night. In spite of the many warnings he received along the road, the King would not be deterred. In the storm, Alexander's horse slipped and the

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[4]Andrew Lang, A History of Scotland From the Roman Occupation, (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co. 1900), I, 124.

[5]Ibid., p.125.

King was found dead on the sea shore.[6]

After the death of Alexander, there "rose great strife for the crown of Scotland".[7] Various Scotsmen saw an opportunity to feather their own nests. Factions formed around John Balliol and Robert Bruce, contenders for the throne. The action was taken despite the pledge demanded by Alexander before his death, of allegiance to the Maid of Norway. In spite of the turmoil and quarreling, the Estates of Scotland came together for the purpose of considering who would govern the realm. By the consent of all the kingdom was to be governed by six wardens

> to wit by the venerable Lord Bishop of Saint Andrews, Sir William Fraser, Lord Duncan, Earl of Fife, and the Lord John de Comyn Earl of Buchan, on the North side of the water of Forth; and on the South side there were three others, to wit, Robert, Bishop of Glasgow, Sir John Comyn, and James, Steward of Scotland.[8]

However this settlement did not succeed in quieting the trouble, for the Earl of Fife, one of the guardians, was ambushed and killed soon after his appointment. The Scottish Lords never forgot their petty differences, and although

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[6]The Chronicle Of Lanercost 1272-1368, ed. Sir Herbert Maxwell, (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, Publishers to the University, 1913) p. 42.

[7]Sir Thomas Gray, Scalacronica, A Chronicle of England and Scotland from A.D. MLXVI to MCCCL (Edinburgh: Printed for the Maitland Club, MDCCCXXXVI) p. 283.

[8]The Book of Pluscarden, ed. J. H. Skene, (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1880), II, 84.

swift justice was meted out to the perpetrators of this crime, William and Patrick of Abernethy and Walter of Percy, the breach left in the ranks of guardians created a scramble for the position which proved disastrous to the unity of Scotland. Patrick of Abernethy did, however, escape to France.[9]

The situation was not healthy for the remaining guardians. They had to contend with the open war between the two major contenders Balliol and Bruce. Such a combination of circumstances greatly assisted Edward in his subsequent actions. In relation to the strife between Balliol and Bruce, a document was sent to Edward in the year 1290 on behalf of a gathering of persons calling themselves "The Seven Earls". This instrument illustrates the growing tension for "The Seven Earls" were friends of Bruce. The Document states:

> The throne being vacant by the death of Alexander III and lest they, the Bishop of St. Andrews and John Comyn so acting as Regents of Scotland together with the small portion of the communitors of Scotland to them adhering should of their own authority appoint any king for the government of the kingdom, to the prejudice of the rights of the Seven Earls ... he the Procurator ... acting in the name of the before mentioned Seven Earls, ... doth thereby appeal to the presence. or the person, of Edward King of England ... and the Procurator places the bodies of the Seven Earls of Scotland, ... and all their kith and kin, ... under the protection and defence of the King of England.[10]

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[9]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 313.

[10]Documents and Records Illustrating the History of Scotland and the Trancactions between the Crowns of Scotland and England, preserved in the treasury of her Majesty's Exchequer., ed. Francis Palgrave, (Commissioners in the Public Records, 1831), I, X.

2. Edward's Attempts at Dominion Over Scotland

In the meantime the English King was overcome with temptation and he began operations to obtain control over Scotland. The English sources are very vague about many of his subsequent actions. The English writers insist that Edward had every right to declare himself Lord Paramount as he later did. But he did not at once take action to support this title. The Scottish Chroniclers on the other hand recognized Edward's machinations but felt that the Scots were too weak and disunited to defend themselves.

Indications of the future appeared as early as February 20, 1289. Edward knew of course, as well as the Scots, that the Maid of Norway was next in line for the throne. Edward's first attempt to obtain a hold over Scotland was to have his son, the future Edward II, given in marriage to the Maid of Norway.[11] Finally, on February 20th a memorandum dealing with "certain secret letters touching the affairs of Norway", indicates Edward's intentions.[12] On the same day the King ordered the Bishop of Durham to take possession of the late King of Scotland's lands in Penrith and Tyndale.[13]

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[11]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 305.

[12]Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 98.

[13]Idem.

The reader gets the impression from the order that Edward had requested this of the Bishop before and had perhaps started his maneuvers for the throne of Scotland even earlier than the date of the order.

All this activity took place behind a facade of benevolent interest displayed by Edward for the contenders for the Scottish throne, Balliol and Bruce. He even cleared the way for Balliol to obtain the lands of his mother Drvorgilla.[14] But Edward went ahead with his own plan of the marriage for his son to the Maid of Norway. Six special envoys were sent to the six wardens of Scotland to arrange the marriage "between his son and Heir, Edward of Caernarvon, and the said Maid of Norway, Margaret, the Heiress of Scotland."[15] On March 17, 1298, the guardians and Estates of Scotland gave their assent to the union.[16] Ambassadors of Norway met with the Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow and treated with Edward in regard to the prospective marriage.[17] The Scottish writers insist that appended to the marriage contract were certain

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[14] Ibid., p. 181.

[15] Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 85.

[16] Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 101.

[17] Calender of Patent Rolls, Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward I A.D., Prepared under the superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records, (London: Published by the Authority of Her Majesty, 1894), III, 327.

agreements specifying definite conditions pertaining to the marriage. These agreements provided that "all rights and customs, both lay and eccelesiastical ... would be free and quit of all thraldom."[18] One more step was needed before final arrangements could be made. This was a special dispensation which was received from Pope Nicholas XIV on November 16 granting to Edward of Caernarvon the right to marry Margaret.[19] This was necessary because the Maid of Norway and Edward were cousins germane.

The King of Norway was loath to part with his daughter, either for purposes of his own policy or because of a genuine attachment for her. The Scots had urged him to send the Maid immediately after they had agreed to Edward's proposition.[20] Again on April 17, 1290, the King of England urged the Norwegian Monarch to send "his daughter to England without delay."[21] In the meantime extensive preparations went forward to receive Margaret and to fetch the Maid from the Orkneys to which point the Norwegians were to conduct her. After a long delay there appears in the documents an extract stating that John de Tundale, messenger to the Bishop of St. Andrews, had landed. This worthy

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[18]Patent Rolls, II, 327.

[19]Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 327.

[20]Patent Rolls, II, 328.

[21]Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 107.

brought letters from his lord to Edward reporting the arrival of the "Damsel of Scotland" in the Orkneys.[22] In spite of this notation, there were hints that the Maid was already dead.[23] In this way, Edward's first plan went astray and the marriage was never concluded. It removed the last hope of a satisfactory succession to the throne and gave the contenders for the throne a free hand. This event destroyed the last hope of Scottish unity under Alexander's heirs.

Edward was not to be so easily thwarted in his designs on Scotland. Soon after the death of Alexander, the Scots say Edward had begun gathering and falsifying information from the various monastaries and abbeys in England to build up a legal claim for the overlordship of Scotland.[24] Even Florence of Worcester, an English monk, states that Edward had the chronicles carefully inspected. Florence wrote, "It appeared plain to all and each, that the supreme right to the kingdom of Scotland was vested in and belonged to him [Edward]."[25] Edward sent an order to the Prior and Convent of Chester on March 21, 1291, in which he repeated,

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[22]Lang, History of Scotland, I, 166.

[23]Ibid., 167. The maid's death was confirmed a month later.

[24]Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 137.

[25]Florence of Worcester, The Chronicle of Florence of Worcester with Two Continuations; Comprising Annals of English History From the Departure of the Romans to the Reign of Edward I, trans. Thomas Forester, (London: Henry G. Bohn, York Street, Covert Garden, MDCCCLIX), p. 328.

"his late command to inspect their chronicles, and to transmit any extracts touching England and Scotland without delay."[26] Furthermore, Edward's intentions in Scotland are revealed in the fact that he had forced on them the Bishop of Durham in 1290. This agent of Edward was supposed to treat with the keepers of Scotland over problems "touching the state of their queen and of the realm of Scotland."[27]

Edward began to put his second plan into operation to capture the Scottish throne. On May 10, 1291, after Edward had completed his research on his right to Scotland, he issued an invitation to the Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow and the Nobles and Magnates of Scotland to meet him at Norham.[28] The purpose of this meeting, so far as the Scots knew, was to discuss the succession to the throne of Scotland. The English Chroniclers indicate that Edward had been officially invited by the Estates of Scotland to decide the contention of the succession. This seems a strange action for the Scots to take, in view of their anti-English sentiment. Fordun claims that the Scots invited Edward to judge the dispute, by this time in full force, because he was the only prince powerful enough to enforce the results of the decision among the

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[26]Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 110.

[27]Patent Rolls, II, 372.

[28]Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 110.

contenders for the Scottish throne.[29] Possibly the Scots did not want to reveal that they themselves were virtually forced to attend this discussion.[30] The fact remains that there is no official document extant that could be construed as an invitation from the Scots to ask Edward to intervene.

In any case, Edward went to great lengths to reassure the Scots. He promised fair play before the Council met. Safe conducts were given with the following words: "That this shall not be a precedent to the prejudice of Scotland."[31] But at the same time, he planned the entire operation carefully with a view to his own success.

An order in the Close Rolls dated April 13, 1291, commanded "Robert de Stutewell and sixty others to be at Norham with horses and arms in six weeks from Easter next."[32] This action gave the English a strong talking point when Edward made his demand to be recognized as Lord Paramount, for he would then be able to back his demand with force of arms.

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[29]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 307.

[30]Idem. Fordun says the guardians and nobles of Scotland sent for Edward to become "supreme judge" in this matter.

[31]Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 110.

[32]Calender of Close Rolls, Preserved in the Public Record Office, Prepared under the superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records, (London: Published by Authority of Her Majesty, 1894) III, 196.

Had Edward confined himself to the avowed task for which he convened the assembly, all would have been well. Unfortunately the English King was driven on by a vaulting ambition. During the first business of the council with the Estates of Scotland, Edward declared himself to be Lord Paramount, a claim that made him virtual ruler of Scotland.[33] In addition he backed his claim with documents.[34] The Scottish nobles must have been thunderstruck, for they displayed a strange lack of action in a people accustomed to vigorously proclaiming their rights. To understand the basis for this extraordinary claim, it will be necessary to take a look into the past relationships of England and Scotland to discover the basis for Edward's contention.

The chroniclers agree, with some slight differences, that Kenneth, King of the Scots, had sworn fealty and bound himself to military service by land and sea to Edgar the Pacific.[35] The land he did homage for, however, was Cumbria and not the whole of Scotland.[36] A second submission of Scotland came when the King of Scots bowed to "Cnuto the Dane"

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[33]Lang, History of Scotland, I, 168.

[34]Florence, Chronicle, p. 328. The documents were those Edward obtained from the monasteries. Fordun and Langtoft say the same thing.

[35]Florence, Chronicle, p. 73.

[36]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 163.

1031, again for the Lordship of Cumbria.[37] Submission number three apparently occurred when Malcolm submitted to William the Conqueror. Scotland had become involved in difficulty with William because of Malcolm's interest in the English people, which was reinforced by Malcolm's marriage to Saint Margaret, sister of Edgar the Atheling. Malcolm performed homage for only twelve towns which he held in England.[38] On the other hand, Florence states that William reduced Scotland in 1072 A.D. and forced Malcolm to do fealty for all the Land.[39] The fealty must have been a strange victory for William because Malcolm was soon busily ravaging Northumbria in 1079.[40] In other words, Malcolm's homage was apparently half-hearted and insecure.

In 1174, England and Scotland were again at war when William the Lion of Scotland invaded England, then under Henry II. The English King was having difficulty with his sons. William felt he had a chance for conquest because the eldest son of Henry invited William to march against his father. But this campaign resulted in the capture of the Scottish King. Henry lost no time in forcing him and his

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[37]Ibid., p. 176.

[38]Ibid., p. 204.

[39]Florence, Chronicle, p. 177.

[40]Ibid., p. 180.

lords to do homage for all of Scotland. Nonetheless, Henry "suffered Him [William] freely to govern Scotland."[41] The final homage was Alexander's in 1278.[42] This long series of submissions seems to indicate that Edward had some justification in claiming the throne of Scotland. On the other hand, Edward's case is weakened when one is aware that the homage of the Scottish rulers was limited largely to border areas and not to the whole of Scotland.

Even in the case of William who submitted to Henry for all of Scotland, Richard Cour de Lion exonerated him from all homage for Scotland when William paid Richard 12,000 pounds.[43] According to Florence, William was at this time also reinstated in his "dignities and honours which his predecessors held in England."[44] All of this information would certainly not indicate that England ever had held full sway over Scotland. Further support of the Scottish claim of independence was found in Alexander III submission. He performed his homage at Edward's cornation, "without prejudice to all his dignities ... for his lands in England."[45]

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[41]Langtoft, Chronicle, II, 13.

[42]Ibid., p. 33.

[43]Ibid., p. 33.

[44]Florence, Chronicle, p. 395.

[45]Ibid., p. 300.

He was only going to do service for his possessions in England.[46]

It is apparent from first to last Edward's claim to be overlord of Scotland was shaky and he had no established right to be declared Lord Paramount. In fact, the Bishop of Glasgow answered Edward's claim.[47] Edward, by now, however, had his army at Norham, and there was little the Scots could do to oppose him. The subtle pressure exerted by the army did produce results at Norham as can be seen from the letters patent of the competitors, "agreeing that seisin of the Kingdom of Scotland and its castles should be delivered to the King of England."[48] This instrument was sealed on June 6, 1291.

On June 3, 1291, documents were drawn certifying the Guardians of Scotland and indicating that the "aforesaid Guardians, with 27 other Earls and Barons of Scotland, swore fealty on the Holy Evangels. Whereon the King as Overlord proclaimed his peace throughout the whole realm."[49]

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[46] Palgrave, Scottish Documents, p. 2

[47] Wyntoun, Chronicle, II, 301.

[48] Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 492.

[49] Ibid., p. 122.

Edward's second plan had thus far been successful.[50] The Estates of Scotland accepted this order as binding, though not without bitterness at the presence of armed force. The whole incident illustrates Edward's thoroughness and lawyer-like qualities. Certain Scottish Castles were subsequently turned over to Edward as Lord Paramount. For instance, "Ralph Basset, Knight," was appointed keeper of Edinburgh castle at "one mark per diem for himself and retinue."[51] During the year of 1291, the Patent Rolls show many protections issued for men going on the King's service into Scotland.[52]

3. The Settlement of the Issue of the Throne

After Edward had gained his point by overawing the Scots with a show of force, the major business of considering which of the contenders should have the throne of Scotland

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[50] Lanercost Chronicle, p. 814. A complete submission document was preserved at Lanercost, it reads: "For as much as we the Scots Lords have all come to the faith of the noble Prince, Sir Edward King of England, we promise for ourselves and our heirs, so far as that is within our power, that we shall be loyal and serve you loyally against all men who may live and die; and that so soon as we know of any thing to the detriment of the king or his heirs, we shall oppose it to the best of our power, To this we bind ourselves and our heirs, which we have sworn upon Holy Gospels. Moreover, we have done our fealty to our Lord the aforesaid King in these words, each one for himself. I will be faithful and loyal, and bear faith and loyalty to King Edward of England had his heirs, with life and limb and earthly honour against all men who may live and die."

[51] Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 112.

[52] Patent Rolls, II, 434.

was placed before the assembly. The number of the pretenders was large and not all the chroniclers agree on just how many there were. The list generally includes: Florence, count of Holland, John Balliol, Robert Bruce, John Hastings, John Comyn, Patrick, Count of March, John Viscy, Nicholas de Sowlis, William de Ross, and Patrick Galighitly.[53] Also Norway's interest in the Scottish throne had already appeared. A paper giving a claim put forward "by the procurators for Eric, King of Norway" is found in the Scottish Documents.[54] The rest of the pretenders had previously set forth their respective claims for consideration at Norham.

Edward now made preparations to decide among the contenders. As the author of Pluscarden states, "Edward of England chose twenty-four men distinguished by learning, character, and age and loyalty,"[55] to come to some decision on the problem. The number was made up of twelve men from Scotland and Twelve men from England; however the exact number is vague in most sources. The men chosen to judge were supposed to check records and report back to the King and Assembly who should be King of Scotland.[56]

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[53]Gray, Scalacronica, p. 142.

[54]Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 142.

[55]Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 86.

[56]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 307.

There is some dispute between the Scottish and English writers over Edward's handling of the case. Existing documents show that Edward made a gesture towards justice in regard to the Count of Holland's claim on the Scottish throne. In this case the English King appointed both Scots and English to inspect the records as to the Count's contention.[57] In spite of Edward's efforts, however, one must admit the Scots took a dim view of all proceedings when they considered Edward's past actions. For instance, although the proceedings of the deciding council were supposed to be secret, Edward had admittance to the Chamber. He sought added assistance and prestige for the decision from the learned Paris Doctors.[58] This fact is not mentioned by any of the English Chroniclers.[59]

According to the Scots, Edward falsified the case when presenting it for the judgement of the Paris Doctors. The King claimed there was no general or accepted custom for placing a king on the throne of Scotland "and that, moreover, the English Kings, being the Overlords of that Kingdom, took the

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[57]Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 126.

[58]Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 88.

[59]In all fairness to the English Chroniclers it must be admitted they wrote at the time these events took place and so perhaps did not have all the facts available. Added weight must be given this idea when it is considered that only Edward and his council knew of this request to the Paris Doctors. Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 88. The majority of the Scottish writers, on the other hand, did most of their work after the Scottish Wars of the Edwards had become history. Hence only the Scots mention the decisions of the Paris Doctors.

said land into their hands" until such time as the question was settled.[60]

Perhaps the most important aspect of the deliberations of the Paris Doctors is that it does give some indication of how the field was narrowed to Balliol and Bruce and what principles governed the decisions.[61] Two opposing views were expressed. One contended that if there is no established custom in selecting the King, recourse must be had to Roman Law. This law declares that when "two claimants to a given throne trace in the collateral line to the king last deceased, ... the one a step nearer stands first in the succession, not withstanding primogeniture or the other side."[62] If this law had governed the decision, Bruce would have come to the throne. For Robert Bruce was a step nearer in degree, but the eminent men of France said that if the lands were held in fee from England, then England could govern the choice. Thus the rule of primogeniture decided the case and Balliol was favored.[63]

However, the Paris Doctors were not agreed on either of these two judgements. One of the doctors declared that if

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[60] Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 89.

[61] A genealogical table based on one from Fordun will be found in appendix (A) of this paper. It is hoped this table will afford some assistance in the following rather complicated claims.

[62] Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 89.

[63] Idem.

Scotland had any custom regarding the succession of a king, that custom must take precedence over that of England, even though Scotland was held in fee.[64]

The Scots believed that the correct method in choosing a king was by Roman Law which would have given Bruce the Throne. It must be remembered, however, that these men were writing after the time of both Bruce and Balliol and were looking at the situation in the light of later developments. They were prejudiced in favor of Bruce because his heirs had come to the throne and needed support. They argued that Scottish usage had demanded originally that the most direct relative rule if the Scots decided he was fitted for the throne.[65] After the time of Malcolm Canmore this was altered to the principle that the nearest living relative "should receive the kingdom without regard to fitness." The document continues: "Failing the royal line the next heir begotten of a collateral stock should have the inheritance."[66] This supported the Scottish position, but it looks like primogeniture, although the Scots called it Roman Law.

As the litigation continued, the field was narrowed until only Bruce and Balliol were left. The Scots, as before,

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[64] Ibid., p. 92.

[65] Fordun, Chronicle, II, 134.

[66] Ibid., p. 135.

charged Edward with working against the best interest of Scotland. Fordun claims that Edward's free entrance to the Council Chamber showed him that the choice seemed likely to be Bruce, whereupon he called his own council at once.[67] The English King at this time had no particular interest in which candidate obtained the throne so long as he, Edward, was in control. However, Anthony of Bek, Bishop of Durham, warned the King against such a strong man as Robert Bruce. The King is reported to have replied, "By Christ's blood! thou hast sung well."[68]

It was further suggested to Edward that he obtain a promise of homage from one of the two remaining contenders before he decided which of them should receive the crown of Scotland. Bruce was called in first and was offered the throne in return for his homage, He answered, "I shall never in gaining that kingdom for myself reduce it to thraldom."[69] The question was next put to Balliol who readily agreed to accept Edward's terms. Upon the announcement of the decision

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[67]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 208.

[68]Idem.

[69]Idem, II, 308. All information concerning Edward's offer of a crown to Bruce and Balliol can be found on page 308. The account is for the most part the same as found in other Scottish Chronicles.

Bruce is supposed to have withdrawn from the assembly without ever tendering his homage to Balliol, the new King of Scotland.[70]

Edward, efficient as always, saw to it that all arrangements were carried through and that Balliol lived up to his part of the bargain. John de Balliol performed his homage to his Overlord Edward for the Kingdom of Scotland on December 26, at Newcastle-on-tyne.[71]

4. The Immediate Causes of the War

Edward began his role of Overlord with commendable restraint. Many instances of his kindly offices exist. A case in point was the English King's prompt action in turning over to Balliol all of Scotland together with all the castles and forts of that land. A document dated January 2, 1293, gives proof of the transfer. It will be remembered that while litigation was being conducted, Edward held Scotland in ward as Lord Paramount.[72] In addition to Edward's prompt handing over of Scotland, he, "of his special favor pardons John de Balliol King of Scotland 30,000 pounds ... due his relief."[73]

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[70] Ibid., p. 309. The decision against the claim of Bruce was given November 6, 1292 (Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 151). John de Balliol was pronounced King of Scotland on November 14, 1292 (Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 152. Lang says November 17, page 175).

[71] Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 152.

[72] Ibid., p. 153.

[73] Ibid., p. 157.

Edward followed up this kind office on May 3, 1293, by ordering his "officers to deliver the lands of Tyndale to Balliol King of Scotland because the last king held them."[74] Almost as an afterthought the scribe added "Balliol must do homage for Tyndale."

The English King showed later, on the other hands, that his first actions were indeed but pretense. In the light of subsequent events, Edward's actions were not wise. The English King had gained a tremendous success over Scotland. Just how great the achievement was can be understood when it is considered against the background of a very difficult war Edward had been forced to wage against the Welsh. In the contention with Scotland, Edward, without striking a blow, had obtained Overlordship of a populace and country much larger than that of Wales.

The roll of the kindly father in the Edward-Balliol relationship did not last long and the true character of Edward's position soon made itself felt. The English King has been accused of deliberately driving Balliol to rebellion.[75] Certainly there were opportunities provided for Edward to accomplish this purpose. One of the first moves that brought Balliol crashing down was provided by one of his own country men. The Scottish Chroniclers maintain that Balliol was not

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[74]Close Rolls, III, 281.

[75]Lang, History of Scotland, I, 176.

liked nor was he well supported by a considerable number of the nobility.[76] If this is true it would in part explain the actions of Macduff in bringing suit against Balliol in Edward's court. The suit was the result of the slaying of the Earl of Fife which has been discussed in a previous section of this paper.[77] Macduff was the Earl's heir and there were those who would not give up to him the lands of Fife. Macduff had first brought his case to Balliol but had received no satisfaction. He then took the case to the Court of Edward, Overlord of Scotland. The action was a contributing factor in causing the later struggle between Edward of England and Balliol of Scotland.[78]

Wyntoun, a Scottish Chronicler of the period, has left a rather complete account of Balliol's disgrace.[79] After Macduff had placed his case before Edward, the King of Scots was cited to appear in person in his Overlord's court, a request not unusual under the circumstances. However, such a summons could hardly be called a gesture of friendship. A summons in itself was bad enough but Edward's next step was to call Macduff to confront his adversary.

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[76]Fordun, Chronicle p. 319. He (Lang) quotes from the St. Albans Chronicle, King John, "opened not his mouth, fearing the frenzied wildness of that people the Scots ... so dwelt he with them as a lamb among wolves." Lang, History of Scotland, p. 175.

[77]See page 3.

[78]Wyntoun, Chronicle, II, 325.

[79]Ibid., p, 326.

When the Macduff case was called, Balliol arose and stood in his place. A procurator appointed by Balliol went to the bar to present the Scottish King's side of the case. This action that Balliol took was in accordance with a courtesy given to great lords such as he. Edward, however, was determined to humiliate Balliol.

> The Kyng Edward off Ingland
> Bade hym ga to the bar and stand
> And his spek thare on thame lay[80]

Wyntoun agreed with John Balliol that he was not "tretted as kyng in the proces."[81]

No reference to the Macduff case appears in any of the documents of the time, nor is it mentioned by the English Chroniclers. It can be safely assumed, however, that such an incident did occur because the case is mentioned, by all the Scottish writers. Moreover, a document does exist which tells of a case similar to the one under discussion. In April of 1293 the following instrument was executed: "The King as Overlord of Scotland, to the Shireff of Northumberland, commands him in person to cite the King of Scotland to appear and answer the complaint of John Mazum at Westminster on the Morrow of ascension next."[82] Balliol in this

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[80] Idem.

[81] Ibid., p. 327.

[82] Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 160.

instance was able to avoid the summons by sending a letter of explanation to the King of England.[83]

As a result of such humiliations, King John was fast approaching the breaking point, a condition Edward both desired and deliberately fostered. Suddenly the complexion of this relationship was changed. Edward found himself involved in a contention with Philip of France over Gascony and was forced to seek aid from Balliol. Edward now demanded assistance from Balliol whom he had formerly humiliated. On June 29, 1295, a military summons was sent to Scotland ordering "John King of Scots and 18 of the magnates of Scotland to join him [Edward] with their force at London."[84]

John at last saw his opportunity. He called a Parliament but not primarily to consider Edward's summons. When the Estates of Scotland met, John proceeded to set forth the treatment he had suffered at the hands of the English King. The Estates of Scotland found Balliol not to be the least bound by the summons because the King of Scotland's oath of homage had been extorted from him by force and intimidation. Moreover, the Lords pointed out, that John could not have taken an oath such as he did without consulting the three estates of the realm. In effect, if the above

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[83] Ibid., p.162.

[84] Idem.

reasoning was correct, John had taken a private oath which had no force on a public office.[85]

Additional reasoning has been marshalled by the Scottish Chroniclers in support of the Scot's actions toward Edward's summons. To have complied with Edward's summons, so the Scots maintain, would have been to perjure Scotland in the eyes of the World. The Scottish Kingdom could not have proceeded against the French had they wished to do so, because an alliance already existed with France.[86] According to Fordun, the first treaty was sealed in 787 at Aachen with Charles the Great.[87]

Perhaps, knowing the dangerous advisary they confronted, the Scots made a more binding treaty with France at this time. The details involved the marriage of Balliol's son, Edward, to the niece of the King of France along with the usual marriage portions. The heart of the treaty dealt with an alliance against England as well as Germany, "both by land and sea."[88] Also in the treaty are to be found elements of the grand strategy for drawing off the English from whichever land, Scotland or France, Edward chose to attack.

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[85] Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 106.

[86] Idem.

[87] Fordun, Chronicle, II, 106.

[88] Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 109.

Langtoft, in his turn, tells of further machinations on the part of Balliol and his lords. The English Chronicler was a contemporary of Edward's time and very bitter against the Scots. In prefacing his remarks regarding these dissimulations Langtoft gives voice to the wish that Scotland may be cursed by the Mother of God, thus illustrating the ill will the English bore the Scots. The English Chronicler continues with an account of an attempt on the part of Balliol to win the Pope to his side in the dispute, "The mad King of Scotland with the advice of his mad barons has sent messengers to the court of Rome."[89] The Scottish envoys were to set before the Pope the full circumstances under which Balliol received his crown. This effort produced results, as shall be indicated.

Philip, the King of France, doubtless with no little delight, sent to Edward the terms of the treaty between France and Scotland October 25, 1295.[90] On the same day the Scots' King sent his letters patent dealing with the French treaty.[91]

Edward, even before Balliol's transactions with the Holy See, had taken considerable action against Balliol and

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[89]Langtoft, Chronicle, II, 221.

[90]Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 166.

[91]Ibid., p. 166.

his subjects. Part of Edward's reprisal took the form of seizing and selling the lands and goods of Scots taken on their manors in England.[92] This was increased and extended when Edward received confirmation of the Scottish-French alliance.[93]

The new reprisals put into operation at the behest of Edward, were carried too far to admit of a reconciliation between the Monarchs of England and Scotland. Balliol probably could not have controlled his nobles and the Scottish King himself under the lash of humiliation would hardly be willing to exert a restraining influence. The result was a foregone conclusion. The Estates of Scotland in the year of 1295 dispatched a document to the English court reciting the injuries inflicted upon Scotland and their King. Balliol speaks of "violent occupations of his castles and possessions ... and therefore he renounces the homage extorted from him by violence and his fealty for his lands in England."[94] The Abbot of Arbroath received the doubtful honor of delivering this instrument to Edward. Fordun claims that so great was the rage of Edward upon receiving the

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[92]Idem.

[93]Lang, History of Scotland, I, 177.

[94]Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 167.

intelligence that the good Abbot almost lost his life notwithstanding his religious character and the fact he was an envoy.[95]

Edward summoned Balliol once more to stand trial for his insufferable actions, but John showed little interest in such a proposition. Edward now retaliated by having laws enacted depriving Balliol of his kingdom, but these laws had no effect in Scotland.[96] On December 16, 1295, the King of England regarded war as his only solution, for in the Rolls appears an order to the Marshal of England and many others to come with horses and arms and to proceed against "John King of Scotland who had committed actions, contrary to his oath, to the injury of the King's crown."[97]

The claim of the Scottish writers now is that Edward chose to review his first judgment and called to him Robert Bruce II, the son of the pretender Robert Bruce. The elder Bruce had died in the month of April, 1294, according to papers dealing with the settlement of his estate.[98] The crafty English King now told Robert that the decision which gave the Crown of Scotland to Balliol was improperly rendered

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[95]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 315.

[96]Ibid., p. 316.

[97]Close Rolls, III, 501.

[98]Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 164.

and that if he, the younger Bruce, would help Edward in the coming war against the Scots, he should have the throne of Scotland.[99]

Preparations for war now began in earnest with the English moving toward Berwick. This walled town was doubtless picked because it possessed as good a port as any near that part of the Scottish-English border. Moreover, if Edward did not occupy that city, the Scots would not only have an excellent supply inlet but a good base of operations for taking the English in flank when that army moved farther into Scotland. Lang adds another cause to the list of reasons of why the English chose to strike at Berwick. He says some few English citizens were murdered when members of the Scottish population rose up in anger.[100]

The Scots took steps to defend themselves aware that some such move would be made by Edward. King John, on the advice of the Estates, sent "all the nobles and freeholders as well as the rest of the valiant men of ... Fife to ... defend the town of Berwick."[101] Further action was taken against the English during and after the fight at Berwick. Balliol, with the help of the Bishops of Scotland,

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[99]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 316.

[100]Lang, History of Scotland, I, 177.

[101]Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 111.

now proceeded to remove all persons of English birth, both temporal and ecclesiastical, from all positions of trust. The commonalty of Scotland assisted in the purge by driving the English from the soil of the Mother Land.[102]

The stage was now set for the series of terrible wars which were to all but destroy the Scottish nation and prevent the English from realizing her Imperial ambitions for almost 500 years.

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[102] Ibid., p. 112.

II. THE POLICIES OF THE EDWARDS IN THE SCOTTISH WARS

1. The Downfall of Balliol

The policies which Edward used in the conduct of the Scottish Wars, set precedents which were followed by his son and grandson in later years. This chapter will deal in part with Edward's method of obtaining dominance over the Scots and holding them in subjection. The counter movements of the Scots in attempting to withstand the onslaught of the English will be discussed in the next succeeding chapter. In examining Edward's policy of attempted domination, we get a clear view of the English attitude toward Scotland for almost a century.

After Edward had assembled his force he lost no time in coming to grips with the town of Berwick. The most significant fact in the capture of Berwick that is revealed in the Chronicles is that Edward resorted to "cunning". The Scots say that this involved a staged retreat as if Edward had lifted the siege on the town. The English forces, when beyond view of the watch towers of Berwick, arrayed themselves in the Scottish formation with Scottish standards and the cross of St. Andrews displayed. As this disguised force advanced on Berwick the garrison and townspeople, believing they were delivered, rushed out to greet what they supposed were their deliverers - the army of Scotland. The Scots

recognized their mistake too late and the English soon gained the walls.[1] As the Lanercost Chronicler writes, "the pride of these traitors was humbled almost without the use of force."[2]

Edward wished to make an example of Berwick and ordered a general slaughter of the Scottish soldiery and perhaps, as the Scottish chroniclers insist, civilians. Fordun says, "neither sex nor age was spared."[3] This carnage apparently affected Edward even though he had ordered it. On seeing a woman slain, he is reported to have cried out,

> "Lasses, Lasses," then cryid hi:
> "Leve off, leve off," that word suld be.[4]

There is some evidence that the feeling of the English was so strong against the Scots that a massacre was a foregone conclusion. Langtoft expresses the hope that "nothing remains to them [the Scots] ..., except only their rivelings (shoes) and their bare buttocks."[5]

The actual number of individuals killed that day is difficult to determine. Fordun places the dead as high as 7,500.[6] The Lanercost Chronicler outdoes this figure by declaring "15,000 of both sexes perished."[7] The Langtoft

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[1]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 318.

[2]Lanercost Chronicle, p. 135.

[3]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 318.

[4]Wynton, Chronicle, II, 333.

[5]Langtoft, Chronicle, II, 233.

[6]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 318.

[7]Lanercost Chronicle, p. 135.

Chronicle sets the number of the fallen at 4,000, a figure perhaps closer to the truth than either of the former.[8] The Chroniclers are well known for their great exaggeration of numbers participating in battles and the numbers slain.

The English King had now conquered a stronghold and his future policy reveals that he recognized the value of Berwick and intended to hold the port for England. Since Berwick had fallen through trickery, little damage had been done to the walls, the fortifications were strengthened and around the town, "a wide and broad foss" was dug.[9] The town of Berwick was then staffed from top to bottom with Englishmen. On April 2, 1296, the King at Berwick gave an order, "that Sir Robert Clifford with 140 men-at-arms and 500 foot shall keep the March of Scotland till three weeks after Easter next, taking hostages of Selkirk forest, the moor of Covers etc."[10] In the same month "Edward forced William, son of John of Perth, Bernard le Mercer .... burgesses, and the whole community of the town of Berwick to swear fealty.[11]

Edward's next move was decided for him by the Scottish attack on the English under Warenne besieging the fortress

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[8]Langtoft, Chronicle, II, 233.

[9]Langtoft, Chronicle, II, 235.

[10]Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 170.

[11]Ibid.,p.187.

of Dunbar.[12] Because of the inept handling of the troops and the dissension within their own ranks the Scots took a beating from which they did not soon recover.[13] This battle will be dealt with to a greater extent in the following chapter.

One of the significant aspects of Edward's policy towards the Scots is seen in his treatment of prisoners. These men were not taken to any one place of confinement but were separated into small groups of two or three men. The purpose of this was to prevent conspiracies and plots against the English which might develop from close association of the prisoners. The earls went to the tower of London and the rest of the noble prisoners were placed in various castles throughout England.[14] Proof of this disposition of prisoners exists in a document dated May 16, 1296, listing the castles to which the Scottish prisoners of Dunbar were committed.[15] In the list may be found the names of Earls, Knights, and Esquires. The common folk are all omitted. Langtoft says of the Scots after the Battle of Dunbar, "the Scots have lost in the field their heads with their ears."[16]

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[12]Lang, History of Scotland, I, 178.

[13]Lanercost Chronicle, p. 140.

[14]Langtoft, Chronicle, II, 251.

[15]Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 176.

[16]Langtoft, Chronicle, II, 249.

At this point Edward made a grave error which later proved expensive to him and his heirs. After the Battle of Dunbar, Bruce, the son of the pretender, insisted that Edward keep his promise with regard to the Scottish throne.[17] He had, as has been noted in the last chapter, promised the throne to Bruce. However, the arrogant Edward replied to this request, "Have we nothing else to do but to win kingdoms for thee?"[18] Bruce was enraged and crushed by the answer and he withdrew from the war and left Scotland for good. His son Robert inherited the task of avenging Edward's insult to his father.

The Battle of Dunbar broke the back of the Scottish resistance. On that fatal field a large number of those who supported Balliol were either slain or imprisoned. The remainder of the campaign consisted of a series of sieges against the strongholds still held by the Scots for Balliol. Edward conducted the rest of the campaign with mildness, considering the times and his earlier behavior. The English King gave orders that no man should plunder or burn and that a fair price must be paid for all supplies.[19]

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[17]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 319.

[18]Idem.

[19]Lanercost, Chronicle, II, 149. Lang says Edward was harsh and "invited all the outlaws .... to join his army." Lang, History of Scotland, I, 178. The number indicated in the Patent and Close Rolls does not bear out Lang's contention. As near as I could count there were 200 such cases. A small number of men in an army of 10,000.

Edward advanced as far as the castle of Forfar where he was met by John Comyn who then submitted to Edward.[20] Perhaps Comyn hoped to salvage as much as possible for his King by this act. It was obvious that with disunity in Scotland and many Knights in the hands of the English, that the war could be prosecuted no longer.

Whatever Comyn's reasons were, he contracted to bring John Balliol and his son Edward from Aberdeen to Montrose, a place appointed for the Scottish King's submission.[21] Here Balliol gave up the charge of Scotland in a moving scene. "King John stripped off his kingly ornaments, and holding a white wand in his hand surrendered up with staff and baton, ... all right which he himself had or might have, to the kingdom of Scotland."[22] Letters Patent dated July 2, 1296, declared that, "John by the Grace of God King of Scotland confessed his offence against his liege lord and delivers up to him the kingdom of Scotland and its people."[23] The document is followed by a long list of the Knights and magnates of the realm of Scotland, coming into the king's peace and swearing fealty to their overlord Edward.[24] Balliol and his son were

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[20] Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 114.

[21] Ibid., p. 115.

[22] Fordun, Chronicle, II, 320.

[23] Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 179.

[24] Idem.

kept in close confinement in London for some time.[25] The confinement, however, was not severe for appearing in the Close Rolls, November 22, 1296, is Edward's grant of a huntsman and a household page to John Balliol.[26] Ex-king John was at last allowed to return to his old family lands in France where he died; his son was held a few years after the release of his father, but was subsequently allowed to join him and inherit his lands.

2. Edward's First Attempt at Conciliating the Scots

Edward now proceeded to consolidate his conquests. He first dealt with the Scottish nobles. With John Comyn and Simon Fraser another leader in the foray, he was somewhat more severe than he was with the rest of the nobility. Both these men had to pay fines equal to their holdings.[27] John Comyn had to swear to serve Edward against France.[28] Likewise Andrew Fraser had to swear on the "Holy Evangels (Sic) and relikes and the Lord's body" to serve the King of England faithfully in his wars against the King of France.[29]

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[25] Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 116.

[26] Close Rolls, IV, 1.

[27] Roltuli Parliamentorum; ut et Petitiones, et. Placita in Parliamento Tempore Edward R. III (n.p. nid?) vol. 1, 211.

[28] Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 233.

[29] Ibid., p. 234.

All those nobles who had participated in the war were sent South beyond the Trent.[30] Thus the crafty king got troublesome Scottish nobles out of the land of Scotland and used them against the French.

Generally Edward changed only the top administrative positions and the wardens of certain key castles and strongholds. Furthermore, Edward's legislative policy demanded that all the Flemish and French living in Scotland be required to leave the realm. These people were to be henceforth permitted to enter Scotland only to trade.[31] The supreme authority as Guardian of Scotland was vested in John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey.[32] Ormesby was Justiciar with five justices to administer the law.[33] Cressingham was treasurer and had the exchequer at Berwick-on-Tweed.[34] These men were serving in Scotland as appears from the documents in the Close Rolls. On April 23, 1296 appears a memorandum to keep the property of John de Warenne safe while he is on the king's affairs in Scotland.[35] De Warenne was definitely given

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[30] Langtoft, Chronicle, II, 275.

[31] Idem.

[32] Idem.

[33] Idem.

[34] Idem.

[35] Close Rolls, III, 510.

the title of "Keeper of the Land of Scotland" in September, 1296.[36] Ormesby was a justice on the Scottish side of the Trent but nothing is given of the affairs of his office.[37] The documents indicate that Cressingham actually administered the office the chroniclers report. The appointment was probably made shortly before Edward left Scotland in September of 1296. Previously, Cressingham had been serving in other capacities. The document reads, "Protection with clause volumus, for one year, for Hugh de Cressingham, treasurer of Scotland."[38] Other than the above officers and a few men in minor capacities, Edward, "did not change the captains or the other officers of justice."[39]

After the new officers were installed, Edward traveled about Scotland and seized some objects of veneration, such as,

> their king's seat of Scone
> Is driven over downs,
> carried to London.[40]

It was Edward's hope to utilize these in commanding the respect and awe of the Scots. In addition, Edward took records and documents from Scotland. Perhaps the better to prove his own

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[36]Patent Rolls, III, 196.

[37]Close Rolls, IV, 582.

[38]Patent Rolls, III, 201.

[39]Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 116.

[40]Langtoft, Chronicle, II, 265.

claim to Scotland to the Pope should that be necessary and make it difficult for the Scots to prove their contentions.[41] This fact along with the many recorded burnings of monasteries would explain why these very important sources of Scottish History are largely unavailable.[42]

In these arrangements Edward failed to effectively restrain either the Bishops or the humble priests of Scotland. This oversight was to cost him dearly. The prominent role played by the Scottish clergy makes it necessary at this point to take a close look at these men in order to see why it was necessary for them to be under the control of Edward. As we have seen it was the nobles with whom Edward dealt most severely. The Scottish nobility, while more colorful than the clergy, never, with the exception of the great Scottish hero Wallace, moved the common people of Scotland as did their Bishops and priests. Those of the higher clergy such as Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow, might be found changing sides in the Scottish factions and going and coming in and out of Edward's peace, but always it seems with the intention of keeping Scotland free.

Balliol, during his short tenure as King of Scotland, was supported by many of the clergy. Both the Bishop of

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[41]Lang, History of Scotland, II, 178.

[42]Langtoft, Chronicle, II, 271.

St. Andrews and Henry, abbot of Arbroath, were loyal to John when he first broke with Edward.[43] It was the latter man who delivered Balliol's letters Patent to Edward recalling his homage and fealty.[44] King John recognized the importance of the Scottish clergy to his cause for he drove out all the English beneficed clergy and gave their places to the Scots.[45] Sir David Hailes, a respected writer of Scottish History in the nineteenth century, believes one of the principal aims in driving out the English clergy was "to animate the loyalty of the Scottish clergy by views of preferment."[46]

That King John did indeed get this support is certain. According to the Lanercost Chronicler, priests took part in the defense of Scotland not only by their exhortations to the people but by wielding arms.[47] Edward knew of the activity of the Scottish clergy but he did not foresee their unwillingness to bend to his authority. Consequently, when he had subdued Scotland for the first time, he attempted to win the loyalty of the ecclesiastics by granting to the

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[43]Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 117.

[44]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 316.

[45]Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 112.

[46]David Dalrymple of Hailes, Annals of Scotland from The Accession of Malcolm III to the Accession of The House of Stewart, (Edinburgh: Printed for Archibald Constable & Co. and Fairbairn & Anderson, Edinburgh; and Hurst, Robinson & Co. London, 1819) I, 291.

[47]Lanercost Chronicle, p. 140.

Bishops, "the privilege of bequeating their effects by will."[48] In this case Edward had not found nor did he use the proper measures to carry out his plans.

Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow, supported all of the Bruces for the most part as being stronger than the Balliols and better able to defend Scotland.[49] Yet when Wallace came to the fore, already a popular leader, Wisheart threw his support to him and caused the common people to rally to Wallace and to the cause of Scotland.[50] After Bruce began his spectacular rise, Wisheart once again returned to his former allegiance,this time accompanied by a goodly number of the Scottish clergy. Even the Bishop of St. Andrews, now convinced that Balliol would do no more good for Scotland, changed also to Bruce. The Bishop also played the part of a protector to James Douglas who had been forced to live in France after his father's disgrace at the hands of Edward.[51] Another nationalist and a supporter of Bruce was the Bishop of Morray. He was hounded to the Orkneys by Edward for supporting Bruce in the murder of Comyn.[52]

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[48]Hailes, Annals, I, 297.

[49]Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 114.

[50]Lanercost Chronicle, p. 103.

[51]Barbour, Chronicle, p. 19.

[52]Close Rolls, V, 527.

After the battle of Methven, Edward appears to have awakened to the reality that nothing less than punitive measures would stop the Scottish clergy. He proceeded to imprison both the Bishops of Glasgow and St. Andrews.[53]

It was not the nobles of Scotland then, so industrious in seeking after personal advantage, who were cast in the role of patriots and would be liberators of the home land, but the clergy of Scotland.

After these precautionary measures, Edward returned to England to carry out his plans against France. With some justification the English King felt that his difficulties were behind him but such was not the case. During the first Parliament after the Scottish campaign, he encountered stiff opposition to his request for funds for his French venture. An opposition motivated by the fear that he was setting at naught the Great Charter. The principal opposition came from men like the Archbishop of Canterbury.[54] Although Edward finally gained some support from his nobles and clergy, they granted it only with concessions on Edward's part which gave the Scots an opportunity to rise again.[55]

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[53]Langtoft, Chronicle, II, 373.

[54]Langtoft, Chronicle, II, 271.

[55]Idem. The quarrel between Edward and his nobles came to the ears of the Scots and encouraged them to strike for liberty.

The rule of Warenne and Cressingham was satisfactory neither to Edward nor to the Scots. Warenne was growing old and lacked decisiveness. Lang says Warenne disliked the cold dampness of Scotland and stayed at his English Estate much of the time.[56] This arrangement pleased the fat and greedy Cressingham.[57] He was a good administrator but as treasurer, he appropriated large amounts of the king's money for himself during Warenne's absences. As a result English troops stationed in Scotland went unpaid and they soon deserted.[58] Edward apparently did not trust Cressingham, for in return for a sum of 2,000 pounds Cressingham had to "refund the money from the issues of Scotland by the Gule of Auguest next."[59] Edward's administrators were dishonest and incompetent. John Barbour, the author of The Bruce describes the gnawing system by saying that the minor officials of Edward, "were wholly cruel, wicked and covetous."[60] Cressingham, perhaps set the example.

Rumblings of discontent were heard as early as July 23, 1297. At this time William Wallace appears on the scene,

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[56]Lang, History of Scotland, I, 182.

[57]Hailes, Annals, I, 298.

[58]Langtoft, Chronicle, II, 299.

[59]Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 235.

[60]Master John Barbour, The Bruce, Being the Metrical History of Robert The Bruce, King of Scots, trans. George Eyre-Todd (London: Gowans and Gray, 1907), p. 8.

after the uprising at Lanark which will be discussed at length later. Cressingham reported, "the submission of the Scots to Percy and Clifford [two of the English captains stationed in Scotland to keep the natives calm], but that Wallace still holds out in Selkirk Forest."[61] Douglas, one of the foremost Scottish leaders, participated in this uprising for which he was imprisoned at Berwick.[62] Barbour insists that this leader spent the rest of his days in prison where the English murdered him.[63]

3. The Testing of Edward's Policies

The measures instituted by the English wardens of Scotland did not prove very effective. A part of this failure was due to the fact that neither Wallace nor Wisheart, the Bishop of Glasgow, the strongest national leaders, were placed under restraint. The Lanercost Chronicler places the most blame on the latter man for stirring up the Scots.[64]

There are many indications of increasing unrest in Scotland. On the 7th of September John de Warenne is rather curtly ordered to "stay in Scotland because the condition

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[61]Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 916.

[62]Idem.

[63]Barbour, Bruce, p. 8.

[64]Lanercost Chronicle, p. 163.

of the realm is disturbed."[65] Several weeks later on September 24, Warenne is commanded a second time on no account to leave Scotland until conditions were more settled.[66] Robert de Clifford, another officer appointed by Edward was ordered to join the earl de Warenne with his whole power.[67]

It soon appeared that Wallace was the chief of the opposition among the Scots to Edward. He was even more of a problem than Wisheart, the Bishop of Glasgow. So greatly did Wallace harry the English that at last the English guardians of Scotland decided on a show-down with Wallace. Intelligence of his movements informed the guardians that the Scottish leader was besieging Dundee castle. The English force was soon set in motion towards the approaches to Dundee South of the Forth. Warenne's force was perhaps adequate to handle the Scots. The Lanercost Chronicler says, however, that James, the Steward of Scotland, though serving on the English side in body, had his heart with the Scots. James informed Warenne he would need only a few picked troops to bring Wallace under his power, thus contributing to the English disaster.[68]

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[65] Close Rolls, III, 63.

[66] Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 243.

[67] Idem.

[68] Lanercost Chronicle, p. 163.

The English arrived South of the Forth at a place called Stirling bridge only to find the Scots already posted on the North side. Instead of attempting to secure the bridgehead Warenne and his troops went to bed while the Scots reenforced their own position at the bridgehead opposite the English. In the morning the forces of Warenne and Cressingham made no attempt to find a ford across the river, partly because Cressingham did not want to incur the added expense such an operation would enforce.[69] Wallace struck hard at the first English troops crossing the bridge and cut them off from the main body of troops. Others were driven back in a weltering mass of horses and men.[70] "There knights and serjeants took their leave."[71]

In the ensuing flight, Hugh de Cressingham fell under the horses because of his lack of horsemanship. Harry the Minstrel, biographer of Wallace, maintains that Wallace ran Cressingham through with a spear.[72] In any case his body fell into the hands of the Scots who inflicted a savage revenge upon the former treasurer of Scotland.[73]

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[69]Lang, History of Scotland, I, 183.

[70]Lanercost Chronicle, p. 163.

[71]Langtoft, Chronicle, II, 299.

[72]Minstrel, Wallace, p. 176.

[73]Langtoft, Chronicle, II, 301. This author says the ribalds of Scotland cut pieces of flesh from Cressingham.

The Lanercost Chronicler condemns Wallace by saying that he, "caused a broad strip to be taken from the head to the heel, to make there with a baldrick for his sword."[74] On September 21 in the documents appears the King's command, "Hugh de Cressingham being reported dead, the escheator of Trent is commanded to take his lands in the Ks hand."[75] The engagement at Stirling Bridge on September 11, 1297 was a smashing defeat for the English and gave Wallace a free hand until Edward advanced at Falkirk.

Edward had been deprived of his Scottish prize but events were working for him. At last peace was made with the French and Edward was free to renew his expedition against the Scots. He was able to do so both by reason of the peace and because of the renewed support of his nobles. In 1297 he had been forced to confirm Magna Carta by granting his barons the right to approve taxation. Indications of English military activity appear in the Patent Rolls.[76] Edward's son had been intrusted with the guardianship of England in his father's absence in France and he was charged with the responsibility for organizing military forces.[77] Preparations

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[74]Lanercost Chronicle, p. 163.

[75]Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 224.

[76]Patent Rolls, III, 297.

[77]Ibid.,p.306.

were begun in October 23, 1297, to go against the Scots although little came of this effort.[78]

When Edward returned home, activity again increased in April 1298, which was the prelude to the Battle of Falkirk. This battle is significant because it offers an excellent example of the requirements of successful English prosecution of the war. Under good leadership and organization the English were invincible but against clever Scottish tactics mismanagement of the English could lead, and did later, to disasterous results.

Edward had learned of a growing antipathy for Wallace on the part of the Scottish Nobles. Pluscarden describes these men as "imps of the devil [who] conspired against and devised mischief against him, [Wallace] framing lies and back biting him."[79] Edward contributed to the difficulties of Wallace by secretly winning over "certain magnates of the Kingdom of Scotland who had a lurking grudge against the said William Wallace."[80] The Scottish writers claim that Wallace knew nothing of this feeling until the battle of Falkirk, although this seems somewhat incredible in a man of Wallace's talents.

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[78] Ibid., p.313.

[79] Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 120.

[80] Ibid., p.121.

In this campaign the aim of Edward was to penetrate into the West and there end the war.[81] Edward, however, was encountering considerable difficulty in executing this plan. He found himself without provisions and with dissension in his army.[82] He had actually begun to retire with his army to the English borders when he learned of the whereabouts of the Scots.[83] In the resulting engagement, which will be dealt with in the 4th chapter, the Scots were completely routed. Edward in this battle of Falkirk distinguished himself as a field commander and demonstrated the terrible effect of the English longbow.[84]

Edward was unable to follow up his victory at Falkirk because of lack of supplies and was forced to fall back into England, despite his great victory, building what defenses he could against the Scots.[85]

Edward's great adversary, in the meantime, had, under the displeasure of the jealous Scottish nobility, been forced to give up his guardianship.[86] This hardship did not stop Wallace from making difficulties for Edward. The Scottish

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[81]Hailes, Annals, I, 312.

[82]Idem.

[83]Idem.

[84]Charles Oman, A History of the Art of War In The Middle Ages From the Fourth to the Fourteenth Century (New York: G.P. Putnam & Sons, 1898), II, 567.

[85]Pluscarden Chronicles, II, 122.

[86]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 325.

hero continued his operations against the English with a small band of men who believed with him in a free Scotland. Evidence of his activity can be found in the Close Rolls for 1302. An order was given to the captain of the Forth to return to the abbot of Reading his island of May as "William le Waleys and his accomplices lately insurgent against the king in those parts ejected the abbot."[87] The above information may be also taken as proof of Wallace's oppression of the English clergy.[88]

When the English King offered Wallace a great lordship in England, if the Scottish hero would come into his peace, Wallace refused the offer with contempt.[89] On the other hand, the vitriolic Langtoft writes that Wallace was ready to submit in return for life and woods and cattle for himself and his heirs. In his opinion the English King would have nothing to do with his great Scottish opponent and "promises three hundred marks to the man who makes him [Wallace] headless."[90] Sir John de Menteith, a Scot, is reported to have captured Wallace in 1307. Langtoft asserts that Wallace was taken with his concubine.[91]

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[87] Close Rolls, V, 244.

[88] Lang, History of Scotland, I, 184.

[89] Pluscarden Chronicles, II, 170.

[90] Langtoft, Chronicle, II, 353.

[91] Ibid. p. 363.

A great question still remains as to the events between Wallace's capture and death. Few documents are found which deal with Wallace. Although the English Chroniclers maintain that he had a trial, it would seem doubtful. These men claimed that Wallace was convicted of robberies, slaughters, and burnings of "towns and churches and monasteries."[92] Wallace was thereafter hanged, cut open and his heart and bowels burned. His body was cut into four parts and each part was placed on display in various sections of England. His head was sent to decorate London bridge.[93] A document which deals with Wallace's death records and reveals the fact that Wallace was delivered from the Tower August 18, 1305.[94] It is possible that Edward felt he had to make an example of such a dangerous foe or see all his policies set at naught. Perhaps this is also an example, revealing the great Plantagenet's own weakness, while he vented his spleen upon a helpless though courageous foe.

4. The End of the Leniency

With the resignation of Wallace the guardianship of Scotland went to John Comyn, son of the pretender. Associated

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[92] Idem.

[93] Ibid., p. 363.

[94] Lang, History of Scotland, I, 199.

with him was John de Soulis.[95] Peace,or at least a truce, was now arranged through the good offices of Philip, King of France.[96] On June 26, 1298, letters patent were sent by Philip, "signifying that a truce had been agreed upon between himself and his allies and the K of England ... that he had authorized an exchange of prisoners, and sent special envoys to require observance of the truce towards the Scots."[97]

Both sides needed a rest. Scotland was in shambles and Edward was involved once more in a bitter dispute with his nobles. The King had asked for more funds for his wars in Scotland and the nobility lined up solidly against him.[98] His problems were increased by the Papal Bull of July 10, 1298, which ordered Edward to cease his war with the Scots.[99]

Although Edward used this Bull to regain the support of his nobles, who disliked Papal intervention more than the exactions of their king, it raised the question which Edward was never able to answer. Boniface pointed out that at the time of Alexander's death Margaret of Norway was the direct

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[95]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 324.

[96]Idem.

[97]Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 254.

[98]Langtoft, Chronicle, II, 323.

[99]Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 255.

heir of her grandfather Alexander III, although a minor and incompetent, as the Pope maintained, and in support of the Scots that,

> That ward of her body, nor her goods,
> Nor her heritage, by land or by water
> Or of her realm the value of a penney
> At that time couldst thou [Edward] rightfully claim.[100]

This action forced Edward to dispatch an envoy to Rome to plead his case while he used the Bull to subdue his nobles.[101]

But Edward could not forget his ambitions in Scotland. As soon as the truce expired he sent another force against the Scots. The English were defeated in the Battle of Roslyn.[102] At last, in 1303, Edward was free once more to give his undivided attention to the Scots because the French had withdrawn their support from the Scots in the treaty of Amiens.[103] In the same year Edward again over-ran Scotland, more thoroughly and repressively than before. This time, the plan that Edward and his nobles had decided upon was to pass through Galloway, long a troublesome section of Scotland, and live off the land. As Langtoft writes, "of cattle to

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[100]Langtoft, Chronicle, II, 393.

[101]Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 296.

[102]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 325.

[103]Lang, History of Scotland, I, 192. The treaty was made in Paris May 20th, 1303. "where in, all mention of the Scots is industriously avoided. What Philip hoped to gain by desertion of his ally is not clear. Hailes, Annals, I, 333.

salt, where he [Edward] found enough."[104] Here Edward was borrowing a technique from Wallace. A second section of the army under the Prince of Wales was to do a similar job of despoiling Scotland in the West. A third unit of the army was scheduled to enter Scotland by the important port of Berwick.[105]

This plan was, in the main, carried out. However, the Scots frustrated a portion of Edward's scheme by laying waste the country side over which the English would advance, a strategy later advocated by Robert Bruce.[106] The English Chronicler relates the Scottish retaliatory measures when he says:

> The country is warned, the people informed of it
> Drive their cattle among the bogs
> Into the moors and marshes to such depth
> A foreigner knows not where to hold his feet.[107]

The English army was further frustrated by not being able to meet the Scots in a decisive battle. The enemy always fled before Edward, "skulking in moors and woods."[108] Edward was not to be denied. He had withdrawn to Linlithgow

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[104]Langtoft, Chronicle, II, 325.

[105]Lanercost Chronicle, p. 172.

[106]Lang, History of Scotland, I, 137.

[107]Langtoft, Chronicle, II, 325.

[108]Lanercost Chronicle, p. 267.

for the winter and made every appearance of remaining there until the following spring.[109] After burning hamlets, and towns, granges and barns, Edward settled down to his occupation.

The Scots detested this arrangement of having Edward in Scotland for the entire year. Accordingly they sought the king's peace quickly.[110] Edward now received the submission of all the communities, fortresses and castles.[111] Only Stirling Castle held out under William Oliphant and of course the irreconcilable Wallace.[112] At last even formidable Stirling Castle was given over to Edward and the warden Oliphant was imprisoned.[113]

The English King had once more quieted Scotland and brought it into respectful submission. The castles were once more rebuilt as well as other strongholds that Wallace had destroyed. Edward now appointed only men of his own choice to command fortifications, towns, and cities.[114] Sir Simon Frazer was imprisoned. Many other nobles either suffered the same fate or were sent abroad.[115]

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[109] Ibid., p. 172.

[110] Lanercost Chronicle, p. 174.

[111] Fordun, Chronicle, II, 328.

[112] Wallace it will be remembered did not meet his death until 1305.

[113] Ibid.,p.329.

[114] Idem.

[115] Lang, History of Scotland, I, 194.

Edward also attempted to make the unity of England and Scotland more complete. Thanks to the English guardians, the land of the Scots had been for some time under English law. Now Edward dealt with the Scottish laws.

> With respect to the laws and usages for the government of Scotland, it is ordained, that the custom of the Scots and the Brets shall for the future be prohibited, and no longer practiced.[116]

The English King again returned to his homeland satisfied that at last he had done a good job. Once more, however, he was to have little peace of mind. Intelligence arrived from John Comyn disclosing a secret agreement with Robert Bruce III whereby Comyn was to receive Bruce's lands in exchange for Comyn's assistance in raising Bruce to the throne.[117] Edward was at first disinclined to believe the information. Comyn had perjured himself before and, moreover, in view of Edwards past labors, it may have been something in which he did not wish to believe.[118]

A short time after Edward had received Comyn's message, the King confronted Bruce with the damning evidence, and gave Bruce a chance to clear himself. Bruce disappeared, an incident which caused the gravest concern. The worst was

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[116]Hailes, Annals, I, 349.

[117]Barbour, Bruce, p. 13.

[118]Ibid., p. 18.

realized when on the 27th of March 1306, news arrived of the slaughter of Comyn by Bruce and the murderer's subsequent elevation to the Scottish throne.[119]

Edward, who had labored so long to make Scotland and England one, now found himself in more difficulty than at any previous time in his attempt to subjugate Scotland. One can well believe, as Barbour says, that upon hearing of Bruce's coronation Edward, "went very nigh out of his mind."[120]

Edward lost no time in dispatching Sir Aymer de Valence, Warden of Scotland since the disgrace of Warenne, against Bruce. The forces of Bruce and Edward clashed at Methven in which engagement Barbour feels the English triumphed by very underhanded means. The English, Barbour charges, attacked the Scots at night when the former had agreed not to do so. A very strange charge considering all the perjuries and deceits of which the Scots were guilty.[121]

The following of Bruce was routed and forced to flee into the hills. The aftermath of the Battle of Methven revealed a vengeful English King. The earl of Athol, and Simon Fraser were taken at Methven and executed.[122] Also captured in the same battle were the bishops of Glasgow and

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[119]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 333.

[120]Barbour, Bruce, p. 10.

[121]Ibid., p. 22.

[122]Idem.

St. Andrews. This time little respect was shown for their high church offices and they were taken to the South in fetters, there to be held in separate prisons.[123] The terrible vengeance seems to have increased "the number of those willing to establish him [Bruce] in the realm."[124]

Every day the situation became more desperate for Bruce. He and his adherents remained on the Scottish mainland. The English closely pressed Bruce's broken band. Moreover, Bruce had been driven on the borders of the Lordship of Lorn. The Lord of Lorn was related by marriage to the dead John Comyn and for that reason was eager to revenge his relative.[125] At last Robert was forced to send away the ladies and disband most of his remaining troops because of lack of food.[126] The consequences of this action were anything but pleasant. The enraged English King was now permitting no leniency. Robert's Queen was captured by William, Earl of Ross, who turned her over to the English. The queen was not to return to Scotland until after the battle of Bannockburn.[127] So also did the English capture

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[123]Langtoft, Chronicle, II, 373.

[124]Lanercost Chronicle, p. 182.

[125]Hailes, Annals, II, 8.

[126]Barbour, Bruce, p. 42.

[127]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 334.

Nigel Bruce along with many of the knights and ladies who had sought refuge in Kildoumie castle. Fordun claims that Nigel Bruce as well as persons of both sexes suffered capital punishment.[128] There was to be no relenting in Edward's severe policy until his death. The added distance of land and water did not protect the supporters of Bruce from Edward's wrath. A letter sent to the King of Norway asked that monarch to arrest the Bishop of Morray, a stout-hearted adherent of Bruce, who had fled to the Orkneys.[129] The whereabouts of Bruce, even when he had fled to the islands, was known to Edward. In an endeavor to capture him, full use was made of the trusty captor of Wallace, John de Menteith. Shipping from Ireland was ordered to join John and "assist him in burning ships, and to go against the islands of Scotland where Bruce is lurking."[130]

In the meantime every effort was bent toward the complete subjugation of Scotland. "Three hundred knights of account in truth were dubbed at the cost of king Edward".[131] Orders were issued to the sheriff of Lincoln on April 6, 1306

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[128] Ibid., p.335.

[129] Close Rolls, V, 527.

[130] Ibid., p.482. The Irish had served with Edward on other of his Scottish campaigns.

[131] Langtoft, Chronicle, II, 372.

concerning all tournaments and jousts. These were to be prohibited and all men-at-arms of the district were to prepare at once for Scotland.[132] Edward was taking no chances with his men before his huge army advanced against the hated Bruce.[133] A complete canvass was made of all churchmen to squeeze the last penny due the king for their services. The sheriff of Kent had to order all archbishops, bishops, abbots and priors who ought to do service, to have their men at Carlisle or pay their fines.[134] Even the men of Dover did not escape this draft and were ordered to have ships ready with "fencible men" to proceed against Robert Bruce.[135] In the past the men of the port of Dover had been exempted from such duty as the Scottish expeditions in order to guard the coast against the ever present danger of a French landing.

During the month of May the English army rolled toward Scotland. After his many hard wars, Edward was in poor health and frequent stops in the progress were necessary.[136] While the English army was making its slow advance, three columns were sent forth from the main body with the hope of

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[132]Close Rolls, V, 433.

[133]Ibid., p.435.

[134]Lang, History of Scotland, I, 211.

[135]Close Rolls, V, 433.

[136]Lang, History of Scotland, I, 211.

ferreting out Bruce.[137] The enterprise was checked by a Scottish victory at Lauden Hill. Intermittent warfare continued until such a time as Edward would be well enough to take the field in person. This time, however, never came and one of the great English kings died July 7, 1307 within sight of Scotland at Burough-on-Sands.[138]

5. The Character and The Policies of Edward II

"When he [Edward I] died, his son succeeded to the crown, but not to the understanding or prowess of his father."[139] In these words is to be found almost the entire story of the reign of Edward II. The policies used against the Scots were the same. Many of the leaders who had in former times trounced the Scots were the same, but we now have to do with a king whose character was vastly different from that of his father.[140] We find that instead of a change in policy there is a greater tendency toward dissimulation, with the Pope being used as one of the principal pawns in the game.

Edward II has been portrayed as an entirely disreputable character, without honor or shame, who sought out the

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[137] Lanercost, Chronicle, p. 184.

[138] Lanercost Chronicle, p. 211

[139] Sir John Froissart, Chronicles of England, France, Spain and the Adjoining Countries From the Latter Part of the Reign of Edward II to the Coronation of Henry IV, trans. Thomas Johns Esq., (New York: American Book Exchange) p. 15.

[140] Gray, Scalacronica, p. 290. Aymer de Valence, Percy, Clifford were all still men in the prime of their lives.

company of the lowest sort.[141] In this condemnation I believe the chroniclers and writers have dealt much too severely with Edward. His main fault seems to have been that he loved pleasure more than his many pressing duties would permit and that his interests were neither those of his time nor of his class.

Tout has described the king from the sources as "tall, graceful, and handsome, with magnificent health and exceptional bodily strength", in effect all that a young prince should be.[142] Here, however, the resemblance to his great father ended. His father seems never to have been able to interest him in statecraft and the young prince outraged the nobility by taking little or no interest in tournaments or battles and spent his time instead at such activities as play acting, music and mechanics.[143] The reference to the mechanical arts is interesting in view of the frequency with which it is mentioned. Had the king lived in a different time he might have contributed greatly to the advance of mankind. Edward's great interest in these so-called mechanical arts is further indicated in the Lanercost Chronicle, which says "Edward wrought as a craftsman with his boon compainions by night."[144] Why was

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[141] Scalacronica Idem, and Tout History of England, III, 236.

[142] Tout, History of England, III, 236.

[143] Ibid., p.237.

[144] Lanercost Chronicle, p. 222.

this done at night? Was it because of the great disapproval with which the barons looked upon such activity or was it also because the king and his mechanics dared not show what they were achieving in that superstitious age?

The resulting contempt and scorn of his own class caused him to find companionship that was considered far beneath him. In the words of Robert le Messager, a contemporary of Edward II and a member of his household, the king, "fraternized with buffuons, singers, actors, carters, ditchers, oarsman, sailors and others who practiced the mechanical arts."[145] Gray says the king, too, much sought "the vile company of maryners, wher by he lost much favor of his people."[146]

In that day and age it appears little deviation was allowed to those who did not conform to the accepted pattern. Perhaps because of his rejection by those who should have been his fellows, he plunged into his long orgy of spend-thrift living and the chase. One has only to look into the Patent Rolls to see the many documents having to do with his indebtedness.[147] His other pleasures are indicated in

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[145]Hilda Johnstone, "The Eccentricities of Edward II," The English Historical Review, XLVIII, ed, C. W. Previte-Orton, (1933), 265-7.

[146]Gray, Scalacronica, p. 291.

[147]Patent Rolls, Ed. II, III, 680.

documents dealing with his mews, his verge and his horse stud.[148]

On the face of it, the record is indeed damning. However, as Miss Johnston a modern writer who deals with the eccentricities of Edward, points out much of the testimony by such as Robert le Messenger must be taken with a grain of salt.[149] It seems that Robert had been imprisoned by the king only to be released by Walter Reynolds, archbishop of Canterbury at the instance of the king's wife, Queen Isabella.[150] Both of these persons were unfriendly to the king as later events were to prove. It looks very much as though le Messenger was a creature of the archbishop and the queen who, for reasons of their own, worked against the king.

Here, then, are the elements of the tragic life that was to follow. Ill-treated by those who should have been his chief counselors, and with more problems than ever his illustrious father was forced to face, it was small wonder that he failed. The nobles were more bent on destroying Gaveston, the king's favorite, than attending to the land of Scotland.

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[148] Ibid., 271, 320, 392, etc.

[149] Johnstom, The Eccentricities of Edward II, p. 266.

[150] Idem.

Not the least in the unhappy king's undoing was his close friendship with Gaveston, a Gascon Noble.[151] Outside of the new king's nephew, Gilbert of Clare, Peter seems to have been the only other man of rank Edward loved or respected. Although the old king had tried to break up this association, no sooner had he breathed his last than his son recalled Gaveston to court in high favor.[152] The Gascon appears to have been a man of some ability but he was a foreigner and therefore the English nobles could not brook his rapid advancement over themselves. Peter did not help his own cause by giving voice to his caustic wit. He called the earl of Warwick, "the Black Dog of Arden."[153] When Warwick was informed of this appellation he replied, "I will bite him so soon as I shall perceive my opportunity."[154] A statement that was to be very prophetic.

In spite of his nobles obvious dislike for Gaveston, Edward continued to shower high offices upon his favorite. On December 26, 1307, Gaveston was appointed "keeper of England during the king's absence beyond the sea."[155] In 1308 Gaveston was allowed to deal with wardships and marriages,

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[151] Lanercost Chronicle, p. 184.

[152] Ibid., p. 185.

[153] Ibid., p. 194.

[154] Idem.

[155] Patent Rolls, Ed. II, I, 307.

always a ticklish problem where the nobles were concerned.[156] He was made earl of Cornwell and was given the king's niece, Margaret, in marriage.[157]

At last the nobles could stand it no longer and in a document preserved in Rotuli Parliamentorum the king is informed of the bad practices of "De Pieras de Gaveston" and that he is in fact an enemy of the king.[158] Edward was forced to banish his favorite to Ireland but not before he made Gaveston "king's lieutenant" in Ireland.[159] The action of the barons forcing Peter out and Edward placing him back in power continued until Lancaster took Gaveston prisoner in a castle and, with the connivance of Warwick, had the unfortunate Gascon beheaded.[160] It was necessary to dwell at some length on Peter Gaveston to show the disastrous split his person caused between the king and his barons. Such a situation in turn played right into the hands of the Scots and Robert Bruce.

After his father's death Edward did attempt to carry on his father's work by an unsatisfactory campaign into Ayreshire.[161] He retreated perhaps because of lack of food or because of his approaching marriage to Isabella of France.[162]

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[157] Idem.

[158] Rot. Parl., Ed. II, I, 282.

[159] Patent Rolls, Ed. II, I, 308.

[160] Lanercost Chronicle, p. 198.

[161] Lang, Hist. of Scotland, I, 212.

[162] Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 180.

Before returning to England he took the oath of allegiance from the magnates, clergy, and people of Scotland at Dumfries. "Others [of the Scots] drew back and fell away from him" because of his lack of strong policy.[163] Yet another mistake which would make operations simpler for Robert Bruce.

Now wherever in the past he had failed, Bruce enjoyed phenomenal success. Although the Scottish king was ill in 1308, he succeeded in routing Comyn, a relative of the slain Comyn, at Inverness.[164] This victory was followed up by a ravaging of Galloway where the Macdowls were hostile to Bruce.[165] Next the Macdowls of Argyll and the men of Lorn were badly defeated at Loch Awe in 1309.[166] One after another these Scots who were friendly to the English cause were either forced out of Scotland or compelled to recognize Bruce as king. Such action seriously decreased the English hold on Scotland and added to the growing problems of the unfortunate English king.

Edward's vacillation in regard to his wardens and keepers of Scotland has been roundly condemned by later historians.[167] An explanation for his action could be found

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[163] Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 180.

[164] Fordun, Chronicle, II, 337.

[165] Lanercost Chronicle, p. 187.

[166] Fordun, Chronicle, II, 338.

[167] Lang, Hist. of Scotland, I, 309.

in the simple fact there were few nobles he could trust. According to the Patent Rolls John de Bretannia,[168] William de Ros,[169] John de Segrave,[170] and Robert de Umframville,[171] all either followed one another in quick succession or served at the same time with overlapping jurisdictions.[172] What could the king do? As the Lanercost Chronicler points out, Edward was reduced to the support of Hugh le Despenser and his son, Sir Nicholes de Sergrave and Sir William de Burford.[173] Even the powerful Despensers were at best self-seekers.[174]

In the same year Edward was at open war with his nobles. Lancaster, one of the leaders in the faction opposing Edward had been in active communication with the Scots.[175] Andrew de Harclay, a king's man, stopped Lancaster and turned him and other nobles over to the king's justice.[176]

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[168] Patent Rolls, Ed. II, I, 31.

[169] Ibid., p. 79.

[170] Ibid., p. 204.

[171] Ibid., p. 79.

[172] Ibid., p. 79.

[173] Lanercost Chronicle, p. 187.

[174] Ibid., p. 229. The Despensers, after the death of Gaveston had become the chief counselors of Edward. In 1320 the barons forced the king to banish both father and son. The Despensers were back in high favor after Lancaster had been crushed. Hugh le Despenser made a treaty with the Scots which was to last 13 years. Lanercost Chronicle, p. 246.

[175] Ibid., p. 229.

[176] Ibid., p. 231.

Because of this good service Harclay was made earl of Carlisle and one of the keepers of the Scottish March in 1322.[177] However, he could not, or would not, continue to support Edward. Just one year later he was discovered dealing with the Scots and a few trusted English nobles were ordered to "degrade Andrew de Harclay, earl of Carlisle, a traitor to the king and realm."[178]

With all of the doubledealing in his own backyard, it is a wonder Edward carried out any military operations against Scotland. Of the two large campaigns which attempted to reduce Scotland to submission, one resulted in the disastrous battle of Bannockburn. The second, an invasion in 1320, was only partially successful due to the old Scottish principle of sweeping the land bare of food before the English and retiring into the hills.[179] The overall picture for England was one of dismal military failure.

With tenuous, or no support at all, in his own country and with a challenging and resourceful opponent with whom to contend, Edward was forced to use his father's policy of machination more than his policy of direct action. Part of Edward's policy consisted of an attempt to secure to himself

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[177] Idem.

[178] Patent Rolls Ed. II, IV, 92.

[179] Bannockburn will be discussed in the 4th chapter.

Scottish nobles by giving them lands and thus split Bruce's following. Evidences of this attempt appear in the Patent Rolls for 1315. Lands and special privileges were to be given the lords of Man and Lorn.[180] Some success must have met this endeavor, because, in the so-called "Black Parliament of Scotland", Soulis, Mowbray, and Sir David Berchim were all found guilty of conspiracy with the English and punished by death.[181]

A degree of success also rewarded Edward's efforts to get himself in the good graces of the Pope and thereafter use the Holy office against the Scots. The Rolls of 1316 show something of Edward's actions. Requests were made to English merchants to pay for certain gold vases and other jewels, to be made in Paris and "to be presented on the king's behalf to the Pope."[182] The good relationship must have continued through 1324 in spite of the activity to discredit Edward on the part of the Scots. The Pope, in 1324, agreed to renounce all words in a letter which appeared to Edward to be "prjudicial to the crown."[183] The Pope, at Edward's request also agreed not to sanction Scotsmen elected to episcopal office in their land. Edward's reason was, "the

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[180] Patent Rolls, Ed. II, I, 300.

[181] Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 188.

[182] Patent Rolls, Ed. II, I, 605.

[183] Patent Rolls, Ed. II, V, 21.

Scottish prelates are they who cherish the nation in its rebellion and contumacy."[184] Again in 1319 the Pope gave Edward backing in his attempt to purchase Scottish traitors.[185]

Perhaps one of the sharpest strokes of Edward's policy was one which he initiated but had to leave to his son to complete. It will be remembered that Edward Balliol, son to the ex-king of Scotland, had been given his freedom to join his father in France. In July 2, 1324, it became evident that Edward intended to make use of a pretender against the Scots. A safe conduct was issued for "Edward de Balliol coming from beyond the seas to the king at his command."[186] Yet another safe conduct was issued to Balliol in December 7, 1325.[187] So Edward II used his father's methods of dissimulation to achieve that which he could not gain by force of arms.

The time for Edward's disgrace and tragic end were drawing near. Isabella, his wife, and her paramour, Mortimer, led a force against Edward which forced him from the rule of

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[184]Hailes, Annals, II, 137.

[185]Lang, Hist. of Scotland, I, 228.

[186]Patent Rolls, Ed. II, VI, 434.

[187]Patent Rolls, Ed. II, V, 4.

England.[188] In 1326 Edward turned over many important State papers to Isabella thus indicating his defeat.[189] After December 5, 1326 the unhappy king must have begun his imprisonment because from that date on in the Rolls the orders to the officers of the realm are signed by the queen and king's first born son.[190] It is generally believed, Isabella and Mortimer had Edward murdered on the night of September 21, 1327.[191] In this tragic manner ended a king who was not of his time or of his class. His reign showed a frustrating lack of energy at those places where it was needed and misplaced energy where no action at all might have been the best solution.

6. The Policy of Edward III.

The reign of Edward the III began in almost as bad a situation as that of his father's just ended. The young

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[188] Lanercost Chronicle, p. 249. Isabella had been sent to France either to make peace between France and England or as a good way of getting an untrustworthy subject out of the kingdom. It was in France that she met Mortimer already having been expelled from England for questionable conduct. Now the plotting against Edward began in earnest. These two conspirators enlisted the aid of the knightly count of Hainault. The count gave his services, conditional to a marriage between his daughter and the queen's first born son when he should come to the throne. With the power of Hainault and the anti-Edward nobles of England, Edward was run to ground and forced to submit.

[189] Patent Rolls, Ed. II, V, 337.

[190] Idem.

[191] Tout, Hist. of England, III, 303. The Despensers had already been killed in the advance of the insurgents without a trial., Ibid., p. 300.

king was in his minority and was almost completely under the thumb of his mother's paramour Mortimer.[192] The realm itself was in a state of unrest.

In view of England's crippled condition, Bruce lost no time in attacking Norham and its castle.[193] The young king with the assistance of his future father-in-law, the count of Hainault, marched on the Scots and succeeded in trapping them, for a short time, in Stanhope Park. Under their commander, James Douglas, the Scots escaped into the night.[194] Hailes believes that part of the English difficulty came from a lack of good military commanders, whereas the Scots had the services of such active men as Douglas. Moreover, the English in their first movements were over-cautious and marched in battle array rather than adapting their formation to the fast movement of the Scots.[195]

By this time the situation of England was serious. The treasury was almost exhausted, the French were in an unpredictable mood, and the Scots continued their ravages on the English border.[196] Although Isabella and Mortimer

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[192] Lanercost Chronicle, p. 264. "Sir Roger de Mortimer at that time was more than king ..., forasmuch as the queen mother and he ruled the whole realm."

[193] Ibid., p. 256.

[194] Ibid., p. 257.

[195] Hailes, Annals, II, 155.

[196] Lanercost Chronicle, p. 258.

were bitterly condemned for it, they made a treaty with the Scots at Northhampton, May 4, 1328.[197] An instrument for the arrangement of the peace is found in the Patent Rolls, April 23, 1327.[198] At the time this arrangement was probably about the best the two archconspirators could make but it supplied a basis for their downfall.

The treaty provided that Bruce was at last to be recognized as king, a privilege for which he was to pay 20,000 pounds.[199] All the lands which Bruce had awarded to his own followers were to remain as they were except for the lands of Henry Percy, the lord of Buchan, and the Lord of Liddesdale.[200] This latter provision was to be made a tool of policy by Edward against the Scots. The treaty was sealed by the marriage between Joanna, a sister of Edward, to David, the son of Robert Bruce.[201] The treaty and the marriage must have been respected by Edward to some degree, for by his sister's intercessions at the request of David Bruce, a Richard de Swyneburn was pardoned for riding with the Scots in the war during the year of 1328.[202]

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[197] Ibid., p. 260.

[198] Patent Rolls, Ed. III, I, 95.

[199] Lanercost Chronicle, p. 258.

[200] Lang, Hist. of Scotland, I, 234.

[201] Scalacronica, Gray, p. 298.

[202] Patent Rolls, Ed. III, I, 318.

As time went on the young English king grew more and more restive under the authority of Mortimer and his mother. In addition the relationship between Mortimer and Isabella was not well concealed and word of the affair had come to the Pope. The head of the Catholic Church seemed to have assisted the king in some measure in disposing of both Mortimer and his mother.[203] There are few indications as to how the removal was accomplished, but Mortimer was seized and condemned by Parliament without trial.[204] Shortly afterwards on November 29, 1330 he was hanged on the "common Gallows".[205] Edward forced his mother from her place of power and she was allowed to live on her dower manors.[206]

Now that Edward could rule in his own right he began to take action against the Scots. Once more Edward Balliol was invited to the English court.[207] Although Edward did not admit it at the time he probably had something to do with the meetings between Balliol and all the lords who had been deprived of their Scottish Estates for supporting the

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[203] C. G. Crump, "The Arrest of Roger Mortimer and Queen Isabel", English Historical Review, Vol. 26, 1911, p. 332. Edward carried on a private correspondence with the Pope in which he would sign a special word to that which he wished the Pope to take seriously.

[204] Ibid., p.331.

[205] Tout, Hist. of England, III, 309.

[206] Idem.

[207] Patent Rolls, Ed. III, I, 547.

English.[208] Balliol and these nobles now carefully recruited a force of some 480 men-at-arms and about a thousand archers.[209] Edward, in the meantime, attempted to show the Scots his intention to keep the peace by forbidding any armed force to cross the English border.[210] Nothing, however, was said and no questions were asked when this same force put to sea.[211]

The invasion of Balliol and his disinherited came at an opportune time for the pretender. Bruce had died in 1329, some chroniclers say of leprosy.[212] His death had been followed, two years later, by the death of the distinguished Scottish guardian, the earl of Moray.[213] Scotland's king was too young to rule and the government of the realm had been left to the guardian earl after the death of Robert Bruce. Upon the death of Moray all the dissentient forces broke loose in Scotland.[214]

Balliol and his disinherited nobles must have known of the Scottish situation when they sailed. The Scots met

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[208] Lanercost Chronicle, p. 266.

[209] Ramsay, Eng. Hist. Review, 25, 307.

[210] Tout, Hist. of England, III, 316.

[211] Ibid., p.317.

[212] Gray, Scalacronica, p. 294.

[213] Lanercost Chronicle, p. 268.

[214] Fordun, Chronicle, II, 346.

the invaders with a large but disorganized array, overconfident to a fault. At the Battle of Duplin Moor the forces of the young David Bruce were badly defeated. The Scots blame part of the defeat on countrymen who still choose to support the Balliol line and played the spy for Edward Balliol.[215] The remainder of the campaign was a great success for the disinherited and Edward Balliol received the crown of his father at Scone in September of 1332.[216]

The Pope as well as the French urged Edward III to stop the forces of Balliol in their progress. Edward pointed out he could not war on his own subjects and, in addition, he added, Scotland had not lived up to the treaty because she had returned the lands of only one of the three nobles designated in the treaty.[217] Edward's thought in this may have been that he wanted to do business with a prince to whom he was bound by no treaty obligations.[218]

The Scots were not to be so easily put down and, under a new guardian, forced Balliol out of the kingdom faster than he had conquered it.[219] Edward Balliol now

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[215] Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 199.

[216] Fordun, Chronicle, II, 347. A short time after Edward Balliol's coronation he rewarded those men who had assisted him in the conquest. Patent Rolls, Ed. III, II, 553.

[217] Gray, Scalacronica, p. 295.

[218] Idem.

[219] Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 200.

collected his disinherited for another attempt. This time against Berwick. Edward III now dropped all pretense and went to the assistance of Balliol.[220] The Scots, in attempting to relieve Berwick, were badly defeated in the disastrous battle of Halidon Hill.[221]

The new English king, a true grandson of Edward I, now overran Scotland in what was a well executed campaign.[222] He again used his grandfather's method of setting up a chain of strong places and forts with which to keep the Scots in check.[223] Activity is found in the Patent Rolls. The castle of Hirbodil which had been destroyed during the Scottish War was repaired in 1336.[224] William de Monte-Aucto had to furnish and fortify castles and towns.[225] An attempt was also made to suppress those Scots who had eluded Edward. Efforts of this type were seen in the order to merchants going to Scotland, "not to trade with the king's enemy, the Scots."[226]

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[220]Gray, Scalacronica, p. 297.

[221]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 348.

[222]Gray, Scalacronica, p. 297.

[223]Idem.

[224]Patent Rolls, Ed. III, III, 238.

[225]Ibid.,p.264.

[226]Ibid.,p.256.

As Wyntoun says, Edward now filled all the strong places with Englishmen.[227] The Scots were removed from all positions of trust.[228] An English sheriff was once more appointed for each district. A chamberlain was appointed for that portion called Lothean which Edward III had annexed upon concluding the Scottish conquest.[229] At last it looked as if Edward had completed the work of his grandfather. However, like his grandfather Edward had over-reached himself in Scotland and without knowing he had done so turned his attention to France.

In his conquest of Scotland, Edward made Balliol cede so much land to England that the new Scottish king had very little opportunity or power with which to establish himself. Most of the land in question was in the South from which much of Balliol's support would come.[229a] Moreover, other Scots, friendly to Balliol, were not at all pleased with his ceding large tracts of Scottish land to England.[230] The result of such policy was another rising in Scotland supported by the French.[231] Balliol was again forced out of Scotland.

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[227] Wyntoun, Chronicle, II, 408.

[228] Idem.

[229] Hailes, Annals, II, 210.

[229a] The Southern section was the most populous and the richest section of Scotland.

[230] Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 199.

[231] Ibid., p. 222.

By this time Edward was so engaged with his French venture that Scotland was once more freed of the English. Now David Bruce, who had been forced to flee to France, returned to Scotland, and led a great expedition into England.[232] It was thought by the Scots that so many English men-at-arms would be in France that there would be no force left to oppose them in England.[233] However the lords of the March proved their mettle and the Scots absorbed a punishing defeat at Neville's Cross. Here King David and many nobles were taken prisoner and many more met their deaths.[234]

Although the Scots were forced by their terrible defeat into peace for some years, they were by no means conquered. As has been pointed out, Edward had overshot his mark and had tried to force upon the Scots a king whom many of them disliked. Having made this fatal error, he added to this mistake by an enterprise which, however, glorious was too much for the strength of the England of that day. With a strong feeling of Scottish nationalism in the ascendant it was not very wise of Edward to force the ceding of so much land to England. If his policy in Scotland was to have any chance at all his move should have been to leave

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[232]Gray, Scalacronica, p. 301.

[233]Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 224.

[234]Gray, Scalacronica, p. 301.

his man Balliol as strong a king as possible. Without the cooperation of same of the Scots, only a huge army could have kept the Scots in subjection. The failure on Edward's part to carry out these policies resulted in plunging the two countries once more into their age-old blood bath.

III. THE POLICIES OF THE SCOTS

1. The Failure of the Nobility

An analysis of the counter movements and policies of the Scottish chieftains is necessary to an understanding of how a minor power like Scotland was able to hold off the might of England for so many years. As we have seen, the Scots were greatly aided both by the foreign entanglements of the English kings and by their difficulties with the English Barons. The rest of the story can perhaps be gained from the policies employed by the Scots to keep their land free.

Now that the English had actually attacked at Berwick, March 1296, the Scots speeded up their previous preparations to help that town in its plight. In order to gain all the economic power they could muster, the Bailiffs of Scotland seized all the English goods and turned them over for safe keeping to those castles held by Scots.[1] A manpower levy was also forced upon the Scottish kingdom. The levy was called a "Wapinshaw" and demanded that all who were capable of military service were to meet the call of their country. Included were, "all who had power, wealth, arms and strength."[2] When this army discovered that Berwick had already fallen, it moved to assist the Scots in another quarter.

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[1] Lanercost Chronicle, p. 128.

[2] Ibid., p. 129.

In the meantime the Scots retaliated by invading England under John Comyn of Buchan. His force was not large but it was used so effectively that Comyn set an example for later Scottish forays. The idea was to destroy as much English property as possible. Moreover, since the Scots were a poor but thrifty race, they took everything of value back with them to Scotland.[3] Apparently, the Scots themselves were not above cruelty to their enemy for Lanercost tells the horrors perpetrated by the Scots in this raid. He writes, the Scots, "surpassed in cruelty all the fury of the heathen."[4] The old were killed as well as women in childbed and their children. In the process of this foray the Scots caused extensive damage to English property. The towns of Tindale and Carbridge were burned as well as the monasteries of Hexham and Lanercost. The damage done to the last named monastery no doubt influenced the chronicler in his wrath against the Scots.[5]

The Scottish King Balliol found that problems as well as victories ensued from Comyn's raid. In the course of the raid, Comyn besieged Carlisle, which was held by Robert Bruce, the son of the pretender.[6] Balliol now had

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[3]Ibid., p. 136.

[4]Idem.

[5]Langtoft, Chronicle, II, 237.

[6]Lang, Hist. of Scotland, I, 177.

not only the English opposing him but the Bruce faction of Scotland. The ill-feeling of this faction had grown progressively worse and the Bishop of Glasgow, leader of the Bruce faction in Scotland, seized upon this time of national distress to stir up internal trouble. He was supported by a large part of the Scottish Knights.[7] Fordun laments that, "through the quarrel, the harmless rabble, exposed to the ravenous biting of these wolves, lay mangled far and wide over the land."[8] National disunity was one weakness of King John's realm, and the failure of his ally to provide effective assistance was another.

As soon as the French learned of Edward's operation, they attempted to keep their treaty obligations. On the basis of a report from their spy, Thomas de Tuberville, the French planned a naval attack on the shores of England. The expedition, however, was disastrous for the French, either because they had been misinformed of the strength or nature of English defense, or they could not match their enemy's skill as sailors. Out of the huge fleet of French ships in the attack only two reached the shores of England with an effective fighting force. The survivors of this ill-starred attack were all driven back to France.[9]

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[7]Wyntoun, Chronicle, II, 335.

[8]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 319.

[9]Lanercost Chronicle, p. 119.

The real weakness of Scotland in the light of its many difficulties was revealed in the Battle of Dunbar. Shortly after the fall of Berwick the Dunbar fortress was under siege by Earl Warenne.[10] Sir Richard Seward, a former servant of the king of England, now held Dunbar for the Scots.[11] Chivalry demanded that Seward be allowed to inform Balliol of Dunbar's condition before the English attack.[12] Langtoft states that Seward was dishonest and had known that the Scottish force was already on its way to his aid when he asked for the rights of Chivalry.[13] After giving hostages to the English, Seward sent a messenger to the Scots urging them to attack the English. The messenger further stated, "your people of the castle will see you by their watch and will make a sally upon the English who expect not their coming."[14] This action would, of course, trap the English between two forces.

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[10]Lang, Hist. of Scotland, I, 178.

[11]Langtoft, Chronicle, II, 241.

[12]Ibid. p.241. Another example of this right to inform one's commander was the siege of Stirling which resulted in the battle of Bannockburn. Tout, History of England, III, 258.

[13]Idem. In giving the English version for this battle Langtoft goes into far greater detail than do any of the other chroniclers concerning the Dunbar engagement.

[14]Ibid. p.243.

The Scottish army began the attack, though in some disorder.[15] The English at once advanced to meet the Scots. Accounts of the Scottish reaction disagree. Langtoft says, "the Scots see them come, turn tail upon them [the English] like as quail."[16] On the other hand, the Scots, according to the Lanercost account were holding their own in the field when the knights fled leaving the foot alone to face the enemy.[17] Fordun says that this cowardice of the knights was instigated by supporters of Bruce, namely the earls of Mar and Athol.[18] William, earl of Ross and other knights loyal to Balliol fled to the castle of Dunbar after the battle was lost. The Traitorous Seward, true only to himself, turned the Scottish nobles over to his alleged enemy, the English.[19] There is some indication that the Scots had in their ranks several priests. Lanercost asserts that, "several tonsured [priests] were found among the dead."[20] Among the common

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[15]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 318.

[16]Langtoft, Chronicle, II, 247.

[17]Lanercost Chronicle, p. 140.

[18]Fordun, Chronicle, II, p. 319.

[19]Langtoft, Chronicle, II, p. 251. Langtoft has left a rather interesting picture of the procession made by the prisoners as they rode off to prison. The prisoners were, "Two and two together mounted on a hakney, some in carts, with fetters on the feet."

[20]Lanercost Chronicle, p. 139. The part the priests played in the Scottish wars has been discussed.

folk the number of executions must have been high.[21] Lanercost places the number for the Scottish dead at 10,000.[22]

After the battle of Dunbar the Scots were forced back until King John submitted to Edward at Montrose.[23] Small wonder that Scotland came under the oppressive sway of England. The very classes that should have furnished leadership against the invader were divided in council. In the face of this factionalism the only group which had the interests of the Scottish nation at heart were the clergy. So exhausted was their land that the Scots might have settled down to a peaceful submission. This was not to be for the harsh English laws and the worse administrators brought, for a time, the dissentient groups of Scotland together against the now hated English.

So soon as Edward had left Scotland the magnates of the land assembled in a Parliament at Scone.[24] For the moment petty differences were forgotten in the face of a common enemy. Twelve wardens of Scotland were appointed. These men at once set about repairing castles and prepared

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[21]Langtoft, Chronicle, II, 249.

[22]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 319.

[23]Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 115.

[24]Ibid., p.117.

in every way to meet the attack of the English. In the meantime, John Comyn, earl of Bauchan, advanced at the head of an army into England and besieged Carlisle but without good results.[25] We have already seen what effect this activity had on the English wardens of Scotland. The tempo of the fighting increased and soon the rebellion was to be greatly assisted by the rise of a national hero, Wallace.

2. The Rise of William Wallace

A Wallace appears on the scene in connection with the Scottish war in 1296. In a document bearing the date of August 1, 1296, a complaint was made by Cristiania of St. John at Perth alleging she had been robbed of 3s worth of beer by, "Mathew of York and William le Waleys."[26] Although there is no positive proof that this was the Scottish leader, the English Chroniclers constantly refer to Wallace as a "chief of brigands." Moreover, Perth was part of the stamping grounds of Wallace.[27] On the other hand the Wallace wanted for theft of the beer may have been an English soldier as a man by that name does appear on the

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[25] Idem.

[26] Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 191.

[27] Lanercost Chronicle, p. 163.

English army lists.[28] In spite of the lack of clear evidence, it has been established that William was a younger son of Sir Malcolm Wallace of Ederslie.[29]

William Wallace is described as tall of stature, strong of body, pleasant and merry of countenance, kindly to all his friends, terrible to his foes, bounteous in gifts, and most righteous in judgement.[30] Wallace spent his boyhood in Renfrewshire where he learned the use of such weapons as the sword and dagger.[31] During his boyhood he also obtained his almost fanatic desire for freedom. During his school days his master told him:

> My son I tell thee soothfastlie
> No gift is like to libertie;
> Then never live in slaverie.[32]

Some time in the year 1246, the young Wallace was sent to the town of Dundee. The Sheriff, Shelbe of Dundee, had a son who delighted in taunting the rustic Scots.[33] He noticed Wallace and his excellent sword. The Shelbe man asked Wallace what a Scot did with such a fine weapon. At

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[28]Lang, Hist. of Scotland, I, 180.

[29]Idem.

[30]Fluscarden Chronicle, II, 118.

[31]Henry the Minstrel, The Actis and Deidis of the Illustere and Vailzeand Campioun Schir William Wallace, Knight of Ellerslie, ed. James Moir, (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, MDCCCL XXXIX) p. 7.

[32]Minstrel, Wallace, p. XXVII.

[33]Ibid., p. 8.

last the taunts became too much for William Wallace, and in the fight the Sheriff's son was killed. Wallace beat a hasty retreat down the winding streets of Dundee with the supporters of the sheriff at his heels. He escaped only through fortuitous circumstances. A Scottish girl, a Miss Bradfute, saw Wallace's position and whisked him into a house. Wallace was kept out of sight until nightfall and fled under cover of darkness.[34] He later married his benefactress. She was put to death by Hazelrig, the sheriff of Lanark, for her part in Wallace's escape.

News of this tragedy was brought to Wallace who was already an outlaw and at the head of a growing band of desperate men. With his following, Wallace stole into Lanark and killed Hazelrig with his own hands.[35] In the resulting fight the English and their supporters were expelled from the town and Sir Thomas Gray, the father of the author of Scalocronica, was wounded.[36] "From that time there were gathered unto him (Wallace) all who were bitter in spirit ... under the unbearable domination of the English nation."[37]

The chronicler of Lanercost says that Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow, and James, the Steward of Scotland, made

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[34]Minstrel, Wallace, p. 8.

[35]Ibid., p. 18.

[36]Gray, Scalocronica, p. 284.

[37]Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 117.

common cause with Wallace and helped him to gain domination over the Scots. The entire proceeding was accomplished in an underhanded manner because they feared to break openly with the English.[38] Fordun, on the other hand, says William Wallace, without help from anyone, forced the magnates of Scotland to obey his commands and that, moreover, Wallace remained always loyal to Balliol.[39] The loyalty of Wallace to his deposed king, however highminded, was to prove disasterous on the field of Falkirk.

As we have learned, Wallace had been engaged in reducing Dundee Castle with the citizens of that town assisting him. It was while engaged in this activity that he received news of the English advance. Leaving the burghers of Dundee to continue operations against the English in Dundee castle, Wallace marched off to meet Warenne, Cressingham and Clifford.[40] The Scots arrived North of the Forth before the English and prepared to receive the force of Warenne. According to Blind Harry, the bridge crossing the Forth was sawed in two and hinges were placed over the cuts and concealed with clay. This enabled Wallace to order the bridge collapsed at a signal.[41] With these

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[38]Lanercost Chronicle, p. 163.

[39]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 322.

[40]Minstrel, Wallace, p. 176

[41]Idem.

preparations made, he waited with his men to attack. The results of these measures and the battle have been discussed.

The Scottish hero proceeded at once to increase the resistance to English rule in the realm. Like Comyn, Wallace used methods familiar to the Scots. He was not only an expert organizer but a strict disciplinarian, a necessary quality in the light of the task before the Scots. For instance, Wallace inflicted severe punishment on the men of Aberdeen and other Northern Scots who refused to obey his commands. These men "were hanged as rebels and traitors to their country. By whose example, others being put in fear, his commandments were the better obeied."[42] Wallace ordered a gallows set up in every domain so that deserters in battle "might be hanged thereon without mercy."[43]

Wallace now embarked on a systematic reduction of all English strongholds. Many of the castles were taken by starvation.[44] Others were taken by storm and some were destroyed. The equipment seized was used to build up the Scottish army. The rest of the plunder was distributed

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[42]Raphaell, Holinshed, Chronicles of England and Scotland and Ireland, (London: Printed for J. Johnson, F.C. and J. Rivington T. Payne; Wilkie and Robinson Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme; Cadell and Davis; and J. Mawman, 1808), V, 332.

[43]Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 119.

[44]Lanercost Chronicle, p. 165.

among the followers of Wallace.[45] As his successes grew, many of the English warders surrendered or retreated without a struggle.[46] Furthermore, Wallace efficiently managed the problem of supply for starving Scotland. He decided to winter his troops in England and thereafter invaded Allendale which he "burned up."[47] In this way he not only brought destruction to England, but also relieved his own poor country of feeding a large body of men.

Wallace was not long to manage the organization of his country. In 1298 it was evident the English were moving in great force against Scotland.[48] Wallace was forced to meet the English with a disasterous breach in his own ranks. Blind Harry claims that just before the battle Wallace had some idea of the disloyalty within his own force. Many of the great men of Scotland looked down on him from envy or pride and did not feel he was a fit person to lead them.[49] The Steward of Scotland, urged on by the Comyns, insisted on leading the vanguard of the army.[50]

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[45] Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 119.

[46] Idem.

[47] Fordun, Chronicle, II, 332.

[48] Patent Rolls, Ed. I, III, 313.

[49] Minstrel, Wallace, p. 300.

[50] Idem.

Wallace had other plans. As we now know this dissension in part cost both Wallace and Scotland the Battle of Falkirk.

William Wallace was plunged into the deepest gloom.[51] So over come was he by the treachery of the Scottish nobility that he resigned his command, "and charge which he held as guardian."[52] He took this action rather than bring ruin on the common people through his leadership.[53]

Even with the help of the Scottish Chroniclers, the further career of Wallace is exceedingly difficult to follow. He may have gone to France to gain the assistance of the king of that country in pleading the Scottish cause in Rome.[54] Some proof of this is found in a document in which Philip of France "to his lieges at the Roman court, commands them to request the Pope's favor for his beloved William le Waleis of Scotland knight, in the matters which he wishes to forward with his Holiness."[55]

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[51] Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 128. Pluscarden illustrates the high resolve and unselfish patriotism of Wallace. Bruce is reported to have contacted Wallace as the latter was in retreat and to have roundly upbraided Wallace for serving a lost cause when all the honors and riches of the world awaited him under Edward. William in his turn chided Bruce for his own role which was that of, "but half a man." Upon hearing these words, Bruce is supposed to have resolved that, "no low pursuits should taint the lofty soul."

[52] Fordun, Chronicle, III, p. 325.

[53] Idem.

[54] Holinshed, Chronicle, C, V, 334.

[55] Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 303.

Although Wallace continued his operations against the English he was always in danger of capture not only from the English but from the Scots as well. The treachery of his capture and his tragic death were discussed in the second chapter.

The office of Wallace now fell to John Comyn, a position he held until he was compelled to submit to Edward one year later.[56] John de Soules, who was associated with Comyn in his office, set on foot the Scottish plans to gain aid of Boniface VIII.[57] Taking advantage of the truce which had been arranged through the good offices of France, three commissioners were sent to the Pope to "lay bare unto him sundry and manifold hardships brought upon the kingdom of Scotland by the enmity of the ... king of England."[58] The activity of the Scottish commissioners resulted in the issuing of the Papal Bull sent to Edward in 1298.[59]

In the meantime, Comyn and Simon Fraser, another of the guardians, despite the truce, attempted to wear down the English officers in Scotland. This was done by sudden attacks both by day and night on English forces or strongholds.

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[56]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 324.

[57]Ibid.,p.325.

[58]Idem.

[59]Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 255.

After the attack was made the forces of the Scots would disperse into the hills.[60]

The operations must have stung the English for they advanced under Ralph Confrey in an attempt to stop the activities of the guardians. The result was the battle of Roslyn in which the Scots, taking advantage of the loose formation of the English, defeated each of three English formations in turn and thus won the day.[61]

Although the battle of Roslyn was a glorious victory for the Scots they were not able to withstand the power of Edward when he advanced against the guardians in 1303.[62] We have already examined the attempts the Scots made to stop the English by a scorched earth policy. All proved to no avail and the majority of Scotland submitted to Edward in the winter of 1303.[63] In spite of the success which attended his skill in arms, Edward, had learned nothing from his previous experience. Again the repressive measures which Edward had formerly instituted were employed. The results were also the same, that of preparing Scotland for rebellion, this time accompanied by the rise of Robert Bruce.[64]

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[60]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 326.

[61]Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 169.

[62]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 328.

[63]Ibid. p. 329.

[64]Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 170.

3. King Robert Bruce

Bruce, it will be remembered, had during his meeting with Wallace, taken a solemn oath to be true to the nobler part of himself. With what success he kept this vow we shall now see. Before embarking on his road to glory the future king of Scotland had followed the path of many other great lords, that of serving his own self interest above honor and above nation. He had wavered in his alliance to Edward more than once when it seemed as if a change would be to Bruce's advantage.

During the campaign of 1303 Bruce was once again an adherent of Edward and managed the siege-train for the king when the latter was engaged in reducing Stirling Castle.[65]

Bruce, always open to a proposition, proved a ready listener when John Comyn, on the occasion of Edward's Scottish Parliament, broached the subject of the kingship of Scotland. Comyn, either to make peace between their respective houses, or for darker reasons, suggested the program whereby both men stood to gain.[66] Because Comyn betrayed this agreement to Edward, Bruce was forced to flee for his life.

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[65]Lang, Hist. of Scotland, I, 193.

[66]Barbour, Bruce, p. 13.

The earl of Gloucester is said to have warned Bruce about the changeable temper of the English Monarch who had granted Bruce time to clear himself,[67] a caution Robert must have taken to heart. Knowing his serious position, Bruce rushed to his chambers in company only with his clerk and locked the door. This man and Bruce quickly made preparations for flight and departed by a secret way toward the Scottish border that same night. Robert paused only long enough in his flight to pick up his brother, Edward, at Lachmabar. From him he learned of John Comyn's presence at Dumfries.

In hot haste Bruce rode to Dumfries where he found his man before the high altar in the church of that place. Bruce promptly confronted him with his own letters patent. John stoutly denied the charge whereupon Bruce, "with laughing countenance reft the life of him".[68] This deed was to be a black mark against Bruce which he was never quite able to live down in all of his subsequent career. Even Barbour, his admirer, admits "there is no doubt that Bruce sinned there greatly."[69]

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[67] Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 174.

[68] Barbour, Bruce, p. 18.

[69] Idem.

Action was taken at once to assemble all those who would follow Bruce. Within a few days after the death of Comyn, Bruce hastened to Scone where he was crowned on the 27 of March 1306.[70] The Bishop of St. Andrews, long one of the major Bruce supporters, is reported to have said upon hearing of the slaying of Comyn; "So help me God! I have great hope he Bruce shall be king, and have all this land under his rule."[71] From the moment of his coronation Bruce underwent a strange change. He now emerged as the embodiment of courage in the face of all adversity.

Among those Scotsmen who rallied to the standard of Bruce was James Douglas. This man was the son of the martyred Douglas.[72] James had been forced for a time to reside in Paris when his father was imprisoned. Under the protection and good offices of the Bishop of Saint Andrews he now returned to Scotland. Douglas was persuaded by the bishop to support Bruce. James was further prompted to this course because Edward had refused to restore the Douglas lands to James.[73]

Barbour has left a very interesting picture of James Douglas. From the description one would gather James received

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[70]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 333.

[71]Barbour, Bruce, p. 19.

[72]Ibid., p. 6.

[73]Ibid., p. 9.

the name Black Douglas from his appearance as well as from his deeds.

> He James Douglas was most fair in demeanour, wise, courteous, and debonair, He was liberal and kind also, and above all things loved loyalty ... In visage he was some what grey, and he had black hair, but his limbs were well made his bones great and his shoulders broad.[74]

Douglas met Bruce while the latter was on his way to be crowned at Scone. "And when Bruce had heard his desire he received him with much pleasure, and gave him men and arms."[75]

Bruce soon found after his defeat at Methven that he had undertaken no light task. Under the pressure of the hounds of the English King, Bruce was forced to disband his forces with what disasterous consequences we already know. He was now forced to fight on almost singlehanded in an attempt to save himself.

The romantic wanderings of Bruce which now began were in reality an attempt to stay out of the clutches of unfriendly Scots and English. In one case Bruce was not able to slip through the lines of Lorne's men without a struggle.[76] King Robert was forced to beat off an attack in which he killed three of Lorne's men in single combat.[77]

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[74] Ibid., p. 10.

[75] Ibid., p. 22.

[76] Lorne was a Scot related by marriage to the Comyns and thus was eager to revenge John Comyn's death.

[77] Barbour, Bruce, p. 33.

More reductions in both Bruce's fortunes and manpower, despite occasional success, forced him to leave the Scottish mainland. He spent a period in the Isles of Bute and Rathlin, biding his time.

With improved fortunes Bruce was able at last to return to Carrick. A spy was to have set a light if the people of Carrick were favorable to his return. A light was seen to shine above the shores of Carrick but, as the spy later confessed, it was set by no mortal hand.[78]

The slow and painful conquest of Scotland now began. The policy of Bruce was based on that of Wallace but acquired a much harsher tone as the campaign progressed. After a fortress was reduced, the garrison was put to death and the fortress destroyed. All arms and spoils found within the English strongholds were used to equip Bruce's motley army.[79]

During this phase of the conquest, Douglas sought, and was granted, permission to conquer his inheritance. It was during this expedition that the war cry of "Douglas", destined to strike fear into the hearts of the English, was first used.[80] Upon destroying his own castle Douglas observed that if the Scots attempted to hold any strongholds they

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[78]John Barbour, Selections from Barbour's Bruce, Books I-X, ed. Prof. Skeat, for the Early English Text Society in 1870, 1899. (Bungay; Richard Clay and Sons Limited, 1900) p. 96.

[79]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 335.

[80]Barbour, Bruce, p. 117

could never depend on succor from their own people.[81]

The work of reducing Scotland now reached a feverish pitch and Douglas returned to assist Bruce in this great work. During all of Bruce's wanderings he had not been forced to meet an army in the open fields since Methven. As a result when Aymer de Valence, the English warden of Scotland, challenged Bruce to battle in an open field Robert accepted.[82] A closer examination needs to be made of this strange behavior. The support of Bruce, in spite of his success in the reduction of castles, was wavering. Bruce had only off and on support from his own faction. He could depend on much less from the rest of the Scottish nation. Even the great Douglas was not always above suspicion.[83] The resulting state of affairs may have influenced him in picking up the English gage of battle. Bruce hoped he would be able to prove himself a commander with whom to reckon.

To make as certain of success as possible, Bruce picked a meadow which was located on a side of Louden hill. Such a position would force the English to charge up the

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[81] Idem. The dispositions of the Scottish Lords were such that they changed with the wind. Under this situation and the fact that Scotland always had difficulty in raising a large enough army to meet the English, relief of a large number of strongholds was impossible.

[82] Ibid., p. 184.

[83] Lang, Hist. of Scotland, p. 211.

slope. In addition to the marsh in front of his men, trenches were dug along the sides to strengthen the Scottish formation. In the resulting battle Sir Aymer was trounced. Bruce was said to have used but 600 prime fighting men.[84] According to Barbour, Sir Aymer de Valence was so crushed by this defeat that he never again showed his face in Scotland.[85]

4. The Greatness of Bruce

At the death of Edward I Robert Bruce was by no means in control of all Scotland. From the hour he killed John Comyn he never lacked dangerous enemies in the rest of the Comyns.[86] In future wars this family was to be among the staunchest supporters of the English kings.

As we have seen, however, Bruce's task was made infinitely more simple by the tribulations of the new English king. Bruce, during the course of Edward II's reign, was forced to beat off only two serious English military invasions. One resulted in the great Scottish triumph at Bannockburn, the other was the campaign in which Edward marched all over Scotland only to have his foe elude him. Bruce's major efforts, therefore, were concentrated on reducing the Scots to his

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[84]Barbour, Bruce, p. 184.

[85]Ibid., p. 188.

[86]Pluscarden Chronicle, II, p. 180.

rule and counteracting the dissimulations of Edward, particularly where it concerned the Pope. This section will attempt to show how Bruce parried the English thrusts and at the same time neutralized Edward's dangerous machination.

We have already observed Bruce's victories over such Scots as Lorne and the men of Argyll. Bruce enlarged upon this beginning by defeating Donald of the Isles and the Golloway men.[87] Bruce's harsh policy as he continued in his successful campaign seems to have become less severe than when he first began his operations. Captured strongholds were still levelled to the ground[88] in keeping with the Scottish idea that they would be more useful to the English as instruments of oppression than they would to the Scots as a means of defense. This policy was also extended to the towns. In this case all walls and battlements were destroyed.[89] Under the new policy the common people found in the strongholds were generally spared.[90] The nobility, the English, and those Scots who were disloyal were executed. In executions, Bruce seems to have adopted the English practice of drawing before execution.[91]

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[87] Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 181.

[88] Fordun, Chronicle, II, 338.

[89] Idem.

[90] Idem.

[91] Fordun, Chronicle, II, 338. The condemned person was fastened to a horse and drawn through the jeering crowds.

On his many forays into England, Bruce reduced both the towns of Perth and Berwick.[92] The expeditions were still conducted in the Scottish manner of burning and destroying.[93] To the old practices Bruce added a type of extortion. In return for not destroying a town or a monastery the inhabitants were compelled to pay large sums of money. The Lanercost Chronicle mentions one instance in which the people of a community had to pay 2,000 pounds to prevent the destruction of the town while at the same time promising Bruce, "safe passage and retreat through the land of the bishopric."[94]

The disaster that the Scots wrought on the English at Bannockburn will be discussed in the fourth chapter. When the English king made his second unsuccessful try, Bruce avoided an encounter and instead drew away with the Scots army all animals fit for food.[95] The English army, because of Bruce's action was forced to retreat some distance for they had advanced as far as Edinburgh.[96] When the English

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[92]Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 182. for Perth. Fordun, Chronicle, II, 340. for Berwick.

[93]Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 182.

[94]Lanercost Chronicle, p. 119.

[95]Fordun, Chronicle, 342.

[96]Idem.

retreated the Scottish army, not unlike that of Russia in the French retreat from Moscow, hung on the flanks of the English army causing widespread damage.[97]

The political wisdom of Bruce expressed itself in many ways. One was Bruce's prudent attempt to settle the difficult question of succession once and for all.[98] The general council decided that in case Robert died without male issue the crown would pass to his brother, Edward. If this arrangement failed, the crown was to go to the male issue of Marjory, Robert's daughter. The first succession arrangement fell because of the subsequent death of Edward. A new succession agreement was then made whereby David, the newly born son of Robert should come to the throne. In case of a minority the earl of Moray was to have the kingdom in his charge. The latter part of the first succession stood and proved to be wise. Marjory married Walter Stewart. David Bruce, the son of Robert, came to the throne but died without legitimate issue. The descendants of Marjory eventually reigned as the Stewart kings. Another problem was the question of his brother, Edward Bruce. Though a gallant soldier he has been described as a "mettlesome and high-spirited man, and would not dwell together

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[97] Idem.

[98] Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 185.

with his brother in peace."[99] An opportunity now offered itself to dispose of and at the same time reward, a potentially dangerous adversary. Men from a section of Ireland came to Bruce and asked him to place a king over them and to drive out their enemies which included both English and Irish.[100] Robert backed his brother as king. In taking this action his hope may have been to get in a sharp blow at the English as well as to reward his brother. The campaign in Ireland went well at first and Edward Bruce was elected king.[101] Unfortunately, Edward was not of his brother's stature and was later killed in Ireland by the English.[102]

Bruce also answered Edward's policy of dissimulation in two ways. One method aimed at Edward's tampering with the loyalty of the people of Scotland. Edward also attempted to divide the Scottish nobility. The strategy with which this move was connected is not clear. It seems to have been a wide-spread conspiracy for fourteen persons of high rank were executed for their part in the plot.[103] Harsh regulations were then passed. One forbade any person to invent

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[99]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 340.

[100]Hailes, Annals, II, 76.

[101]Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 186.

[102]Ibid., p. 187.

[103]Ibid., p. 188.

or circulate rumors against the king.[104]

To save his own country as much expense as possible a law was passed forcing all people on their way to join the Scottish host, "to live at his own charge without oppressing the country."[105] One other blow Bruce struck was against the English and Edward's ally the Pope. It was declared a capital offense for any man to supply weapons to the enemy.[106] In addition all English absentee owners were forbidden to draw money out of Scotland.[107] Against the Pope Bruce disabled the Scottish ecclesiastics from sending money to Rome.[108] The head of the Catholic church on his own part but doubtlessly at the request of Edward as well, sent legates to Scotland, "to exhort Bruce to deal more mildly with the English."[109] To answer the insinuations of Edward, Bruce dispatched ambassadors to the Pope.[110] One of these men, Randolph, was a peculiarly good choice. He not only got the Pope to take a more

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[104]Hailes, Annals, II, 107.

[105]Ibid., p. 105.

[106]Ibid., p. 106.

[107]Idem.

[108]Idem.

[109]Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 189.

[110]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 343.

clement view of Scotland but succeeded to some extent in getting him to recognize Bruce as king.[111]

When Bruce's unhappy adversary went down to his worst and last defeat, the Scottish king broke the truce he had made with Edward II in order to take advantage of the new king's minority and the unsettled state of England. Robert could of course not foresee all of the effects a minority was to have on Scotland.

5. David Bruce

During the last days of King Robert, Scotland knew prosperity and greatness,[112] such as she had not known since the days of Alexander III. Mighty England had been forced to beg for peace and had sealed it with the marriage of a daughter of her royal house to the son of Robert Bruce, David. The days of this greatness were all too soon to pass.

Bruce, for the last years of his life, had been afflicted with some strange disease. The Lanercost Chronicle called it leprosy. At any rate he died on the 7th of June 1329.[113] The death of Bruce was followed closely by and was

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[111] Hailes, Annals, II, 138. Randolph pointed out to the Pope that, in order for his Bulls to receive attention in Scotland, they must be addressed to King Robert Bruce. In this way Randolph not only obtained some recognization for Bruce but caused distrust between the Pope and Edward.

[112] Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 192.

[113] Idem.

connected with the death of James Douglas. On his death bed, Bruce asked Douglas to carry his heart to the Holy land as he had always meant to go there on crusade. Douglas faithfully undertook this mission but died fighting the Saracens in Spain.[114]

Under the terms of the second act of succession, Randolph, the earl of Moray, was appointed guardian during the minority of David.[115] Under the earl Scotland continued to enjoy prosperity for a time. Unfortunately the earl died in 1332. Pluscarden says because of poison administered by a traitor.[116] Upon the death of the earl, the dissentient elements within Scotland broke loose. Chief among these were the Talbots, the Mowbrays, and the Beaumonts.[117] In order to have more power for themselves they now elected the weak earl of Mar as guardian.[118]

To what depths of degradation Scotland had sunk by this time is shown by the ease with which Edward Balliol conquered Scotland.[119] In the battle of Duplin Moor the

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[114] Fordun, Chronicle, II, 345.

[115] Wyntoun, Chronicle, II, 383.

[116] Idem.

[117] Ibid., p. 382.

[118] Ibid., p. 384.

[119] Lanercost Chronicle, II, 289.

earl of Mar, as well as many others of the great captains of Scotland, fell.[120]

In later engagements Andrew Murray the new guardian of Scotland was taken a prisoner as was William Douglas, a relative of James and a knight of Liddesdale.[121] In a relatively short time Scotland was deprived of its best military leaders. We have observed that Scotland was subsequently over-run and subdued by Edward III, only to rise once more when Edward made the mistake of turning his attention to France.[122]

When David Bruce returned to his homeland it seemed as though Scotland was well on the road to recovering all of her former power and prestige.[123] She once more could rely on the services of William Douglas who had won his freedom by ransom.[124] Now, however, the French king was in grievous need for help from the Scots and urged David strongly to take the offensive against the English.[125]

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[120] Wyntoun, Chronicle, II, 392. By this time the situation had become so bad in Scotland it was thought advisable to send young King David to France where he did stay for some years.

[121] Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 201.

[122] Wyntoun, Chronicle, II, 394.

[123] Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 221.

[124] Ibid., p. 209.

[125] Wyntoun, Chronicle, II, 470. Edward had launched his greatest campaign against the French and everywhere English arms were successful. Tout, Hist. of England, III, 359.

The young Scottish king accordingly raised an army. At once difficulty came to the Scottish host. It was the old curse of Scotland, bitter factionalism among the nobility. The earl of Ross because of the hatred he bore Ranold, lord of the Isles, had him put to death as he slept in his tent.[126] The incident proved very harmful in its effect on the newly assembled army. William Douglas urged a return to Scotland and the punishment of Ross for his crime.[127] David, though greatly angered by the action of the earl of Ross, was surrounded by young hot heads like himself and determined to push on into England.[128] It is apparent that the Scottish army moved forward with the benefit of little or no scouting.[129] The younger leaders seem to have had complete confidence in the idea that "the king of England and all his trusty men are now in France."[130] We have learned what disaster befell the Scots as the result of this attitude. Scotland was indeed brought low in the Battle of Neville's Cross. David and Douglas were both captured along with a great number of other Scottish magnates.[131] John Randolph, the brother

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[126] Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 223.

[127] Wyntoun, Chronicle, II, 473.

[128] Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 223.

[129] Ibid., p. 224.

[130] Ibid., p. 223.

[131] Gray, Scalacronica, p. 301.

of the former guardian of Scotland, was killed as were the Chamberlin and Marshal of Scotland.[132] The entire realm of Scotland might, at this time, have been brought under the power of England once and for all had Edward not been occupied in France. As it was, Scotland was not able to return to her former eminence for many years.

In Scotland one element seemed always necessary to keep that land strong and prosperous. That was a strong leader without which even the patriotic clergy were able to do little. The Scots had received good leadership and sound laws from both Wallace and Bruce. But, when the leadership was not strong, the good policies were often set at naught and Scotland was plunged once more into the holocaust of civil war and invasion.

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[132] Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 225.

IV. THE MILITARY SIDE OF THE SCOTTISH WARS

1. The Raising, Organization and Equipment of The English Host

Edward I and his illustrious grandson were not able to accomplish everything by statecraft alone. Great statesmen though they were they ultimately had to demonstrate good qualities as military leaders. What was true of the English was even more so for the Scots who, except for some aid from the French were unable to command material or moral support from outside their own land.

Policy, diplomacy, and the other arts of statesmanship were not enough to decide the issue. In almost every case in the Scottish wars the arts of diplomacy was to be implemented and had at last to rely on force of arms. For a better understanding of the subject with which we have to deal, an analysis of the arts of military science in the two countries may perhaps be revealing. The problems of recruiting, supply, transport, discipline, strategy and tactics had to be solved and were common to both the Scots and the English. How these problems were met and solved, how effective the tactics were in the field, will be the subject of this chapter.

The methods of recruiting the English hosts were many and the variety of them often times confusing. The old standby, summons of the feudal host, had long since given way as the sole means of raising an army, although this method

still furnished troops for the wars we have under discussion. John Hewitt, a respected writer on armor of the last century, has made an excellent analysis of the various methods the Edwards used in recruiting their forces.

> The feudal tenants were summoned to perform the services on their fiefs. (2) The aged, the infirm or females who had succeeded to the inheritance of knights fees, and the clergy, were bound to send substitutes, or pay such a sum of money as might be necessary to provide them. (3) Men were summoned by writ from the various counties, to be at the king's wages. [and] (4) Troops were furnished by contract with certain barons and knights, who engaged to supply such numbers as might be determined, to serve for a given time at so much per man.[1]

An instrument dealing with the feudal levy appeared in 1291. It consisted of an order to Robert de Stutewell to meet the king at Norham, "in order to perform his service to the king". The like to sixty-seven others.[2]

In the feudal type of levy the earl Marshal and earl Constable were the officers in charge. An example of this type is shown in a document of 1295. The king ordered the Marshal of England with many others to "come with horses and arms to go against John, King of Scotland."[3] The first

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[1]John Hewitt, Ancient Armour and Weapons in Europe, From the Iron Period of the Northern Nations to the End of the Seventeenth Century, (Oxford and London: John Henry and James Parker, 1855) II, 4.

[2]Patent Roll, Ed. I, III, 198.

[3]Close Roll, Ed. I, II, 501.

and third method might be combined as shown in a document found in Bain where the magnates of the realm were to join the king's son to put down the Scottish rebels who have invaded England, he commands them to levy 1000 foot from Northumberland etc., to be at the king's wage. The total number of men listed amounted to 29,400.[4]

The second method of recruiting, that of forcing the old and infirm and the churchmen to send substitutes or make payments was much used. On July 14, 1297 the king ordered Theabold de Verdun, in spite of the fact that he was infirm of body and the death of his eldest son John, to come, or lacking this, "the king recollects ... his second son is able and strong enough to supply his brothers place."[5] The heavy demands the clergy had made upon its services is indicated in a document of the reign of Edward I. "If the king summon his army in time of war the prior and convent shall not be bound to service therein for its proper demesne knight fees."[6] The instrument was no doubt intended as a reward for some service the convent performed for the king. On the other hand the sheriff of Kent was required to order all the clergy of his county to either perform their service or pay their fines.[7]

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[4]Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 956.

[5]Close Rolls, Ed. I, III, 42.

[6]Patent Rolls, Ed. I, III, 604.

[7]Lang, Hist. of Scot., I, 211.

There were, in fact, occasions where the clergy performed their obligations in person. An instance in point was the battle of Lyton in which 300 ecclesiastics were slaughtered.[8]

The method most used was that of selecting soldiers at the king's wages. One example of this system is preserved in the Patent Rolls of 1301. In this document,

> Richard de Harle and Richard de Immere [are appointed] to select in the county of Salays within liberties and without 900 foot men, and to conduct them to Berwick-on-tweed, where the king proposes to be by midsummer, so as to have them there on a day hereafter to be fixed to proceed thence, at the king's wages, against the Scots.[9]

The men appointed to recruit the troops were called arrayers. Their duties also included inspecting the troops to see no fraud was committed. One of these men, a William de Papperworth, reported a soldier in question to be "an able-bodied and sufficient man and [had] a barbed horse for the K.s Scottish expedition."[10]

The method of paying great lords for bringing their troops to the host was also used a great deal. An example

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[8]Lang, Hist. of Scot., I, 229.

[9]Patent Rolls, III, 593. The remainder of the document shows the apportionment of the men per county and names the arrayers. For example the county of York was to provide 4,000 men with John de Byron and Robert Ughtred appointed as arrayers. Northumberland had to provide 2,700 etc.

[10]Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 170. A barbed horse was one that had either protection of mail, quilting or some other form of protection.

of this system was "Aymer de Valenceia" and his men who were "to be payed of the King's wage."[11] Those nobles who were hired on contract in turn recruited their mercenaries on a contractile basis. This point will be discussed in connection with the pay of the troops. When the host was made up largely in the above manner the king appointed his own marshals, usually two in number.[12]

The king, as has been mentioned, did force a few men into service by reason of crimes they had committed. One instance was the pardon given to William Gerberge for murder, "on condition that he straightway set forth with the king to stay on the king's service at his own expence for so long as the Scottish war lasts."[13] Other types of troops came to the king of their own accord. Some were very welcome, but not all of these soldiers were dependable. On one occasion men came from Holland, Brabant, Flanders, Picardy and Gascony just for the joy of fighting.[14] Others came to improve their fortunes from any booty that might come their way.[15] Soldiers were also hired from other countries from time to time. It

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[11] Close Rolls, Ed. I, IV, 200.

[12] Hewitt, Ancient Armour, II, 6.

[13] Patent Rolls, Ed. I, III, 591.

[14] Holinshed, Chronicle of Scotland, IV, 343.

[15] Idem.

will be remembered that Edward III used the services of his father-in-law, the Count of Hainault, in a campaign against the Scots.[16] Troops from Ireland were in almost constant use in the Scottish wars.[17] At times when the kings had no money the towns were asked to pay for the troops they furnished.[18]

When the English kings no longer depended on the feudal levy, huge sums were needed, especially during the period of almost continuous warfare of the Edwards. The difficulties of obtaining grants of money from Parliament have already been discussed in the first chapter. The kings do not seem to have always abused the Parliament grant when they did gain the cooperation of that body. Essex was to have contributed a specified amount but had its portion lightened because of a bad crop year.[19] In all cases of the grants to the king the requests were handled in a firm but polite manner. In one case the king "requested the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of Lenne to forward the subsidy of 300 marks granted to the king, for expenses of the war in Scotland."[20] In another instance the king thanked

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[16] Lanercost Chronicle, p. 257.

[17] Patent Rolls, Ed. I, III, 583.

[18] Froissart, Chronicle, p. 20.

[19] Patent Rolls, Ed. I, III, 589.

[20] Patent Rolls, Ed. II, I, 339.

> "the archbishop of Canterbury and the clergy ... for the speedy payment of the tenth." This courtesy out of the way, Edward II, "asks them to grant him a further aid of 12d in the mark on all spiritual property to enable him to carry on his war in Scotland."[21]

This last request illustrates the poverty and almost continual need for money the Edwards experienced in prosecuting their wars.

Armies of 28,000 men seem small to us today in view of the huge international armies put in the field. But one must remember the relative differences in population and the difficulties of assembling a force in that day as compared to this. In looking through the materials one fact does come to light and that was the surprisingly complicated organization the Edwards used in their campaigns. Moreover, the troops received pay depending on their position within this complex organization. Examples of the structure of the armies and the methods of pay are to be found in Bain's Scottish Documents. Most of these instruments give only the pay of a body of men and not that of the individual soldier.[22] A better table is supplied in Hewitt's work which at the same time shows something of the ranking, the organization, and the proportions of troops used in the English army of that time. The muster shown was that used for the army Edward III

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[21] Ibid., p. 341.

[22] Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 316.

took to Calais, but the ranks will be about the same as those used in Scotland.

> The Prince of Wales (per diem) 1 pound.
> 13 Earls, each 6s-8d.
> 44 Barons and Bannerets, 4s.
> 1,046 Knights 2s.
> 4,022 Esquires, Constables, Centenars and Leaders 1s.
> 5,104 Vintenars, and Archers on horseback 6d.
> 500 Hobelors 6d.
> 15,480 Archers on foot 3d.
> 314 Masons, carpenters, smiths, engineers, tent-makers, miners, armours, gunners, and artillers at 12d, 10d, 6d, and 3d per day.
> 4,474 Welsh foot 4d per day.
> 16,000 Mariners 2d.[23]

Some explanation needs to be made of the duties of some of these grades and their equipment. Although many of the troops given are the same and do like work in the armies of today others no longer exist. The Earls and Barons were officers in their own right by virtue of the great lands they held. The Bannerets might be Barons, or they might be simple knights, who had by hard work and the accumulation of wealth and military skill advanced to the Banneret rank. In such a position they might have several knights attached to their personal command. The number of knights differed but it seems that even so small a number as two knights and their attendants were enough to support a Banner hence the name Banneret.[24] The combinations of Bannerets could, and often did, become quite confusing. In the case of the great

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[23]Hewitt, Ancient Armour, II, 25.

[24]Ibid., p. 10.

Banneret, Aymer de Valence, one document mentions at least two Bannerets under him and there were undoubtedly more. Each of these Bannerets, in turn, was entitled to the 4s a day paid to all men of that rank.[25] The Indentures between Amyer and his men illustrate this point well. The instrument states that,

> "Sir Thomas, lord of Berkele ... shall remain in the said Aymer's mennage with his banner and 5 knights, drawing yearly both in peace and war in England, Wales, or Scotland 50 pounds and robes for his knights, besides diet at Aymer's table for himself and them, 2 esquires to serve him, 4 esquires to serve his 4 knights, 3 vallets ... carrying the [goods] of himself and his knights; and in war he shall have a bannerits pay 4s daily and each of his knights, 2s, each armed esquire with barbed horse 12d so that he [Sir Thomas] shall have 24 barbed horses in all in said Aymer's service ... the horses [shall] be valued ... and if lost at sea or elsewhere, Aymer shall pay the value in 40 days."

A Sir Marice was also of the banner of Aymer with his own banner of 3 knights and esquires and 11 barbed horses.[26]

Below the Bannerets was the knight bachelor or simple knight. He offered only his own services and those of his attendants, though there were times when a knight had all he could do to provide himself with horse and arms.[27] The esquire at this time was still an apprentice to knighthood

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[25] Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 236.

[26] Idem.

[27] Hewitt, Ancient Armour, II, 9.

and ranked next to the knight. He was a warrior[28] as fully equipped as his master and, indeed, if his equipment was not all that it should be he lost in pay. Indications of this practice appear in Bain with a listing of esquires with barbed and unarmed horses. The esquires with armed horses received 100s each, the esquire with the unarmed horse 60s.[29]

The Constables were officers in charge of the cavalry, the Centenors were in charge of one hundred men and the leaders, of various groups.[30] The personal arms of the leaders varied with the wealth of the man and with the times. During the reign of Edward I, Barbour still speaks of bacinet and hawbricks,[31] the chain mail that covered the body.[32] The equipment listed for the armour of John de Britannia included tissues, and silk laces for same, ... 4 horses to carry armour, leather for saddles, an iron bacinet. Also included were sacks for carrying his cloths.[33] There was constant change in the equipment described above during the reign of the Edwards. The change is well described by Hewitt.

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[28]Wyntoun, Chronicle, p. 452. "Thaine deyd two Scottis sqwyeris. As thai war governard thaine archerys, Alan Boyd and Jhone off Stryvelyn."

[29]Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 233.

[30]Hewitt, Ancient Armour, II, 8.

[31]Turn to Appendix C.

[32]Barbour, Bruce, p. 224.

[33]Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 23.

> "The knights ... dissatisfied with their old panoply of chain-mail, searched in every direction for some substitute; and ... accorded the preference to armour of plate, in which, toward the close of the fourteenth century, they became completely encased.[34]

The Hobelors were an interesting division in the English army and used much against the Scots. They were light cavalry and were the only mounted force able to keep up with the rapid movement of the Scots. Their name was derived from their small mounts called hobbys from which came the name hobby horse.[35] Their equipment was the gambeson which was either a shirt of quilted stuff or of mail, the bacinet, and gloves of iron completed the defensive armor.[36] In addition they probably had a small shield, a light lance, and sword.

The archers, during the reign of Edward I, came prominently into the picture. Edward had learned of their deadly ability in the Welsh wars and they were used increasingly throughout the Scottish campaign and the Hundred Years War. The best archers in England came from forest areas. The idea of mounted archers was another attempt of the English to establish a fast moving force.[37] From an old picture

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[34]Hewitt, Ancient Armour, II, 3.

[35]Ibid., p. 17.

[36]Ibid., p. 18.

[37]Ibid., p. 20.

in Hewitt's work it appears the equipment of the archer, in addition to their major weapon, consisted of a hooded coat of mail, over which was worn a long sleeveless surcoat, belted at the waist. Their equipment was completed with a skull-cap of steel.[38] The Welsh foot were spearmen. They also carried shields, a short sword, and were armed with hauberks or shirts of mail.[39] There appears to have been some attempt at uniform as in the Baron's war against Edward II. Here the followers of the Barons wore surcoats of parted yellow and green with a band of white placed on or around the coat.[40] Later the English outfitted many of their troops in white surcoats with a red cross on the breast or with one on the shield.[41]

The remaining personnel of the English army were charged with those occupations which their names imply. The miners were those who dug under enemy fortifications and caused them to fall away. Gunners and artillers were also in use during the time of Edward III. A document exists in which Edward sent an order to the Tower of London for

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[38]Ibid., p. 18.

[39]Ibid., p. 12.

[40]Grafton, Chronicle, p. 313.

[41]M.A. Racinet, Le Costume Historique, (Paris, Librairie de Firmin Didot et Lie, 1888), Tomb IV, Fig. 23.

"guns and pellets."[42] The artillers were, and had in the past, been charged with the more conventional siege equipment of the Middle Ages, which will be discussed in the third section of this chapter. Other types of personnel included chaplains, clerks, esquires of the household without horses, vallets on foot, and messengers.[43] Crossbowmen were also used but they are not mentioned on the Roll at Calais because Englishmen in that campaign were not used in that capacity.[44] The importance Edward I placed on archers is shown from the king's division which accompanied him to Scotland in 1229.[45]

The numbers of divisions in the English host depended upon its size. The smallest unit consisted of twenty men under the command of a leader. The Centenars had charge of 100 men, which groups were at last massed into divisions of 1000 men.[46] The armies of that day as they still do in

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[42]Ramsey, "Firearms in England", Eng. Hist. Review, Ed. R.L. Poble, v. 26, (1904), 666. Firearms were known in England by 14th century.

[43]Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 316.

[44]Hewitt, Ancient Armour, II, 25.

[45]Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 313. "This force under the K in person, consisted of about 6,800 men, entirely on foot except their officers, and a few light horsemen or hobelors, they were all archers, except 20 crossbowmen, 20 masons and 20 miners; to each of which two last companies a lageman or executioner was attached. A body of 20 men was attached to the Ks person."

[46]Hewitt, Ancient Armour, II, 8.

this moved to the call of a trumpet. Froissart gives an excellent description of how the army was directed and formed during Edward IIIs first Scottish campaign.

> "At the first sounding of the trumpets, the horses were to be saddled and ready, at the second, every one was to arm himself without delay, at the third to mount their horses immediately and join their banners."[47]

This medieval order of the day continues with the command, that, "each one was to take one loaf of bread with him, slung behind him in the manner of hunters. All unnecessary arms, harness, and baggage were ordered to be left behind."[48] The purpose of this order clearly demonstrates the English efforts to give greater mobility to their force.

The English camp life appears not to have been uncomfortable. The army lived in tents and pavilions. Huts were used in places where the force was to stay for a longer period and were provided for the common troops and camp followers.[49] Cooking for a large number of men was done in lead cauldrons. An order of 1313 sent for "10 good leaden cauldrons to be used for the king's service."[50] The camp was often fortified with a wall of mud, trenches and palisades

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[47]Froissart, Chronicle, p. 21.

[48]Idem.

[49]Idem.

[50]Close Rolls, Ed. II, I, 7.

made of wood.[51] The English did not always enjoy such comfort. Froissart mentions one occasion where the entire army was forced to lie on the banks of a river in their armor and at the same time hold their horses by the bridles as there was no place to tie them.[52]

Although the English kings made some attempt at quartering their armies on the country, for the most part they were forced to rely on a regular supply of food from England as is the case of modern armies. Various officers of the king had to requisition or purvey food from their respective districts. At times the purveyance was in place of a payment of money and at other times was in addition to such payments. An excellent example of purveyance is the mandate to John Woagn, the justiciar of Ireland,

> to purvey 3,000 quarters of wheat, where of 2,000 are to be boulted flour clear of bran, safely packed in tuns, and 1,000 quarters are to be in pure dry grain not in tuns, 3,000 quarters of oats, 2,000 quarters of crushed malt, 500 quarters of beans and peas, 200 tuns of new wine, 500 quarters of salt, 10,000 stock-fish and 5 lasts of herring, for the maintenance of the king and his company mustering at Berwick-on-Tweed.[53]

With such preparation as this, transportation was an absolute necessity. This was provided in two ways, by

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[51] Pluscarden, Chronicle, II, 205.

[52] Froissart, Chronicle, p. 21.

[53] Patent Rolls, IV, 585.

land and by sea. Most of the burden fell to the ships and we can see why Edward was so desirous to secure the port of Berwick.[54] Ships were requisitioned in much the same way as all else that was needful for these campaigns. Not only were the vessels used for transport, but also to supply a navy. On March 27 of 1301, Ralph de Sanduico was appointed to expedite, "the sending by midsummer to Berwick-on-Tweed of the ships which the king ordered to be prepared against the Scots."[55] The list which followed began with the mayor and aldermen of the city of London, 2 ships and contained the names of many other seaport towns. It seems the English navy had no more appeal among the men of the 13th century than it did with those of the 17th. A writ of aid was directed to "sheriffs, bailiffs, minsters and all others the king's lieges ... for John Arnold, master of a king's barge, to whom the king has given power to impress mariners and other men to man the barge for a voyage to Scotland."[56]

The warships of the English navy of this day carried such equipment as arms, gold, wax, timber and poles.[57] The armament consisted of "bombards, crossbows, archers, springalds

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[54] Supra, p. 1.

[55] Patent Rolls, Ed. I, IV, 351.

[56] Ibid., p. 352.

[57] Lanercost Chronicle, p. 109.

and other artillery."[58] It was such an English fleet that delivered the grand assault on Berwick when Edward first conquered that city.[59]

The land transport consisted not only of the baggage trains which accompanied the army but also supply trains. An order was given to the sheriff of Northumberland "to provide safe escort and carriage for these sergeants[60] and their company, who are going to Scotland with arms for the K [ing] s castle."[61] The vehicles and means of conveyance were, carriages, wagons, wains [large wagons], sumter horses, and carriages for engines.[62] An order for transport on York tells us it took four horses to pull each cart and eight oxen to pull the wains.[63] With such transport the English enjoyed some degree of comfort and had endurance in the field but it was not the type of equipment to stop the quick forays of the Scots as we have seen.

Such a mighty force passing through the countryside caused considerable damage in spite of the strict discipline

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[58]Grafton, Chronicle, p. 378. Turn to Appendix B.

[59]Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 111.

[60]Oman, Medieval Warfare, p. 370. The sergeant is the most usual term for the horseman of lower status than the knight.

[61]Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 235.

[62]Ibid., p. 316.

[63]Close Rolls, Ed. II, I, 40.

enjoined on the troops. Yet the king tried to make good the damage his soldiers caused in such places as Coldstream.[64] Discipline had to be enforced on the troops from the time recruiting and impressing began. The second son of Lord Theabold as we have seen came to the host in place of his dead brother. It was also true that those who left their lands to avoid service in Scotland were punished with imprisonment. William de Wytyngham was so accused but he was acquitted.[65]

Officials were also guilty of questionable activity in regard to recruiting. In one case the king demanded an inquiry into "a charge against certain bailiffs and bedalls of having received money from the footmen of Nottingham at Blyth and elsewhere on their way to join the army of Scotland and permitting these men to return home."[66] In connection with the army itself the king tried to restrain the hot-headed charges of his nobles which disorganized the cavalry. In consequence of such disobedience, Adelimus de

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[64]Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 170. Damage was done to beasts, horses, carts, wagons and timber, wheat, beans malt, was all to be made up to the owner. Ibid., p. 189. Also commissions to Henry de Cobeham the younger and John de Northwade to inquire into the county of Kent touching excesses and offenses committed by archers and other men on the way to Scotland in the king's service.

[65]Patent Rolls, Ed. II, I, 313.

[66]Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 283.

Wheltone was summoned to answer the king,

> "That whereas John Lovll, marshal of the army of Scotland on Monday next after St. John Baptist day proclaimed in the K[ing]s name, that on pain of fortiture, no one should go before the banner of the counstable and Marshal, the said Adelimus presumed to do so (imprisoned at the k[ing]s will)"[67]

One amusing incident which occurred among the common soldiery was the charge lodged against William of Ladelame. Three other soldiers accused him of,

> "conceling a red horse, worth 10 marks which they found when plundering the K[ing]s enemys on a manor in Scotland. William said it was so weak he could not drive it away. (fined)."[68]

One of the attendant factors in wars was the truces granted and the treatment of prisoners. Too often in feudal warfare the nobility were treated with some consideration when captured while the commonalty were butchered like cattle. An example of this occurred after the battle of Haledon hill when Edward III ordered all the prisoners killed except some of the nobles.[69] Another example of the treatment was that of Dunbar discussed in chapter two. Thomas Seton son of the captain of the town of Perth was not so fortunate as other well born persons. Edward felt the senior Seton had not upheld his part of a truce and had his son hung on the

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[67]Ibid., p. 191.

[68]Ibid., p. 187.

[69]Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 202.

gallows erected before the town with the unfortunate mother and father witnessing the execution.[70] Terrible though these measures were they were the usual procedure. The severity of warfare was somewhat mitigated when the king attempted to regain such of his men as had fallen into the hands of the Scots. At the prayer of Mary, the wife of William fitz Warin and other friends of prisoners in both Scotland and England, the king empowered the bishop of Durham to negotiate the exchange of prisoners with the Scots "body for body."[71] In all such functions as the exchange of prisoners and the arrangement of truces, go-betweens were necessary. When in the field the job of ambassador generally fell to the standard bearer and heralds.[72]

The organization and force of the English army was unquestionably good. Their masses of heavy cavalry, though at times flighty, were almost invincible in the charge. The newer weapon of the bow, which was exploited by Edward I, gave the English a tremendous advantage on the field over all European armies for many years. Yet small poorly armed Scotland was often able to give as good as she took. Some of the reasons for this astonishing ability will be discussed in the following section.

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[70] Ibid., p. 201.

[71] Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 270.

[72] Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 197.

2. The Organization, Equipment and Movement of The Scottish Host

The Scottish methods of recruitment and organization were of necessity more crude than those of the English. It will be remembered that from the fall of Balliol until the middle of the reign of Robert Bruce, Scotland was disorganized and in fact not even united. As a result, the methods used by the various Scottish leaders were those which they were able to utilize most effectively. As was brought out in the third chapter, the Scottish army under Balliol was raised by the "Wapinschaw" which demanded that all who were capable of military service were to meet at the call of their country.[73] However, after large parts of Scotland had been occupied by the English such a method could no longer be used.

After this time the raising of an army became a situation where the Scottish leaders either appealed to or commanded the Lairds to do his service, as in the case of Wallace, who brought "all the magnates of Scotland under his control whether they would or no."[74] Or as in Bruce's case, assembling all those who were willing to support him until such a time as he was able to bring the majority of Scotland under his

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[73] Lanercost Chronicle, p. 129.

[74] Fluscarden Chronicle, II, 118.

sway.[75] This system rested on the feudal principles but it was of a different type than that found in England. The difference was based on the clan system which had evolved largely in the highlands but was found to a degree in the lowlands as well. The system increased greatly during the 12th and 13th century and was based on the Celtic tribal system.[76] King David, in 1124, did introduce the English feudal principle of that time to Scotland. However, it was more the restraining influence of a central authority on the Lairds than the principles of the more centralized authority found in England on the eve of the Scottish Wars.[77] In other words, there was an English feudal system superimposed upon the clan system but not altering that system except in the case of the relations of the magnates to the Scottish king.

The clan system differed from English feudalism in that members of a clan were all related and belonged to one family which descended from an "actual or mythical ancester."[78] The Laird was the father of the clan and the clansmen were his children.[79] Hence if the Laird declared for one or the

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[75] Supra, p. 69.

[76] Unpublished information concerning the Scottish dress of the 14th century was supplied to me upon my request through the kindness of the Litchell Library of Glasgow, Scotland.

[77] Lang, Hist. of Scot., I, 132.

[78] George F. Collie, Highland Dress, (London: Penguin Books, 1948), p. 11.

[79] Ibid., p. 12.

other of the Scottish leaders the entire clan supported his choice since what was a quarrel to one was a quarrel to all. Such a situation also was reflected in the deadly clan feuds of Scotland.[80]

In some ways the system of raising an army was much simpler in Scotland than in England. The national leader provided he enjoyed the support of the Laird, had only to give notice to these clan leaders. Each Laird then raised his clan by the old Celtic method of sending the "Firey Cross red with the blood of a sacrificed goat" through the land.[81]

The holders by knight service, a rather tenuous condition during the war until Bruce came to power, comprised the feudal chivalry. These men were bound to bring to the host a certain number of men-at-arms. The Scottish chivalry then supplied the cavalry in full defensive armor.[82] The equipment was much like that of the English. Many of these men had also been great lords in England as well as Scottish lords. Next in rank were the chiefs of the clans who were often knights themselves and so contributed to the cavalry strength.[83] The Scots also possessed a large force of light cavalry comparable to the Hobelors of the English, mounted

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[80]Holinshed, Chronicle, V, 24.

[81]Lang, Hist. of Scot., I, 218.

[82]Ibid., p. 153.

[83]Holinshed, Chronicle, V, 24.

on geldings and hakneys.[84] Next came the mass of men fit to bear arms. To this class belonged the Scottish pikemen and the archers.[85] The Scots also had men who understood Medieval artillery principles because they used such engines as the springalds in their sieges.[86]

The equipment of the commonalty of Scotland was quite varied. Besides the national arms they had, as we have learned in chapter three, English arms and later quite a few arms were brought over from France.[87]

The native equipment consisted of a spear, the targe, or shield, and the dirk.[88] Bows and arrows were also used but they were not, apparently, equal to the English long bow judging from the results of battles. According to information received from the Mitchell Library in Glasgow, the bow and arrow was used only in the initial assault by the highlanders after which it was thrown away.[89] The Scots also used hand axes with which Grafton claims they "gave ... many sore and cruell strokes."[90] The body armor consisted of leather

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[84]Elizabeth Kendall, Source Book of English History, New York, the MacMillion Co. 1900), p. 92.

[85]Lang, Hist. of Scot., I, 154.

[86]PluscardenChronicle, II, 214.

[87]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 371.

[88]Holinshed, Chronicle, V, 24. The dirk was a large dagger.

[89]Unpublished information from the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, Scotland.

[90]Grafton, Chronicle, 376.

pilches made of buck skins and an iron or steel bacinet.[91] The highlander completed his equipment with a kilt which was also used by some of the lowlanders. The nearer to the English border the Scot lived, the more closely his dress resembled that of his Southern foe.[92]

In the days of Robert Bruce, more elaborate equipment was ordered for the host, probably in part as the result of more English material falling into Scottish hands.[93] In the order of 1318 Bruce attempted to use the feudal formula of the English. He ordered that for purposes of defense, those people who held land worth from 40s to 100s were to have a bow and arrows, a dagger and a knife. Every person whose substance included the possession of a cow should have a spear, or a good bow and sheath with 24 arrows and a hand-axe. This class, no doubt, continued to use the simple body armor described above. The owner of chattels to the value of 40 marks was to have a horse, an habergeon or sleeveless coat of mail, a chaplet, an iron skull cap without visor, a sword, and a knife or dagger.[94]

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[91]Holinshed, Chronicle, V, 440.

[92]Unpublished information from the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, Scotland.

[93]Supra, p. 65.

[94]Charles Rogers, Social Life in Scotland, (Edinburgh: Grampion Club, 1884) II, 278.

For the still more affluent, it was ordered that every layman who had 10 pounds in goods should have a sufficient acton (a padded and quilted coat which protected, not only the breast but the lower part of the body as well); a bascinet or light unvisored helmet; gloves of plate; a spear and a sword. The acton and bascinet might, however, be replaced by an habergeon and "a hat of iron".[95] The Scottish army also seemed to have a definite uniform. The soldiers wore a white surcoat to which was affixed the cross of St. Andrews.[96]

The soldier of Scotland seems to have received no such stipulated wage as his English opponent but went to the wars at his own cost.[97] Bruce, it will be remembered, had insisted on such a practice in his order that all on their way to join the Scottish host must live at their own charge. The most reward the Scot received, other than the privilege of fighting for his country, was the rich booty he captured.[98]

The Scottish Army, other than the clans' warriors, had an organization much like that of England. The two chief

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[95]Louis Barbe, In Byways of Scottish History, (Glasgow: Blackie, 1912) p. 267.

[96]Holinshed, Chronicle, V, 24.

[97]Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 119.

[98]Lang, Hist. of Scot., I, 184.

leaders of the army were the Constable and Earl Marshal.[99] These offices were hereditary but, as we have already seen in the Scottish wars, the leadership evolved upon whoever could raise a sufficient force to dispute the English. The smallest unit in the army was one of five men, one of whom was appointed leader not unlike our squad today. The next division was one of ten. The leaders and men from the lowest to the highest had to obey their superior or be summarily put to death. The next largest unit was 25 then 50, 100, 500, 1,000 and so on depending on the size of the host.[100]

The Scottish army also moved to the sound of trumpets and pipes. Froissart tells that during Edward's first campaign against the Scots the army kept the English awake at night, "with such a blasting and noise with their horns, that it seemed as if all the great devils from hell had come there."[101] The bagpipe was used at this time and pipers were found on both sides of the Scottish border. This instrument was soon, however, to become more closely associated with Scotland. Every clan chief had his own pipers which functioned regularly at clan gatherings. As early as 1352 old records state that a sum of forty shillings was paid to

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[99]Lang, Hist. of Scot., I, 154.

[100]Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 118.

[101]Froissart, Chronicle, p. 22.

the king's pipers.[102] The standard of the leader as well as the pipes and trumpet was used as a signaling device. Bruce used to display his standard in order to assemble his troops after they became scattered over the battlefield.[103]

It is known that the Scots lived off of the land of their enemy to a considerable extent. What other food the army had was carried with them. Each soldier supplied himself with meal which was made up into cakes. Also, in case no food could be obtained in a country through which they were passing, the Scots carried with them a food consisting of "butter, cheese, meal, milk and vinegar.[104] The army ate no meat except what they captured. This meat was eaten only partially cooked because it was believed the juices from the meat were very nourishing.[105] The army also took great joy in a strong ale made of barley.[106] This liking for strong drink got the Scottish army into difficulty on such fields as Duplin Loor.[107]

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[102] The People's Friend, (Dundee, John Leng & Co. Ltd. May 2, 1951) p. 1. The pipes of that time had only two small drones. The bass drone was not introduced until the 18th century and yet a picture of the Miller from "The Canterbury Tales" shows him playing pipes which had what looks to be one bass drone. Social England, Ed. H.D. Trail & J.S. Mann, (London: Cassell & Co. Ltd., 1902) II, 291.

[103] Barbour, Bruce, p. 25.

[104] Holinshed, Chronicle, V, 23.

[105] Idem.

[106] Ibid., p. 19.

[107] Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 199.

The progress of the Scottish host was not impeded as the English were with heavy gear and lumbering wagons. An excellent description of the unhampered movement of the Scottish army is revealed in the words of Froissart.

> "These Scottish men are right hardy and sore travailing in harness and in wars. For when they will enter into England, within a day and a night they will drive their whole host 24 miles for they are all a-horseback without it be the trandals and laggers of the host, who follow after afoot. The knights and squires are well housed and the common people and others on little hakneys and geldings, and they carry with them no carts nor chariots for the diversities of the mountains that they must pass in the country of Northumberland."[108]

During Edward III's first Scottish expedition Froissart tells us,

> "[The Scots were to the numbers of four thousand men-of-arms, knights and squires mounted on good horses and other then thousand men of war were armed after their guise right hardy and fierce, mounted on little hackneys. The which were never tied or kept at hand."[109]

A glimpse into the Scottish camp and the manner in which they prepared their food is also given by the all seeing Froissart,

> "They take with them no purveyance of bread nor wine, for their usage and soberness is such in time of war, that they will pass in journing a great long time on flesh sodden, without bread, and drink of the river water without wine, and they neather care for pots nor pans, for they seethe the beasts in their own skins. They are ever sure to find plenty of beasts in the country that they will pass through. Therefore they carry with them none other purveyance but on their horses between saddle and the panel they truss a

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[108] Kendall, Book of Sources, 92.

[109] Idem.

> broad plate of metal and behind the saddle they will have a little sack full of oatmeal to the entent that when they have eaten of the flesh, then they lay this plate on the fire and temper a little of the oatmeal: and when the plate is hot, they cast of the thin paste thereon, and so make a little cake in the manner of a crackrall or biscuit and that they eat to comfort withal their stomacks."[110]

When the English occupied a Scottish camp from which the latter had retreated they found,

> "Three hundred caldrons made of leather with the hair on the outside which were hung on the fires full of meat. There were also upwards of a thousand spits with meat on them prepared for roasting also more than 10,000 pairs old worn-out shoes, made of undressed leather."[111]

In this camp the Scots had been living in crude huts.[112] This was not always the case however, for the Pluscarden Chronicler has one of the guardians of Scotland receiving the envoys of England in golden robes and sitting in a golden tent.[113]

From the third chapter we know how Wallace disciplined his army. In addition to these methods there existed the rule whereby a soldier, if found in the field without his flint and tinder box, was severely whipped.[114] The man who sold or

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[110] Idem.

[111] Froissart, Chronicle, p. 23.

[112] Ibid., p. 22.

[113] Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 196.

[114] Holinshed, Chronicle, V, 24.

mortgaged his equipment was cut from his company and banished as an exile.[115] The punishment for a man fleeing from the battlefield was very harsh. The guilty man was executed wherever he was found without judgement and all his goods were confiscated to the prince.[116] It might be pointed out that nobles do not seem to have come under this harsh regulation. Comyn, for example, was not so punished when he left Wallace on the field of Falkirk.

It seems from the evidence that this last mentioned punishment was little needed what with the vying among the nobility to lead the van. If a captain got into difficulty through too much display of his valor his band would rush to his aid and attempt to help him out or die in the attempt. It was deemed a great shame to outlive the leader.[117]

As far as the treatment of prisoners and truces are concerned, what was true of the English was generally true of the Scots. The Lanercost Chronicler maintains that when the Scots captured and destroyed the fortress of Leddel they also executed many of the people within it.[118] The Scots also seem to have had a dislike for churchmen fighting on

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[115] Ibid., p. 24.

[116] Idem.

[117] Holinshed, Chronicle, V, 24.

[118] Lanercost Chronicle, p. 330.

the side of the opposition. This despite the fact that their own clergy were up to their ears in the war. In one instance, Fraser, one of the Scottish leaders, questioned an English priest his men had taken captive.

> "Now art thou found here with out alb and with out amice, In hauberk of iron which is not the habit for clergy of holy church."[119]

The English priest was then put to death.

Enough has been said in the foregoing section to show that while the English had the more abundant and necessary material, the Scots equipment, such as it was, was more in keeping with the rough country in which most of the war was waged. Also the Scottish system of supply and their equipment of light harness enabled them to far outdistance their formidable rival and to get in lightning-like strokes when conditions permitted.

3. The Warfare for the Strongholds

At the time of his first conquest of Scotland, Edward had made a beginning on his chain of fortresses which aimed at the complete subjugation of Scotland. The warfare that took place in and around the grim walls of these castles furnished much of the material for the Chroniclers of those wars. When compared to the almost continuous fighting of this nature the English expeditions into Scotland and the

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[119]Langtoft, Chronicle, II, 345.

Scottish forays into England became mere interludes in the bitter struggle.

Time and experience taught the English kings that only first class garrisons and fortifications stood a chance against the Scots, once the English army returned home. As it was, the English held most such strong places. This being the case, it might be well to take a look at their construction, equipment and personnel.

In each of the successive campaigns into Scotland attempts were made to build castles so strongly that the Scots could not pull them down. The care Edward I exercised in the fortifications of Perth was a case in point. He ordered the walls to be built very strongly of stone and mortar and to strengthen the walls he ordered towers and gates to be erected of a suitable height and strength.[120] Within the fortress many of the buildings were constructed of wood.[121] Other measures instituted to help protect the fortress and the garrison within are illustrated by the work performed on the castle at Newcastle-on-Tyne. On the walls of the fortress twigs were bound.[122] The twigs were freshly

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[120] Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 213.

[121] A. Ballard, "Castle Guard," English Hist. Review, Vol. 25 (1910), p. 713.

[122] Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 261.

cut from the forest and were green. Perhaps the idea was to use them as a cushion against the shock of stones catapulted against the walls as well as to prevent buildings from catching fire from the incendiary attacks of the enemy.

From accounts of the same castle, we also learn that targets were made to hang at embrasures outside the wall for the protection of the soldiers.[123] Tree trunks and other heavy objects were hung around the walls with the intent of dropping them on any enemy who came under those walls.[124]

Within the fortress we find machines for stretching crossbows, and a hand mill for grinding corn.[125] Inside the walls was also found the armament. This included crossbows, 1,000 earthern pots to cast lime, stones for the balestae and to put out fires, a bucket for water.[126] The account also mentions a springald manufactured within the castle. We know from the listing of supplies that the engine was made of wood, iron, tin, brass, lard, string and canvas.[127]

Perhaps now is as good a time as any to examine the medieval artillery which both the English and Scots used. The springald was a large crossbow mounted on a frame with

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[123] Idem.

[124] Idem.

[125] Idem.

[126] Idem.

[127] Idem. For picture turn to Appendix B.

wheels like the field pieces of today.[128] It discharged huge quarrels which had iron heads and iron feathers.[129] Within a castle these machines were mounted on platforms[130] and were probably capable of being turned and fired in any direction. Between the springalds and the crossbow was a class of weapons known as arblasts. This instrument could be handled by one man and took its name from the mechanism necessary to operate the powerful bow.[131] The arblast came in two sizes. The arblast, "de tour", shot bolts of two feet in length and the small arblast used one foot bolt.[132]

The balestae was a casting engine which, in this case, threw stones. The Scots used a similar engine to fire back the body of a squire whom they had taken and killed.[133] These casting engines operated by the means of a counterpoise. This could be a beam, a stone, or the counterpoise could be supplied by men pulling on ropes.[134] There were a vast number of these machines with a bewildering variety of names but

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[128]Hewitt, Ancient Armour, I, 353. A good illustration of this machine can be found in Trails Social England, 248.

[129]Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 261.

[130]Idem.

[131]Hewitt, Ancient Armour, I, 326.

[132]Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 315.

[133]Wyntoun, Chronicle, II, 434.

[134]Hewitt, Ancient Armour, I, 348.

generally they operated on the above principal.

From a list of personnel given for Edinburgh castle we are able to tell something about the makeup of the garrison. It consisted of a constable; 18 knights, with their squires, grooms, and horses; two Carmelite friars; the engineer and his boy; a sheriff and his two clerks; the almoner; pantryman, cook and boys. The list continues with the baker and his boy; 2 brewers; a boy keeping the swine; the miller; the cooper; the granary man and the harper.[135] Included on the roster is the ever important office of watchman; two carpenters; 2 smiths; two malsters,

> "two carters, a water carrier, a sea coal carrier, a herdsman, the bowyer and his boy, Geoffrey the messenger, Elias the marshal and his shoer, a candle maker, 18 crossbowmen" and 60 archers.[136]

The total number of men-at-arms was 67, the number of the garrison including archers, hobelors and others amounted to 347 people.[137] All in all a diversified and almost self-sufficient community. Of course not all castles were so strongly held as Edinburgh but the list does give a picture of the personnel within these structures.

It was the Scots who, for the most part, besieged the castles and the English who defended them. The Scots

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[135]Bain, Scottish Documents, II, 289.

[136]Idem.

[137]Idem.

appear to have had as much knowledge as the English in the art of siegecraft but often lacked the equipment necessary for such an endeavor.[138]

The account of the siege of Carlisle by the Scots which the Lanercost Chronicle describes illustrates the ingenuity used to reduce castles in the Middle Ages. The first operation involved burning all the crops in the surrounding area to make it more difficult for those besieged in Carlisle. Next came a grand assault with the Scots attacking all three gates of the city and their machines casting missiles against the walls. The English within put up a vigorous defense and answered with "volleys of darts arrows and stones."[139] The defenders accomplished this with the help of eight engines in the city consisting of springalds and casting engines. The Scots were forced to draw off and make extensive preparations.

Several days passed in which the English could only watch, prepare, and wait.[140] This time the Scots struck in great force and with almost every device known to medieval warfare. During the night a force of Scots approached the

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[138]There are more accounts of the Scots taking fortresses by subterfuge than by siege operations. Pluscarden Chronicle, p. 220.

[139]Lanercost Chronicle, p. 213.

[140]Ibid., p. 215.

moat under the protection of mantlets (shields mounted on wheels and pushed before the men). The attackers then attempted to fill up the moat with "great numbers of fascines of corn and herbage ... so they might pass over dryshod."[141] In the early dawn came men swarming up to the wall with ladders. A sow, a huge moveable protective shield armed with a sharp instrument with which to undermine walls, was pushed up against one of the walls only to be destroyed by a huge stone dropped from above. The Scots continued the assault by moving a huge wooden tower toward one of the walls but the men of Carlisle had not been asleep and had built yet a higher tower. The attacking force in this instance was not even able to come to grips with those on the wall as their heavy tower sank into the earth and could not be moved. In another quarter the besiegers attempted to bridge the moat with a log contrivance mounted upon wheels. This bridge was pulled by men. The fighting lasted for the better part of the day with severe losses on the part of the Scots who were at last beaten off and were forced to retreat.[142]

During similar sieges the English were not always forced to sit in their strongholds but at times were able to issue out and drive the besieging forces away. On one

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[141] Idem.

[142] Ibid., p. 214.

such occasion, Sir Thomas Gray was not only able to save his castle but assisted a knight in gaining fame. The Scottish forces were engaged in besieging Gray's charge at Norham. There was among the English knights in the castle a William Marion who was under vow to make famous a helm presented to him by his lady. In the words of Gray, or rather his translator, "William richly arrayed as al glittering in gold, and wering his ladys present"[143] issued from the castle with the English force.

> "Then sayd Thomas Gray to Marion, "Syr knight, ye be come hither to fame your helmet. Mount up on yor horse, and ryde lyke a valiant man to your [enemies] even here at hand, and I forsake God if I rescue not they body deade, or a lyue, or I myself wye dye for it."[144]

Sir Marian being a valiant man clapped his spurs to his horse and charged into the midst of the Scots. What Gray had done was to get the enthusiastic Marian to create a diversion among the Scots long enough for him to make an effective charge upon the enemy force. The Scots were thrown back before the shock of the attack and Sir Marian was rescued, now famous, if a bit the worse for wear.

The tedious method of reducing a fortress, such as the Scots attempted to use at Carlisle, was not the method they preferred. Being limited in both men and supplies

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[143] Gray, Scalacronica, p. 291.

[144] Idem.

they attempted and did take many castles by artifice. One such operation was successfully executed by William Douglas against the stronghold at Edinburgh.

For this expedition he obtained the services of a clever sailor by the name of William Bullock. It was to be his task to pose as an English merchant sent to sell food and wine to the English garrison. The constable of Edinburgh fell for this bit of trickery and gave orders to his men to let the merchant and his goods enter when he returned in the morning. This is just what the Scots wanted. Early in the morning the main force under Douglas hid in the ruins of an abbey at the foot of the eminence upon which Edinburgh castle was situated. Bullock then climbed up to the castle with a string of pack animals and other men posing as his helpers. The gate was duly opened to the supposed English merchant. At once his helpers began to unload the merchandise in the gateway. The English within quickly understood what was going on but were unable to close the gate because the merchandise held the gate open and Bullock and his fellows defended the position. They were able to hold off the English until Douglas arrived with his force and captured the castle.[145] The English were rather slow to learn this trick and had it played on them many times to their sorrow.

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[145] Pluscarden Chronicle, II, 220.

In this castle warfare the Scots under both Wallace and Bruce sought to cut off communications between the enemy strongholds and the homeland. By so doing the Scottish leaders were able to bring the whole of their slender resources to bear against one castle at a time and thereby reduce it. When the castles were under the strong hand of Edward I this was not easily done but under the troubled reign of his son the Scottish strategy worked to perfection.

4. The Field Tactics of the Scottish War

As the Scottish Wars progressed new and improved methods of fighting were introduced. So long as either contestant in the wars (1) continued to change with the times and (2) did not violate certain basic principles, all went reasonably well for the side who adhered to these two rules of conduct. However, as we shall see, the English soon found their way to disaster when during the reign of Edward II the southern forces returned to the old concept of the charge of the heavy cavalry unsupported by archers.

The Scots on the other hand were too often guilty of having too few archers and no cavalry support for them or for their infantry. Of the many battles waged, I have picked Falkirk and Bannockburn as examples of how the two sides had to conduct themselves if they were to win. In the battle of Falkirk the success went to the English, not only

because of the brilliant generalship of Edward I, but also because of the hard luck of Wallace. The same thing may be said of the defeat of Edward II in his disasterous engagement with Robert Bruce at Bannockburn.

The majority of the battles we read about in the history textbooks give little or no idea of the color, the sound, and the hand-to-hand contest with which we in this present day have only the bayonet charge to compare. Instead we have the bare scientific facts showing where this general made his error and that leader performed a brilliant maneuver. The human element, the excitement and danger of the battle, is all but lost. One gets the impression from reading these analyses that the losing captain must have been a complete dullard not to have seen what was plainly before him. From the occasional glimpses that can be gotten from the chronicles, it can be seen that battles were not fought in the perfect quiet and with the calm deliberation of a checker game.

From the sources dealing with the Scottish wars, I will attempt to show what a medieval battle might have been like before plunging into another cold analysis.

The medieval host must have been a very colorful sight. Barbour describes in some detail the English force opposed to Bruce in one of his many battles. He speaks of the brightly colored surcoats, the coats of arms, and the

colorful housings of the chargers. As the English host approached in serried ranks, Bruce's men could see the proud pennons waving on lofty lances, the sun flashing on the armor, bascinets, and helms of the advancing men-at-arms.[146] With the call of the trumpets the first ranks arranged themselves into a formation in preparation to charge the Scots. Again as the call of the trumpets rang out the troops raised their shields, lowered their lances and with heads bent and spears straight rode closely together against the oncoming Scots.[147] "The shock was so mighty and fierce that many were run through and bereft of life."[148] "Once the charge had been made the lance was cast aside and the contest was carried on with the sword."[149] The battle had been joined and the conflict was continued with "trumpets blaring, shields clashing, arrows flying ... wounded men yelling and troops shouting," amid, "sundered armour, broken heads and many layed low on the field."[150] Such was the medieval battle carried on amid the color and violence of that distant age.

Keeping this background of the battle in mind, something of the difficulties encountered by the commanders may

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[146]Barbour, Bruce, p. 224.

[147]Ibid., p. 118.

[148]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 327.

[149]Hewitt, Ancient Armour, I, 307.

[150]Lanercost Chronicle, p. 341.

be appreciated. The causes and effects of Falkirk have been discussed so there will be no need to dwell on that aspect of the engagement. We also know of the demoralizing conditions within the Scottish host about which the chroniclers of that country maintain Wallace knew nothing. The effects of this condition will shortly be seen upon the Scottish fortunes at Falkirk.

Edward had seen all but a few of his garrisons expelled from Scotland by the energy of his clever foe. The English king, so soon as he had gained sufficient support at home, went at once to work to recruit his forces for Scotland. The Welsh made heavy contributions to Edward's army with over 14,300 men.[151] Additional men, 1,000 each from Chester and Lancaster, are also listed.[152] Contingents were sent from York, Westmoreland, Cumberland and Northumberland but the numbers of these latter groups are not available.[153] These figures do not reveal the actual number of mounted warriors. Some indication can be gathered from the Scottish campaign of 1299. At this time twelve Earls and one hundred and four Barons and knights were called to the king's service.[154]

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[151] Patent Rolls, Ed. I, III, 341.

[152] Ibid., p. 342.

[153] Close Rolls, Ed. I, IV, 193.

[154] Ibid., p. 306.

The men under a particular noble, or "standard", varied and only a very rough estimate of the number of armored horsemen can be attempted. Perhaps there were 400 to 500 men of the heavy cavalry. The total number of this force probably reached within the neighborhood of 20,000 men. Edward encountered some little difficulty and delay in his advance because of some East Lothian castles threatened his army in the rear. Bishop Beck was detached to neutralize these strongholds.[155] Additional difficulty came from lack of supplies and the fact that the devastated country side could provide no food. In all this time Edward had not been able to come to grips with the main body of the enemy. He was almost determined to retreat to Edinburgh when word reached him the Scots could be found at Falkirk.[156]

Wallace had, when he heard of the English advance, immediately organized to defend himself against the enemy on the field of Falkirk near the edge of Selkirk forest.[157] Again, as at Stirling bridge, he picked a river to furnish the main defensive line of the Scots and removed the bridge across it. To prevent a direct frontal attack on the part of the English force, Wallace placed sharpened stakes in

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[155]Tout, Hist. of England, III, 213.

[156]Idem.

[157]Lang, Hist. of Scotland, I, 186.

fords opposite his position, probably below the water level so they could not be seen. Where the water was not deep enough, he dredged the river.[158]

No accurate estimate can be made of the army Wallace assembled at Falkirk. Langtoft says, "the people of Galloway and the Marches came to the Scottish host, each with a spear in his fist."[159] The archers of Ettrick forest were also added to the strength of the Scots.[160] Great lords in the army furnished cavalry including the Comyns and Stewart as well as Macduff of Fife.[161] Oman believed there were less than 20,000 men in the Scottish host, and of that number less than 100 cavalry.[162]

Langtoft, describes the arrangements of both the Scots and English well. Of the Scots he writes,

> "In their vanguard, back was placed against back,
> and point of lance on point, in squadrons so serried,
> Like castles in [a] plain surrounded with [a] wall.[163]

The formation was called a schiltron, the mechanics of which are described by Oman:

> The front ranks knelt with their spear butts fixed
> in the earth; the rear ranks levelled their lances

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[158]Blind Harry, Wallace, p. 298. Lang calls Harry's river a peat bog. Lang, Hist. of Scot., I, 186.

[159]Langtoft, Chronicle, I, 313.

[160]Lang, Hist. of Scot., I, 186.

[161]Blind Harry, Wallace, p. 300.

[162]Oman, Art of War, p. 567.

[163]Langtoft, Chronicle, II, 313.

> over their comrades heads; the thick set grove of 12 foot spears was far too dense for the cavalry to penetrate.[164]

The Scottish horse was stationed to the rear of the formation, their job being to protect the archers, who filled up the gaps between the schiltrons, against the charging heavy cavalry of the English.[165] The combination and organization was made necessary under the new conditions of battle created by the English long bowman as we shall see.

The battle was begun by the charge of the English heavy cavalry. King Edward, "shouts to his barons, 'Let us advance in God's name!" "Then earls and barons spur their steeds; He who can run quickest goes into the battle."[166]

The Scottish vanguard of the schiltrons withstood the first shock well and could perhaps have exhausted the English had it not been for the actions of the Scottish horse.[167] As soon as the battle was joined, the Comyns with their following fled the field and left the archers to the mercy of the English cavalry. Wallace, caught up in the rush of the horse, was also forced to flee into Selkirk forest.[168]

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[164]Oman, Art of War, p. 567.

[165]Idem.

[166]Langtoft, Chronicle, II, 315.

[167]Wyntoun, Chronicle, II, 349.

[168]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 323.

Edward had learned the use of archers from the Welsh in his campaign against that people. At Falkirk a well balanced action between cavalry and archers now took place.

In the meantime Anthony of Beck, Bishop of Durham, with Robert Bruce who was that day fighting with the English, forded the river and attacked the Scots in the rear.[169] The Scottish writers feel that this, plus the flight of their horse, caused the Scots to lose the day. The attack on the rear of the Northern force was undoubtedly a factor but by no means the most important.

Edward now pulled back his cavalry after the Scottish archers had been destroyed and sent his own bowmen forward without fear of Scottish fire. The English archers thinned out the ranks of the brave Scots in their schiltrons.[170] Finally Edward sent his cavalry charging through the gaps in the ranks and routed what was left of the Scottish army.[171]

In this engagement the English lost only one man of note, Brian de Jae, a Templer, who followed the Scots too far ahead of his fellows and was slain in a slough.[172] The Scots lost many men on that fatal field including John Stewart and

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[169] Idem.

[170] Oman, Art of War, 567.

[171] Lang, Hist. of Scot., I, 187.

[172] Fordun, Chronicle, II, 323.

Macduff of Fife though probably not the 80,000 suggested in the Lanercost Chronicle.[173]

Undoubtedly Edward won this victory as the result of his very real ability. Yet it is always a great temptation to add the great If. What would have happened If, for example, Wallace's cavalry had stood fast. No one of course can answer such a question. However, by studying a battle fought under somewhat similar circumstances it is possible to learn what might have happened.

The Battle of Bannockburn has been many times discussed so my purpose here will be to tell what happened in the battle and to point out the differences on both sides between Falkirk and Bannockburn.[174] The constable of Stirling castle had, during the reign of Edward II, been besieged in his charge by the Scots. Edward of course at this time was preoccupied with the troubles which were to at last put a period to his unhappy reign.

Taking advantage of the predicament of the Southern king, Bruce was even then prying the fingers of England from its last hold on Scotland. Stirling was one of the few strongholds worth the mention still held by the English. The siege was pressed hard but Stirling evidently was a hard nut to

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[173] Lanercost Chronicle, p. 166.

[174] Refer to Appendix C.

crack because the Scots agreed to a truce whereby the castle would be surrendered to them if not relieved by June 24.[175] The Scots knew if "Stirling were lost, all of Scotland would be lost" to the English.[176]

When Edward received the intelligence of Stirling he at once began to gather his host but met with many difficulties. Major Becke, in writing of the subject of Bannockburn for the Complete Peerage believes that Edward took with him an effective infantry of only 7,000 foot. He bases this idea on the lateness of the summons, the number of men who would not come, and the numbers of those who were injured both on the way to join the host and in its advance on Bruce at Stirling.[177] For cavalry Edward was forced to depend on his household troops, friends, and family, a group of not more than 500 heavy cavalry.[178]

Both Tout[179] and Becke[180] point out the poor condition the English must have been in when they arrived near the

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[175]Tout, Hist. of Eng., III, 258.

[176]Ibid., p. 259.

[177]Major A.F. Becke, "The Battle of Bannockburn", (appendix H), The Complete Peerage. G.E. Cokayne, Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Brit. and The United Kingdom, Extinct, or Dormant. (New Ed. Revised and Edited by the Hon. Vicary Gibbs, 1910-1949, 13 vols.) London, The St. Catherine Press.

[178]Idem.

[179]Tout, Hist. of Eng., III, 260.

[180]Beck, Bannockburn, p. 15.

Bannockburn. Edward was forced to move rapidly to meet the deadline for relieving the castle. He had only assembled the army on June 10 at Wark.[181] Becke points out the English host had to force march over poor dusty roads in full harness in the heat of summer.[182]

No very accurate estimate can be made of the Scottish forces but it must have been less than that of the English. As Becke points out Bruce still had much disaffection with which to contend in Scotland and that some Scots went so far as to have members of their family fighting on both sides just to play safe.[183] The Scots were organized into four companies and drilled in these formations. All clansmen who came in late were held in a reserve so as to have only trained men in the formations.[184] Of these formations three must have been organized as schiltrons and the fourth was the horse. Barbour calls them "battles" and does not mention cavalry as such although the Scots were known to have had such a force.[185] Moreover, neither Sir Edward Gray whose

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[181]Idem.

[182]Ibid., p. 14.

[183]Ibid., p. 12.

[184]John Barbour, The Bruce, ed. Walter R. Skeat, (Edinburgh & London, printed for the society by William Blackwood and sons, MDCCCXCIV) I, 281.

[185]Tout, Hist. of England, III, 260.

father was captured there,[186] nor the Lanercost Chronicler mention more than three schiltrons.

The Scottish king made his dispositions very much the same as Wallace had ordered his host at Falkirk. Robert organized the force within the Thorwood near Stirling castle so as to make a charge difficult for the English cavalry. From a chart based upon one by Becke we can see the positions taken by Bruce and his men. One of these formations must have been his cavalry. As at Falkirk, holes were dug near the entrance to the park of Stirling to trap the English horse.[187]

The English army began arriving, probably about mid-day. The van moved forward along the road to feel out the Scottish positions. It was at this time that Robert Bruce performed his famous exploit of braining the fully armed knight Sir Henry de Bohun when he attacked Bruce.[188]

While the English van had moved forward, Clifford and Sir Thomas Gray with 300 men crossed lower down the Bannockburn very much as Anthony of Beck had done at Falkirk. This force attempted to go around the Scottish rear and contact Stirling castle. This movement was frustrated by the schiltron of the Earl of Moray who moved to intercept

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[186] Gray, Scalacronica, p. 289.

[187] Barbour, Bruce, I, 282. Turn to Appendix C.

[188] Ibid., p. 299.

Clifford.[189] Now would have been an excellent time for the use of horse archers but the English apparently did not have them in the host. Clifford was checked and all the English could do was to circle the schiltron very much as the American Indians did in attacking a wagon train. The valor of Sir Thomas Gray was questioned with the result that he drove his horse against the forest of pikes which killed his mount and caused his capture.[190]

The remainder of the English force, not making any headway, now fell back on the main body which had declined the prepared positions of the Scots and had moved across the Bannockburn and took up a position near a waterlogged carse.[191] The day was far spent when the English settled down in their uncomfortable quarters for an uneasy night.

Gray says in the morning Bruce came early and moved close to the English camp thus forcing a battle.[192] A glance at the map will show the precarious position in which the English cavalry and foot were placed. To the right of them they had the Forth and to the left the carse over which the footing was doubtful. Thus the ground for maneuvering was dangerously small.

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[189] Gray, Scalacronica, p. 289.

[190] Idem.

[191] Tout, Hist. of Eng., III, 261.

[192] Gray, Scalacronica, p. 289.

Nothing seems to have been in order in the English camp. Certainly every rule practiced by Edward I was broken. The English archers were sent out to meet the Scottish archers who had begun a harassing fire.[193] No English cavalry was sent to protect the English archers and while they succeeded in dispersing the Scottish archers they in their turn were driven off the field by a quick charge of the Scottish horse[194] who had not left the field as at Falkirk.

The fact that the three schiltrons continued their advance[195] must have rattled the English still more. No attempt was made to get their archers into working order again nor did the English horse go after the Scottish cavalry as they should have done. Such an operation would have allowed the archers to again take the field and thin down the schiltrons, again as at Falkirk. Instead, the impetuous English knights without the restraining hand of a strong leader dashed madly against the dense clump of spears.[196] Such activity did nothing but pile up dead and wounded horses and men and impeded the attack for those who followed. The Scottish cavalry for once had functioned as it should. If

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[193] Lanercost Chronicle, p. 207.

[194] Idem.

[195] Idem.

[196] Ibid., p. 208.

they did not protect their own archers, the force at least dispersed those of the enemy. Bruce's well trained schiltrons continued to advance two abreast with the third in close support, all keeping their formations and cutting through the disordered English as they pressed forward.[197] Now one of the most competent English commanders, the earl of Gloucester, was killed.[198] With his fall a general rout took place in which many died trying to cross the Bannockburn.[199] In this sorry retreat were killed Sir John Comyn, Sir Pagon de Typtoft, Sir Edmund de Morley and many other leaders of note.[200]

Edward was forced to flee to Dunbar with the Scots pushing him all the way.[201] Thus did the English pay for breaking almost every rule of warfare they had so painfully learned in the long and bitter struggle. Robert Bruce, on the other hand, distinguished himself as a brilliant and resourceful commander. Once he saw his prepared positions were to do him no good, he forced the English to fight at a time and place where the advantages were for the most part with the

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[197] Ibid., p. 207.

[198] Ibid., p. 208.

[199] Fordun, Chronicle, II, 339.

[200] Lanercost Chronicle, p. 208.

[201] Ibid., p. 209.

Scots. As Fordun writes, "From that day forward, the Whole land of Scotland, ... overflowed with boundless wealth.[202]

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[202]Fordun, Chronicle, II, 340. The boundless wealth Fordun speaks of came from the many English ransoms.

CONCLUSION

From the many factors which enabled the Scots to remain free, one emerges above all others. This factor was the will of the common people, kept alive and nourished by the clergy, to keep Scotland a free and an independent country. Without this element all the brilliant leaders and tactics would have been merely of passing interest. The will to be free came about and hardened in the heat of battle. This force arising from the people proved strong enough to sustain itself until worthy leaders appeared to lead Scotland to victory if not to long periods of prosperity and peace.

Other factors involved in the Scottish Wars included the ability of the Scottish leaders to meet policy with policy and subterfuge with subterfuge until they were able to win even some degree of support from what had been one of England's strongest allies, the Pope.

The astonishing military ability of the Scots stemmed not only from able commanders and hardy soldiers but also from wise use of available resources and equipment. Among this equipment the military harness of the Scots was well suited and adapted to the terrain, their swift movement, and the hit and run policy of the Scottish leaders. Herein was one of the principal failures of the English, although

they did attempt to increase the mobility of their forces.

When all is said and done, England's best opportunity was to unite, not dominate Scotland under Edward I. His own imperious character and unfortunate choice of administrators was to set his wisest policies at naught. It is doubtful if ever again there was such an opportunity to unite the two lands as that during the first Edward's reign. After that time the spirit of the Scottish nation hardened into a thirst for freedom. No amount of power that England brought against Scotland was able to shake that spirit.

Perhaps the long, uneasy times of these two countries point a finger to the present day and our own uneasy times. Scotland and England were not to end their strife until a leadership could be established that was acceptable and common to both, in that case a king, perhaps in ours a United Nations.

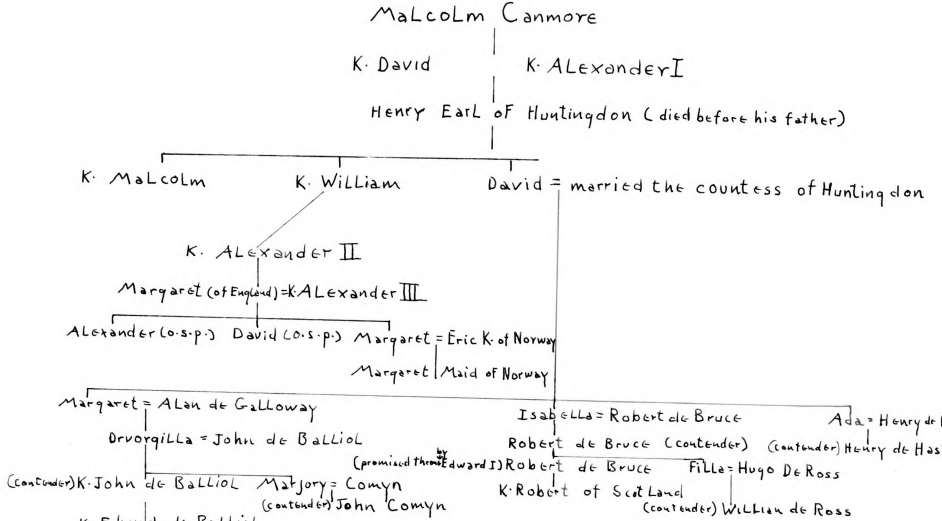
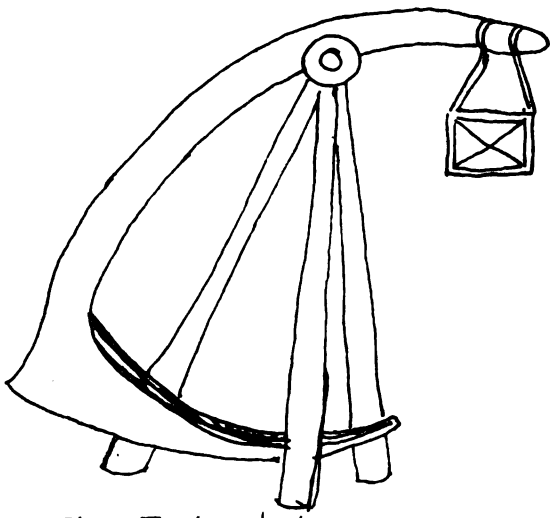
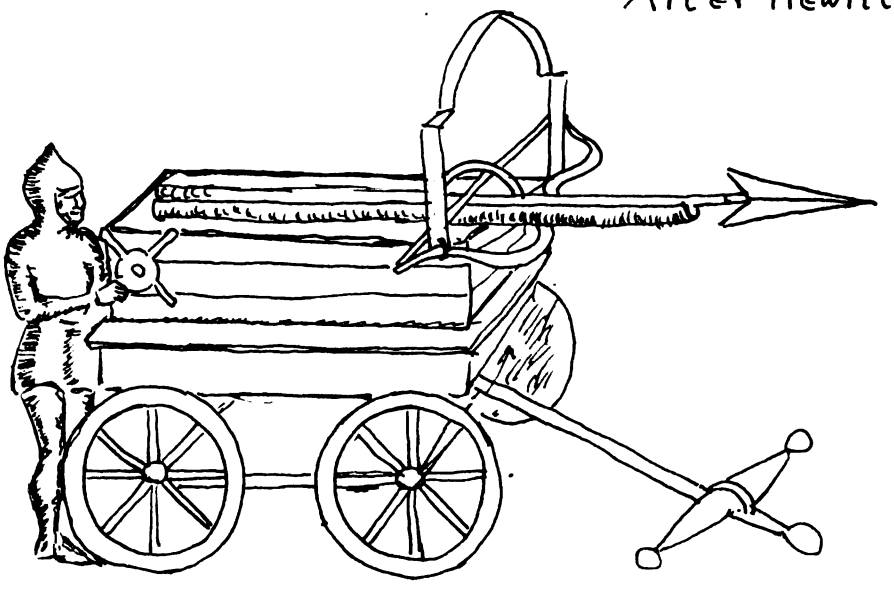


Table based on Fordun



The Trebuchet AFter Contemporary Picture. One of the Casting Engines

HaubervK of Chain-Mail
After Hewitt



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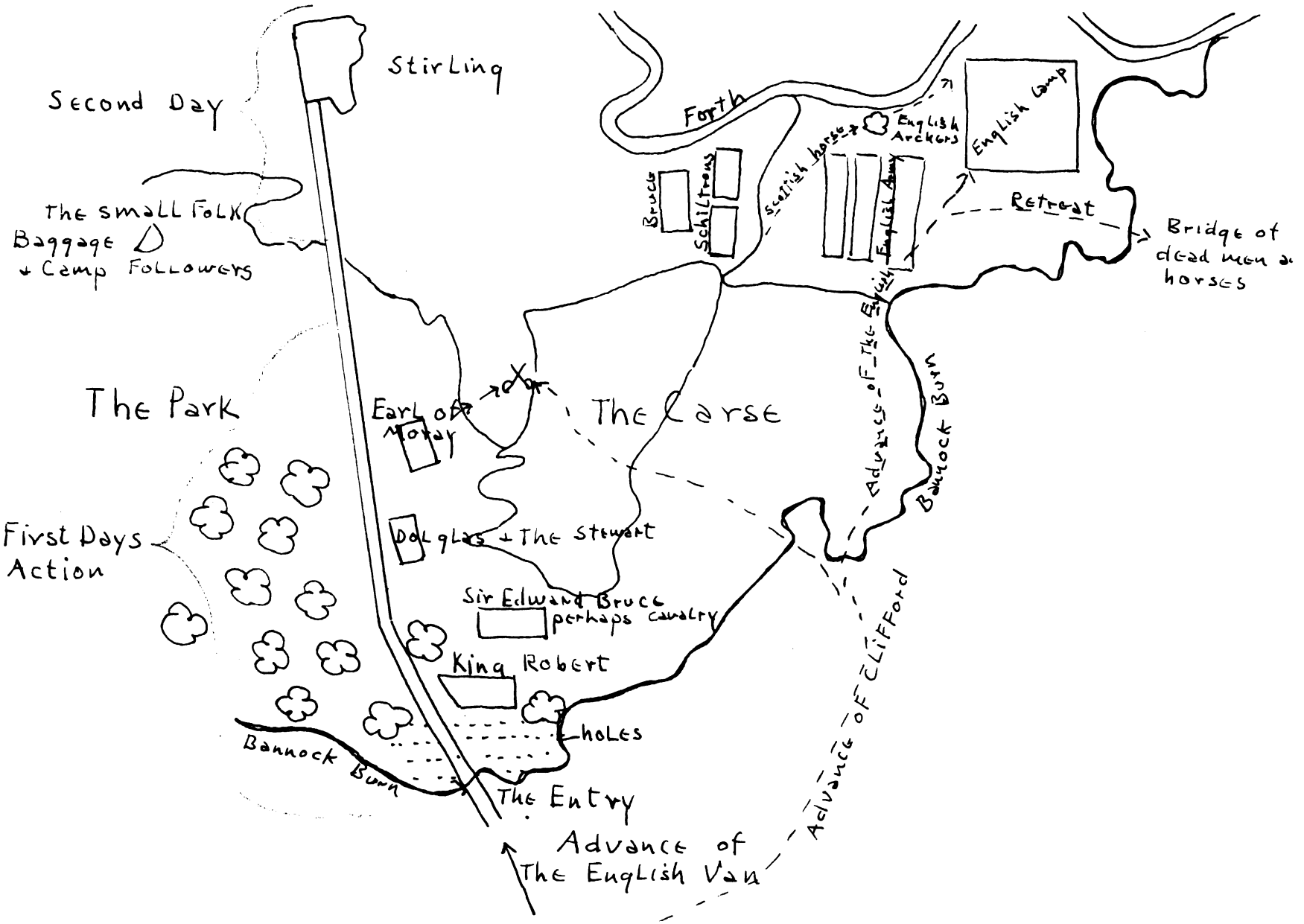
Appendix B.

Appendix C.



From G. E. C. Complete Peerage

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Libraries

The libraries used in both the survey and the actual preparation of this paper were, those of the University of Chicago, the University of Michigan, Michigan State, and the Newberry Library of Chicago. While all of these Libraries have collections of documents, the set containing the Patent and Close Rolls at Michigan State was most helpful.

Documents

Of all the source material dealing with the Scottish Wars of the Edwards, the most revealing and accurate materials are found in the documents of the period. Considerable time was spent in the search for and use of these documents. The task was made easier because of the extensive collection contained in the Michigan State College Library. This includes an almost complete set of the Patent and Close Rolls published by the British Record Office for this period. The Patent Rolls have been published through the reign of Edward III. The documents were sent out as open letters of the English king with the great seal pendant and deal with a vast multitude of subjects such as military summons, domestic relations, inheritance, supply, safe conducts and many other aspects of the life of the time. The Close Rolls date from

1204. They are much like The Patent Rolls in that they also contain copies of the king's letters, in this case primarily letters of instruction.

The Close Rolls were sealed letters, sent to individuals and, as a rule, of less public interest than the Patent Rolls. These volumes contain a vast mine of unexplored information. Unfortunately the indexes, while helpful, are not always accurate. The best way to use these books is to go over them page by page in the period in which research is being conducted.

Another collection of documents which proved to be of great assistance was the Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland, edited by Joseph Baine. The book is filled with documents concerning the Scottish Wars of the Edwards and is an excellent piece of work. The Rotuli Parliamentorum were consulted in connection with the trials of the Despensers as well as the punishment given to the Scottish Nobility.

Chronicles of Scotland

Another source of materials dealing with the Middle Ages is the chronicle. While not always as dependable as the documents they still preserve much of the color and flavor of a bygone day.

The great dearth of trustworthy contemporary source material exists in this period of Scottish History. Most of

the chroniclers either lived during the reign of Edward III or after the close of the Scottish Wars. Perhaps one of the oldest writings which came down to us is the work of John Barbour. Reference to the full bibliography will indicate, that three different editions of Barbour were used. The work translated by George Eyre Todd, while not a complete text was valuable. The editions edited by Walter R. Skeat, supplied much detail pertaining to the background of The Bruce in the notes and introduction. A more complete edition of the text was used which covers the entire period of Bruce.

John Barbour was born about 1320 so that he was a contemporary for most of the great events and drew from eye witnesses of the period. In some cases his chronology was defective. These discrepancies can be checked with the documents and more trustworthy primary and secondary works. Both Wyntoun and Fordun depended on Barbour and as they were almost contemporary with him they cover much of the same period.

The work on Wallace by Blind Harry has been much criticized as being untrustworthy. Yet by correcting his chronology as in Barbour, Blind Harry is found to agree not only with other Scottish Chroniclers but with the English as well. Blind Harry, or Henry the Minstrel, as he was also called, stated he based his work on an earlier one written by one, John Blair, who was said to have been chaplain to

Wallace. If this is true, as seems possible, it would make of Blind Harry an excellent source as well as the only one which deals in detail with the life of the Scottish Hero.

The Book of Pluscarden proved to be very valuable for its detailed descriptions of legal questions which arose during the period and for details of military tactics. This work was not published until the twentieth century and it is assumed the chronicle was written by Maurice Buchanan and is contemporary only from 1380. Despite this fact it checks well with early sources as well as with documents found in the Patent Rolls. Moreover, much of the work is based on an early one by John Bower, which was not available to me.

The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland by Wyntoun is in a class with Barbour and was written about the same time. Wyntoun's work is recommended by Tout, Skene, and Lang. Todd, the editor of Wallace, speaks of the "indubitable evidence of Wyntoun." Another chronicler of the same period is Fordun. He began his work about 1385 but was at this time already past the age of 30. He was thus to most of the period a contemporary and had access to people and documents which went back much farther than his own life. Fordun's work was taken over by Bower, Abbot of Inchcalin. The good abbot was contemporary with the later portion of the Scottish Wars and not only put Fordun's work in order but wrote several passages himself.

Holinshed's Chronicle of England, Scotland and Ireland was very valuable in the preparation of this paper especially volume five. This is a translation of the work of Hector Boece, a Scot, who lived shortly after the Scottish Wars of the Edwards. Holinshed's work seems to be reliable, indeed he tells of the great pains he took to present his material accurately. In reality, volume five is a Scottish Chronicle by Boece. Hector Boece is particularly good for the excellent descriptions of life in Scotland and its islands before, during, and after the Scottish Wars of the Edwards. Lord Hailes, Annals of Scotland though old, are still in most cases accurate. He also quotes from contemporary documents that I was unable to obtain from other sources.

Chronicles of England

In making use of the English Chroniclers we are on more solid ground. In almost every instance, the material is that of a contemporary and in regard to Scalacronica, a work of a man who fought in the Scottish Wars.

The Chronicle of John Hardyng is not contemporary nor is he altogether reliable for the period covered by this paper. However, some of the details he supplied could be obtained from no other source. The Chronicle of Lanercost was of great value, though not always fair to the Scots.

It is always contemporary and sticks more to history than does the usual monastic work which dwells at great length on Saint's lives, miracles and such. Moreover, Lanercost monastery was located on the border and was often a scene of action during the Scottish Wars. In more than one case the monks wrote of what they saw with their own eyes.

The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft also illustrates this point of view, all the English did was right and all the Scots did was in concert with the devil. However, for detail Langtoft is almost as good as Froissart. Sir John Froissart and his Chronicles of England, France, Spain and the Low Countries have received the highest praise from Hewitt who says, "Among the Chroniclers of this time - of all time - Froissart stands foremost." In no one case did I find a more accurate, readable or colorful chronicle than that of Froissart.

Sir Thomas Gray who wrote Scalacronica while being held a prisoner of the Scots gives excellent eye witness accounts concerning what both his father and he saw. Gray perhaps dwells too much on the exploits of his father but his descriptions of such battles as Bannockburn are good as they are given from one who was at the scene. The Chronicle of Florence of Worcester, though excellent for background material on the Scottish Wars, is not helpful beyond the

time of the decision rendered in favor of Balliol for here the writing ends. Much can be learned about Edward I's doubtful claims from this Chronicle, which relates to causes of the war.

Books and Publications

Secondary books of great assistance were Tout's A Political History of England 1216-1377 and Lang's A History of Scotland from the Roman Occupation. Not only was Tout helpful for background, but the excellent commentary on source material and the evaluation of that material contributed greatly to this project. Andrew Lang's book was filled with references to source material relating to the history of Scotland. Also of great value on special subjects are John Hewitt's Ancient Armour and Weapons and Charles Oman's A History of the Art of War. Hewitt's work, in addition to his discussion on armor, gives extensive treatment to other phases of medieval warfare. Much of this information is quoted at length directly from documents or based upon contemporary monuments of the Middle Ages. Sir Charles Oman supplies much information on the techniques of battles.

In a study, such as this, great assistance can be had from articles and unpublished material. Examples of this were Major Becke's description of the Battle of Bannockburn

found in The Complete Peerage. A great deal of information and sound material was found in The English Historical Review. The Mitchell Library of Glasgow Scotland and The Peoples Friend of Dundee were most helpful in furnishing information compiled and composed by them from sources not available in this country.

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