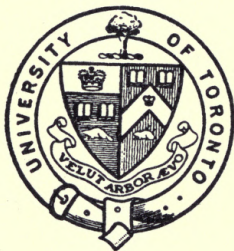


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“The Queen would have knelt but for the gallantry of Earl Maleolm, who prevented her.”—WALLACE, Page 189.

(Frontispiece.)

WALLACE,
THE
HERO OF SCOTLAND.

BY
JAMES PATERSON,
AUTHOR OF "JAMES THE FIFTH," ETC., ETC.

"His country's saviour—mark him well."—BURNS.

WILLIAM P. NIMMO,
LONDON AND EDINBURGH.
1877.

EDINBURGH:
PRINTED BY M'FARLANE AND ERSKINE
(late Schenck & M'Farlane),
ST JAMES SQUARE.



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TO

ANDREW WAUCHOPE, ESQ.

OF NIDDRIE-MERSHELL,

REPRESENTATIVE OF AN ANCIENT SCOTTISH FAMILY,

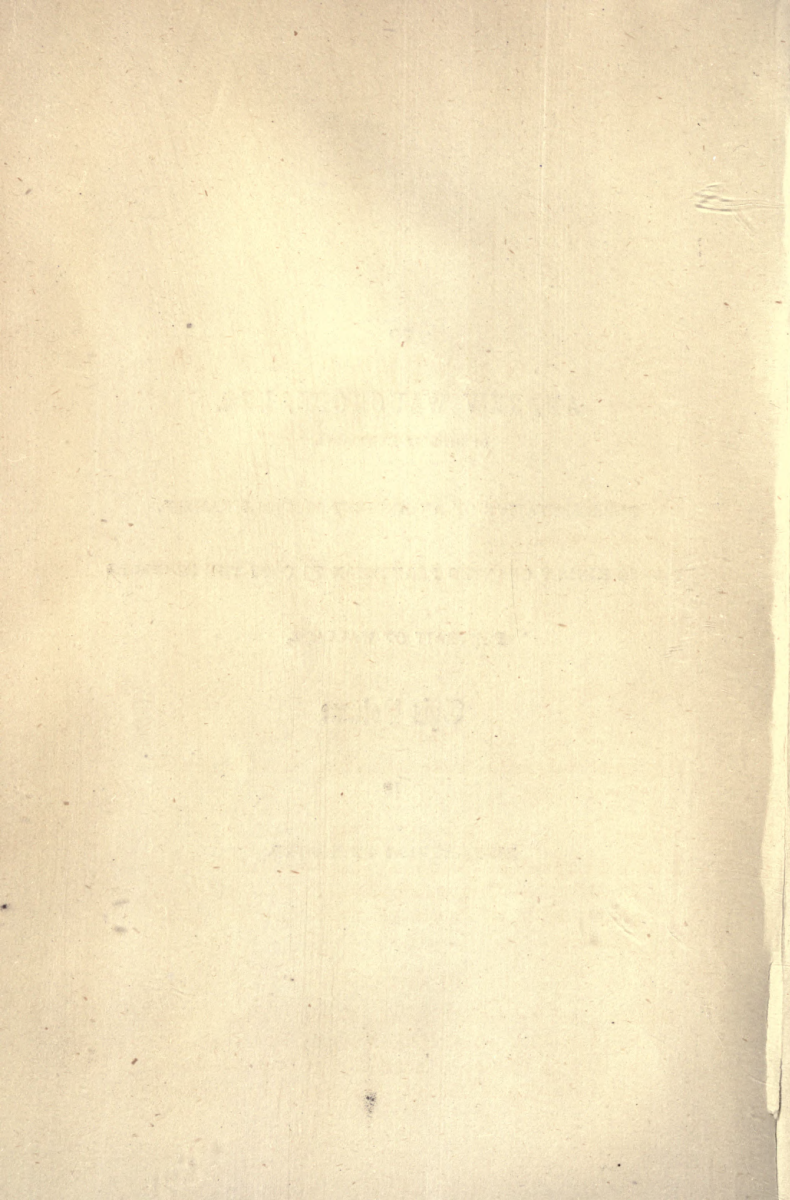
WHO SO KINDLY GRANTED PERMISSION TO COPY THE PREFIXED

PORTRAIT OF WALLACE,

This Volume

IS

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED.



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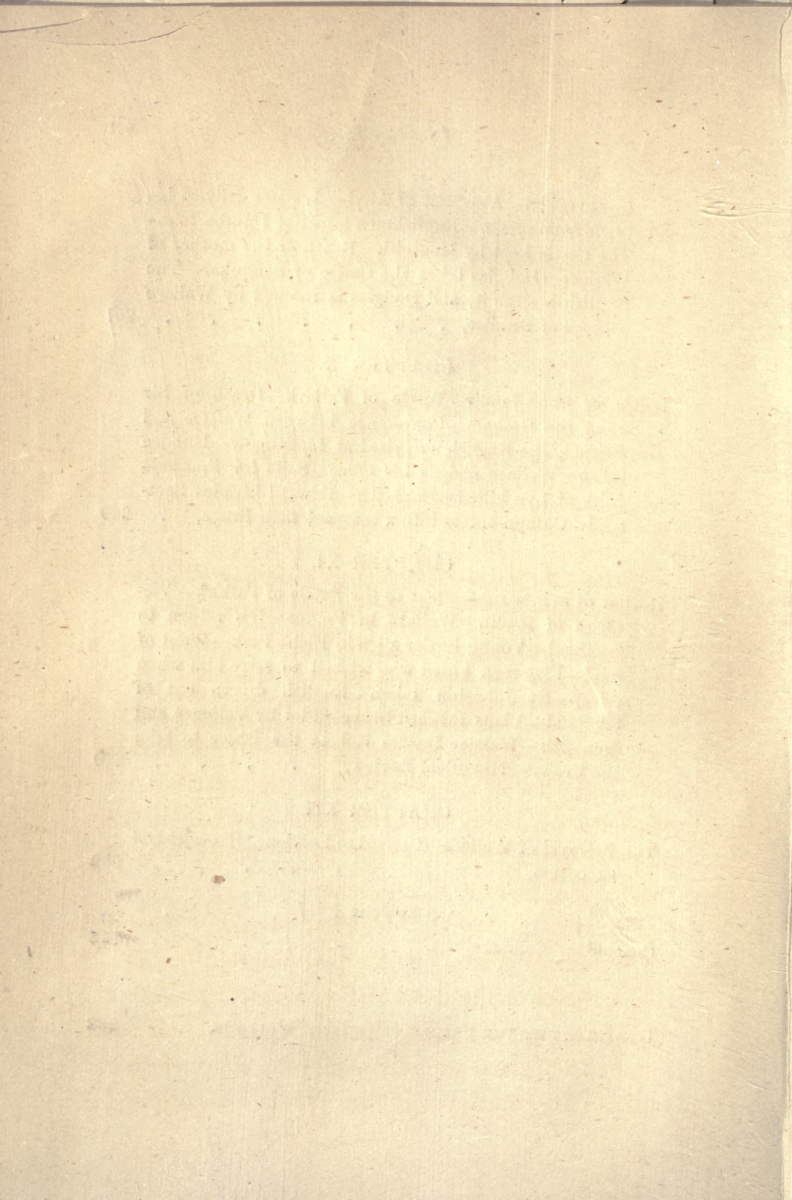
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PREFACE

TO THE FIRST AND SECOND EDITIONS.

To write a Life or History of Sir William Wallace, the champion of Scottish freedom, may seem a superfluous undertaking; and, indeed, so we felt when the subject was first suggested to us. On reflection and inquiry, however, it did appear that such a work would not be altogether unprofitable at a time when the memory of the great patriot and warrior has been so enthusiastically revived by the proposal to erect a monument to his name, at once national and worthy of his character.

There is already, no doubt, a formal "Life of Sir William Wallace," by the late John D. Carrick, which, as one of the series of *Constable's Miscellany*, must have become widely known since its publication in 1830; and we fully admit the claim of that work to the gratitude of the public. It displays

very considerable research, embracing at least all the more important events in the hero's career; and the author has done good service in maintaining those points in our national history upon which certain portions of the life and character of Wallace turn, in opposition to the critical bias of Lord Hailes and others, who sometimes carried their disbelief in the statements of our native annalists to an extreme extent. He did much, also, in following up Dr Jamieson in support of the general accuracy of the Minstrel's narrative of the deeds of Wallace, which not a few at one time affected to regard as little better than a "minstrel's tale." But what we chiefly find fault with in Carrick, and think his work defective in consequence, is, that while he adduces very cogent reasons in favour of the statements of Henry, he himself only adopts such facts as *he thinks* not fabulous, discarding all that seems of an opposite character. The result is that his story is disjointed, and frequently mystified under hypothetical dates, which must give the reader not critically conversant with the occurrences of the times, a very imperfect idea of the points he means to elucidate. And he does this, at the same time that he indulges in imaginary reflections as to the motives and feelings of Wallace under particular circumstances,—a practice proper enough in a historical romance, but incon-

sistent with a narrative of facts. The work, besides, is overloaded with matter, not altogether foreign perhaps to the subject, but which tends to confuse and distract the attention of the reader.

So little is known of the personal actions and adventures of Wallace, apart from the poem of Blind Harry, that all that could be said of him from other authorities would amount to a fragment only; and without his aid no *life*, so to speak, of the patriot can be written. No doubt it may be said the very atmosphere of Scotland is filled with the idolised name and deeds of the "wicht Wallace;" but, however indistinctly these may be understood by the masses, amidst the haze of a considerable antiquity, it is unquestionably to the Minstrel that they chiefly owe the knowledge they possess. It certainly does appear very arbitrary, if not absurd, to select particular passages from a work as authentic, simply because their accuracy is corroborated by other writers, and discard the remainder as apocryphal, because they are nowhere else mentioned. Upon this principle, the facts which happen to be borne out by other authors would have been treated as wholly fabulous, had the case been otherwise; and by this rule what may be *true*, is held as *untrue*, because the author happens to be the only one known to relate the circumstances. Surely it is

taking too much upon one's self to draw the line of distinction in a case of this kind, where the facts are not obviously contradictory in themselves and improbable.

In literature there are fashions as well as in the cut of a coat, and especially in that walk of literature which has reference to the past. At no distant period it was, and is still to a considerable extent, fashionable to deride the Minstrel as an authority. Lord Hailes was probably among the first to add weight to the fashion. From the days of Major, who could only give partial credit to writings of this kind, down to our own times, it has been fashionable for the learned to doubt or disbelieve what was generally taken for granted. Because the Minstrel conveyed in the form of a poem, in the vernacular, or language of the vulgar, and which, it seems, he was in the habit of reciting himself in the character of a minstrel—because he embodied in his poem what was commonly known of Wallace, as recorded by Blair, his “author,” and from his own time downward became the instructor of the people in all that related to their much-venerated martyr to freedom, the learned must forsooth doubt the facts so patent to the unlettered!

Fortunately for the credit of the Minstrel, and the memory of Wallace, much of this silly jealousy

of popular knowledge has been put to flight by the discovery of corroborative testimony in favour of the patriotic bard; and he is now no longer "an author," as Lord Hailes remarked, "whom every historian copies, yet no historian but Sir Robert Sibbald will venture to quote."

It occurs to us that the Minstrel's account of Wallace has never been looked upon in its true light. It is not a history of the country, of a certain period, like *Wyntoun's Cronykil*, or the English Chronicles, such as *Langtoft's* or that of *Lanercost*, but a *biography* of the hero, in which he records public events chiefly as they happen to fall in connexion with his story. As such it would be absurd to expect from him a full historical account of all that happened in the war of independence, from its first commencement in 1296 till 1305, the year in which Wallace was brought so treacherously to his end. On the other hand, it would just be as absurd to expect in the Chronicles we have mentioned a full account of the life and transactions of Wallace, the object of the writers being merely to record in a general way such events of public importance as came within their knowledge. Viewed in this light the Minstrel's narrative becomes no longer chargeable with omissions which it was not his business to record, or with the

relation of occurrences in the career of his hero which are not alluded to by contemporary historians. His field lay in a different province, and much of his information was only accessible to himself, or to Blair, from whose written memoir he took the principal facts. In this view alone can we form a proper estimate of the Minstrel's life of Wallace; and to throw aside his statements, or any portion of them, would be to cast from us the only, and it may be well-authenticated, information the world is possessed of as to the more private and personal history of one of the greatest and perhaps best of men that ever ennobled humanity.

All that can be justly laid to the charge of the Minstrel is, what may be claimed as a minstrel's licence, the embellishment of what he describes. In this way, he may occasionally dilate too minutely on the personal prowess of Wallace in battle—though no one can doubt his herculean strength and agility—and, after the fashion of the age, exaggerate the number of the enemy engaged or slain—but scarcely in a single instance, as we have shown in the course of these pages, is there occasion to doubt that the main facts happened as described. His simple narrative is consecutive—the one event springs naturally out of the other—whereas the “Life of Wallace” by Carrick, made up

from what he conceives the best authorities, is a disjointed piece of patchwork.

The only omission of consequence which we notice in the Minstrel is the meeting of the Scots and English armies near Irvine, in 1297, when the former, through disunion, surrendered on a treaty negotiated by the Bishop of Glasgow. It is implied that Wallace was present on the occasion, but we have no evidence of the fact. On the contrary, there is strong reason to believe that he was not. Hence the Minstrel is silent on the subject.

Perfect accuracy as to dates could hardly be expected in a metrical work of the kind. But, taken as a whole, the discrepancies in chronology are by no means so irreconcilable as has been represented. The greatest of these refers to the first visit of Wallace to France. This is said by the Minstrel to have occurred in the spring of 1298, (having set sail on the 21st April,) after his return from the invasion of England, and when he was still Guardian of Scotland; and he brings him back from France, "the later day of August" of the same year. But Wallace was at the battle of Blackironside, fought on the 12th June previous. The month of August, therefore, must either be a mistake of the Minstrel or his amanuensis—for, being blind, he could not write himself. This would indeed be a

matter of no great importance, did it not tend to throw dubiety on the fact of Wallace visiting France at this period at all. The time between the 21st of April and the 12th of June, when he fought the battle of Blackironside, is certainly a limited period for a voyage to France and back again, yet it is true that between the 29th of March, when he granted the charter to Scrymgeour at Torphichen, and the battle of Blackironside, no trace of him is discoverable in Scotland; and it is perfectly within the bounds of possibility that he could have performed the voyage between the two dates.

We shall not further anticipate what we have said on this subject in the proper place; but being convinced of the general accuracy of the Minstrel, we may here explain that in the following pages we have closely adhered to his narrative as the ground-work of our undertaking, amplifying or correcting the text, as the case may be, from other authentic sources. In this way we believe our labours may be regarded somewhat in the light of a national service.

The much-prized "household words," which used to be, if they are not still, familiar at the fireside of every Scottish peasant, in reference to the "gude Wallace" and his deeds, have been drawn from the narrative of the Minstrel; but the quaint style in

which he wrote, and the obsolete phrases with which his poem abounds, have long ago rendered it all but unintelligible to the common reader. Indeed, even those practised in antiquarian lore of this kind, have difficulty sometimes in following the meaning of the bard. Hamilton of Gilbertfield, the contemporary of Ramsay, in the early part of last century, published a paraphrased edition of the *Minstrel*, in modern Scotch. Though badly executed, as all transmutations of this kind generally are, yet it served the purpose so far as to keep alive the popular story of Wallace amongst the peasantry. It was from this source that Burns drew his patriotic inspiration—and no doubt many other eminent Scotsmen besides. But even Gilbertfield's edition, with all its faults, is now very rare, so that the deeds of Wallace are likely at no distant period to become a mere myth in the popular mind, or to be remembered only through the medium of Miss Porter's "*Scottish Chiefs*,"—a romance which, under the circumstances, may be said to have assumed the position once occupied by the *Minstrel*. In so far as the scanty notices of contemporary English chroniclers have recorded the transactions of Wallace, or the tremulous pens of our own later historians have ventured to avail themselves of the more ancient national authorities, posterity can form a very inadequate idea of

what he achieved for Scotland. With a fearless hand, therefore, we shall attempt to transfuse the poetical narrative of the Minstrel into prose, as the only full and genuine account of the truly great man, who, comparatively unaided, was able to hurl back the chivalry of the proudest and most warlike of England's kings, and to whom Scotland and Scotsmen are chiefly indebted for the name they have so long sustained as a free and warlike people. And we venture to say, in this garb, it will be found that there is nothing so wild or miraculous in the narrative as many have conceived.

But for Barbour's poem of "The Bruce," we would have known almost as little of the personal history of the hero of Bannockburn, and his extraordinary adventures and hardships at the outset of his career, as we do *historically* of Wallace. Yet Barbour's narrative is scarcely less romantic or incredible than that of the Minstrel. The deeds of personal daring on the part of Bruce are in many instances quite as extraordinary as those of Wallace. They were both men of great personal strength, and highly accomplished in the use of arms; and when it is considered that the advantage in strength lay with Wallace, it is not surprising that the story of his prowess as a whole should exceed that of Bruce. The credit which has been awarded to

Barbour, and withheld from Henry, may be partially accounted for by the fact that the one was a learned, though not a better poet, and could act as his own amanuensis, thus insuring greater accuracy in diction and the minor details of composition, than could be expected from one who was blind, and in some respects uneducated. His calling of a minstrel, too, may have helped to disparage his poem amongst the learned, as the office of the bards fell into disrepute.

It only remains to be stated that, in working out our task, we have necessarily been compelled to go over much of the same ground as Carrick and others, and, while carefully gleaning all that they have adduced, either in fact or argument, we have been sedulous to compare these with the various authorities, and to bring from such other sources what they either did not choose to appropriate, or did not discover. In this way, from the plan adopted, we flatter ourselves that the reader will find in the following pages all that is known of Wallace, arranged in its natural order, so far as that can be ascertained, and illustrated by notes and other explanatory matter, which must prove satisfactory to the reader, whether convinced of the accuracy of certain passages or not. It is not the history of Wallace, according to any individual view, but the history in so far as it can be collected from the only authorities we possess.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

IN preparing this edition of "Wallace and his Times," the author has had much pleasure in making such amendments and improvements as, he trusts, will entitle it to a lasting place among the national works of Scotland. The success of the publication has been extremely flattering, and he has to thank no small portion of the press for the very favourable notices with which the first and second issues were welcomed. In the opinion expressed by an Edinburgh journalist, that the title is too general, the volume being more a history of Wallace than of his times, the author in some measure coincides; still, though admitting this in a limited sense, he does not think it altogether inappropriate. The life of Wallace could not be written without embodying so much at least of the circumstances of the times as brought him into action; and to have done more would have at once led the writer

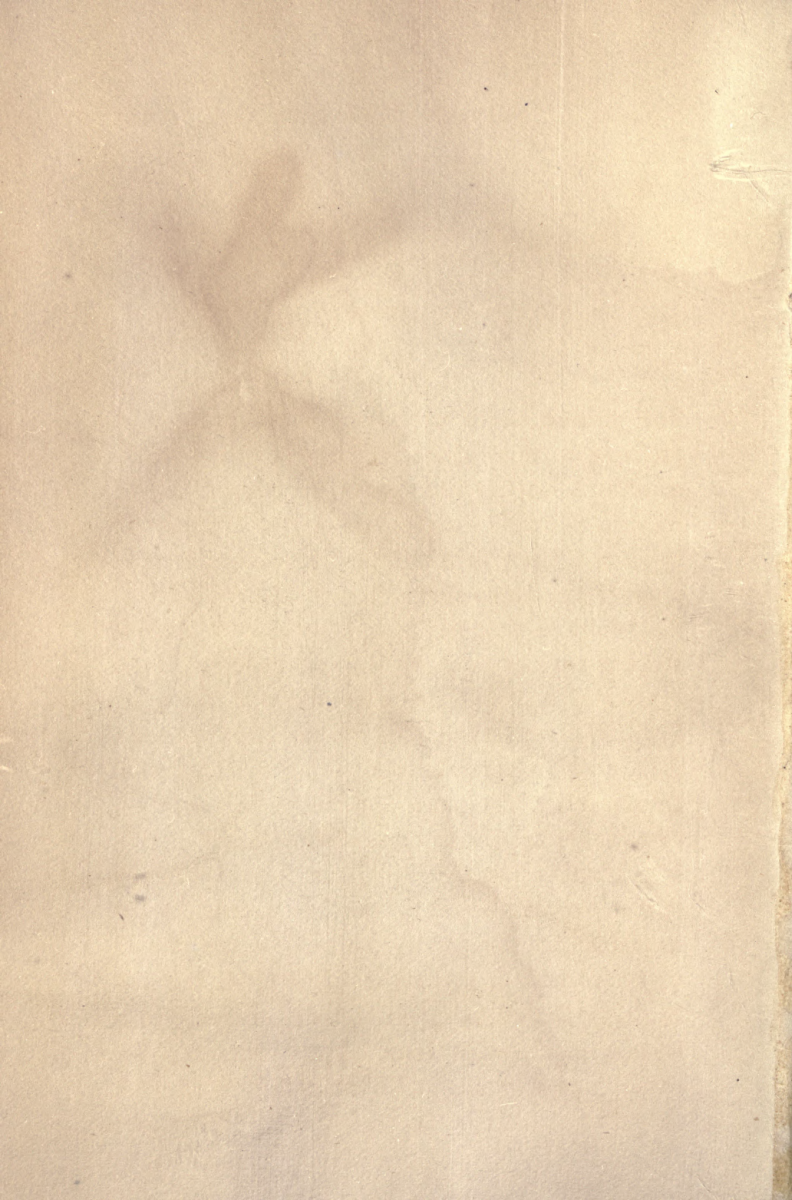
into the wide field of general history, which it was his object to avoid. If it is meant that the work should have been more *sketchy*, more fanciful, a reference to the original preface will show that this also the author wished to avoid. Miss Porter has already done enough in fiction, and so has Carrick, in a historical sense. The author, at the same time, is of opinion that there are not sufficient authentic materials in existence to illustrate the times of Edward of England, and Wallace of Scotland, to draw individual portraits and sketch the character and manners of the age with that breadth and truthfulness which would render such an attempt tolerable. If even Macaulay has not succeeded in *sketching* the history and manners of England during the reigns of William and Mary, without incurring severe and merited criticism, how much more hopeless would be the task to convey a correct idea of those of the thirteenth century! The author has only to remark, that "Wallace and his Times" is not a *romance*, nor even the fancy-sketchings of an enthusiast author, but a plain narrative of those events of the great struggle for Scottish freedom in which Wallace was a chief actor.

An interesting addition to the life of the Scottish patriot will be found at the end of the work, in an account of "*The Kerlies or M'Kerlies of Cruggleton,*"

drawn up almost wholly from original sources. Cruggleton Castle is in Galloway; but so little was known hitherto of the friend and compatriot of Wallace, that even the name and the locality to which he belonged were matters of dispute.

drawn up almost wholly from original sources. The only exception is in the case of the French literature of the French and comparative literature, which in several instances were matters of dispute.





PORTRAIT OF WALLACE.

THE portrait which we have had the pleasure of prefixing to this volume is copied from a valuable painting belonging to ANDREW WAUCHOPE, Esq. of Niddrie-Merschell, in the vicinity of Edinburgh. It is on canvas, in a panelling above the mantel-piece of the large dining-room. The tradition of the family is simply that it represents WALLACE, and has been in the house beyond memory. It is mentioned in inventories respectively of the years 1707, 1711, and 1715. In the earlier of these the picture of "Wallace" occurs as an item by itself. In the latter the name appears in this way:—"2 painted pictures: my brother Wm's and *Wallace's*, in gilt frames;" so that it did not form a panelling at that time, unless the picture last referred to was a different one, now lost sight of. If so, that picture may have been a portrait of Sir William Wallace, Bart., of Craigie, who distinguished himself as a loyalist in the civil wars. He commanded the cavalry under Dundee at Killiecrankie, and although

he had to go abroad for some time, and greatly impaired his estates in support of the Stuarts, he survived for many years afterwards, and was alive in 1712. He married, for his second wife, *Elizabeth*, daughter of Andrew Wauchope, Esq., of Niddrie-Merschell, who died at an advanced age in 1710; and her brother, *James*, tutor of Niddrie, who drew up the inventory in 1715, married *Jean*, daughter of this Sir William Wallace by his first marriage, from which union the present proprietor of Niddrie-Merschell is descended. There was thus a double bond of connexion between the Craigie and Niddrie families, and it is possible that the "picture of Wallace" in "a gilt frame," if a separate one from the "wicht Wallace," might have been a portrait of the knight of Craigie.

Be this as it may, the painting of Wallace in the dining-room is of an older date, and quite different in every respect from the style which prevailed during the era of the cavaliers,* and has, besides, an inscription upon it, importing that it is a portrait of the hero of Scotland. What pretensions it has to be a *bond fide* representation of the champion, we, of course, cannot say. Our opinion is that it

* At Niddrie House there is a good portrait of Dundee and two members of the family, (Cols. John and Francis Wauchope,) who, having fought for King James at home, afterwards rose to great distinction in the service of France and Spain.

has, in some way or other, come from Craigie House, possibly through the double marriage already mentioned, and the close intimacy, political and otherwise, existing between the families of Wallace and Wauchope. If we are right in this conclusion, the painting has the recommendation of having been esteemed by the Craigie-Wallace family; and from the length of time it is known to have been preserved at Niddrie House—upwards of one hundred and fifty years certain—it has at least the merit of not being a *modern fabrication*.

But what makes us think that it has emanated, in some way or other, from a peculiar if not a thoroughly genuine source, is the circumstance that there is another portrait of Wallace, considered original, described in the “Wallace Papers”—a Maitland-Club publication, printed in 1841—as “in the possession of H. P. Wallace, Esq., of Priory Lodge, near Cheltenham.” Of this picture the owner says:—“The portrait was procured in France, by Margaret, Countess of Southesk; and by her presented to an ancestor of mine, Robert Wallace of Holmston,* then Sheriff of Ayrshire. The picture is framed in the remains of the tree called Sir William Wallace’s oak, from the Torwood, Stirlingshire, cut from the stump, 1779, and given

* Holmston is within a mile of Ayr.

to my father, Sir James Dunbar of Mochrum. The picture is in perfect preservation, and a fine representation of a Scotch warrior of the period. In letters at the top of the picture,—‘Gul: Wallas: Scotus: hostium: terror.’ Mr Wallace of Kelly saw the picture in my house some time ago, and knew of nothing to compete with it in originality. It answers to the description of the portrait given by Blind Harry, who alludes to a picture of him in France; but into whose hands such a picture fell is stated to be unknown, at least the probability is that this picture was painted in France, and it is not probable that it was a copy.”

Whether this portrait, though painted in France, is an original or not is questionable. We have never seen it, but there is an engraving from it in “The Pictorial History of Scotland,” upon comparing which with the frontispiece to this volume, it will be seen that both it and the one at Niddrie House, if not a copy the one from the other, must have had a common origin. The portrait in the “Pictorial” engraving conveys the idea of larger proportions—is more gigantic, in other words—than the one at Niddrie; but this effect may have been produced by the engraver, who was possibly imbued with the idea that Wallace was a giant! In this respect the Niddrie portrait has the advantage, be-

ing more natural. The countenance is broader, with less elevation of forehead, and of finer expression. As it is, we cannot help thinking that the two pictures are to some extent corroborative of one another, and as such worthy of more consideration than is usually given to paintings of the Scottish hero. If the Priory Lodge portrait only came into the Holmston family at the time Robert Wallace was Sheriff of Ayrshire, about 1723, the one at Niddrie House has the advantage, in point of age, at least in so far as possession in this country is concerned.

That there was a portrait of Wallace of some kind taken in France seems probable, otherwise the Minstrel could not have described his appearance so accurately. It must also have been conveyed to him in words, for he could not *see* the picture himself, even although it had been brought to Scotland. Prior to the battle of Falkirk, according to Henry, and while the Guardian was in the north pressing the siege of Dundee, a messenger from the King of France landed at the mouth of the Tay, soliciting the aid of Wallace against the English in the province of Guienne. By way of honouring the hero of Scotland, whose fame had travelled over the Continent, the heralds of France sent with the envoy what may perhaps be regarded as an emblazonment of

his deeds and arms, with a "descriptioun" of him *taken there*, while Wallace was on his first visit at the court of Philip; but whether this description was a *painting*, or in words, may be questioned. The Minstrel says:—

"The wyt of France thocht Wallace to commend;
 In to Scotland, with this harrold, thai send
Part off his deid, and als the descriptioun
Off him tane thar, be men of descretioun,
 Clerkis, knychtis, and harroldys, that him saw;
 Bot I hereoff can nocht reherrs thaim aw.
 Wallace statur, off gretness, and of hycht,
 Was jugyt thus, be discretioun off rycht,
 That saw him bath dissemblit and in weid;
 Nyne quartaris large he was in lenth indeid;
 Thryd part lenth in schuldrys braid was he,
 Rycht sembly, strang, and lusty for to se;
 Hys lymmys gret, with stalwart paiss and sound,
 Hys browys hard, his armes gret and round;
 Hys handis maid rycht lik till a pawmer,
 Off manlik mak, with naless gret and cler;
 Proportionyt lang and fayr was his wessage;
 Rycht sad off spech, and abill in curage;
 Braid breyst and heyeh, with sturdy crag and gret;
 Hys lypmys round, his noyss was squar and tret,*
 Bowand bron haryt, on browis and brewis lycht,
 Cler aspre eyn, lik dyamond's brycht.
 Wndyr the chyn, on the left syd, was seyn,
 Be hurt, a wain; his colour was sangweyn.
 Woundis he had, in mony diuerss place,
 Bot fayr and weill kepyt was his face."

According to modern measurement, Wallace would be six feet nine in height, and three feet three in

* Long.

breadth at the shoulders. The painting, it will be found, answers very minutely, so far as the head and bust are concerned. Wallace had auburn hair, inclined to curl, with a sanguine or florid complexion. This seems to have been a characteristic of the Wallace family. A lock of the hair of Mrs James Wauchope, who died in 1715, is still preserved in an escritoir at Niddrie House. It had been cut off, as a memento, after death, by her sorrowing husband, and carefully put aside. The colour is a fine auburn.*

It has been objected to the existence of any *original* portrait of Wallace, that portrait-painting was unknown as an art in Europe in his day; but this is at best only a negative objection. The art of emblazonment was then in full practice, and why not the ability to portray the faces of men as well as animals.† The altarpieces of Trinity Church, now to be seen in Holyrood Palace, prove that good portraits as well as good paintings were not unknown in Scotland in the time of Mary of Gueldres.

* Beside this relic there is another, put up and labelled in the same handwriting, and apparently about the same period, a small quantity of the hair of James VII. The colour is dark, shaded with gray.

† Even in England, in Chaucer's time, there must have been artists of no small ability; for, in "The Knightes Tale," he tells us that the Temple of Diana was

"Depented by the walles up and doun
Of hunting, and shamefast chastetee."

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

EVERY schoolboy now-a-days, fortunately, is made less or more acquainted with the leading events in the history of his country; but there are circumstances connected with the early annals of Scotland, of which school-books do not treat, or treat wrongly; and beyond the more prominent points in the career of Wallace, his life and transactions are almost wholly unknown to history. True, the memory of his deeds is familiar to every Scotsman. Thanks to tradition and the Blind Bard, no patriot and hero ever lived more strongly in the admiration and affection of a people. But the glowing story of the Minstrel has become so obsolete in its orthography and diction, that, but for the modernised version of Hamilton of Gilbertfield, it would have been as thoroughly unknown as are the fine poems of Dunbar to the mass of the people. A few remarks prefatory to the epoch of Wallace, and illustrative of the work of Blind Harry as an authority, may not therefore be out of place.

The early history of Scotland, like that of most other nations, is involved in fable. The true origin of the people has, in consequence, been the subject of much inquiry, and frequently of angry debate, between many of our most learned and able antiquaries. The best supported hypothesis, drawn from the topographical language of the country, and the existence of the Celtic tongue amongst a considerable portion of the people in our own day, with other concurring circumstances, seems to be that the Scots and Picts were originally the same Celtic aborigines of Caledonia, of the same race as the more southern Britons whom the Romans overcame and provincialised; and that the Gothic admixture in blood and language which now so widely prevails arose from the early settlement of the Orkneys and some of the Western Isles by the Northmen, who not only overran but held a considerable portion of Ireland previous to the English conquest. They also not only pressed forward on the mainland of the east of Scotland, but effected a permanent settlement in what was called the *Dane-law* of England, and for years disputed the sovereignty with the Anglo-Saxons. What is called the Scottish dialect, or the language of the Lowland Scots, no doubt originated with this people; and its chief difference from the kindred dialects of Northumberland, Cumberland, Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, &c., may be attributed to its coming more immediately into contact with the Celtic. In England, the Danes drove out or

commingled with the Saxons, a kindred people. In Scotland, on the contrary, they had to press backward or mix with the *Guidhil* or *Gael*. Hence the difference, to some extent, in the physical appearance, as well as speech, of the English and Scottish people.

When, by the union of the Scots and Picts, Kenneth was enabled to overcome, in 975, the British kingdom of Strathclyde, which embraced all the Lowlands south of the Clyde and Forth—save, perhaps, the district called Lothian, which was nominally held by the Saxons*—the whole became attached to the Scottish crown, and great numbers of the Picts, who were chiefly located on the eastern shores of Scotland proper, and now thoroughly intermixed with the Northmen and their descendants, passed over the Forth into the newly-acquired territory. No doubt, many of the Irish Scots from Argyle crossed the Clyde at various points, and settled on the lands of the Britons, a large body of whom are said to have cut their way through the Saxons into Wales after their last fight on “the gory field of Vacornar.” But all Galloway, which then comprehended Dumfriesshire and Ayrshire, had previously been settled by the *Cruithne* or *Picts* of Ulster, originally the same people, so that the eastern counties of the Lowlands were more open to immigration than the western.

* Edwinsburgh (Edinburgh) was formally resigned to the Scottish king in 1020.

The court of the Scottish kings, however, continued to be held north of the Forth. Malcolm Caenmore resided chiefly at Dunfermline, as did several of his successors. David I., while Prince of Cumbria, (the newly-acquired kingdom of Strathclyde,) is known to have lived occasionally at Carlisle, and sometimes at Cadzow Castle, in Lanarkshire, the ruins of which stronghold still exist. He was probably the first of the royal line who permanently took up his residence in the Lowlands.

The conquest of England by William of Normandy in 1066 produced a considerable change north as well as south of the Tweed. Many of the Saxons, as they are styled in history, but who were in reality Northmen from the Dane-law, fled into Scotland, and thus augmented the Gothic population of the Lowlands. Not a few of the Norman chiefs themselves, disgusted with the tyranny of William, made offer of their services to Scotland, which were accepted in the most flattering manner. In this way numerous Norman and Saxon (or rather Danish) barons—a kindred people, being both from Scandinavia—came to be settled in Scotland—north as well as south—under Malcolm Caenmore, Alexander I., and especially during the reign of David I. Even at a much later period such settlements had not altogether ceased. It would be wrong, at the same time, to imagine that the influx of strangers either drove out the old inhabitants, or had any material effect in changing the character or language of the

people. What is now the Scottish language must have been formed prior to this period. The Norman chiefs, as well as their Norman followers, spoke French, which became the court language both of England and Scotland;* and those from the Dane-law might help to extend the Gothic speech of the Scots, but were not numerous enough to change the language of the people, had that language been wholly Celtic.

It is known that the feudal system prevailed in Scotland—perhaps in an imperfect state—before the invasion of England by William, and that lands were gifted by the crown. As a proof of this, there is extant, amongst the charters of the Priory of St Andrews, a grant of the lands of Kyrkenes by Macbeth and Gruoch, his queen, to the Culdees. The language of the pure Scots at this time, as appears from the grant, was Celtic, though, perhaps, somewhat different from modern Gaelic. In describing the boundaries of the land it says, amongst other things: “Item, a pubblica strata que ducit apud Kinhirkethyn, (Inverkeithing,) usque ad saxum Hiberniensium . . . quod Malcolmus Rex, filius Duncan, concessit eis salinagium, quod *Scotice dicitur chonnane.*”† The salt-work was called *chonnane* in

* There are examples of charters *in French*, so late as the reign of Robert I. A grant of the lands of Barns and Place Moylin, near Haddington, to Alexander Seyton, is in that language.

† “Origin of the Scots and the Scottish Language.” Edinburgh: Nimmo, 1858.

the Scottish language, but that word is not to be found in the Gaelic dictionaries of the present day, and the inference is, that it may belong to the Pictish dialect of the Gaelic. At the same time, from the name of the lands, *Kirkness*, it is evident that the Gothic language of Scotland had made progress at that early period. The expression, "saxum Hiberniense," the *Irishmen's Stone*, is also curious, as shewing that the Argyleshire Highlanders, to whom it no doubt refers, were called Irishmen, from their descent from the Dalriadians, in contradistinction to the old Scots of the country. The grant is thus valuable as proving three things—that the Scots spoke Celtic—that the language of the Lowland Scots was then in existence—and that the Scots, as a body, were not from Ireland, as some historians hold. It is a curious fact that certain names were common to the Picts of Galloway, who were of the Cruithne of Ulster, and the Picts of Fife, and east of Drumalbin. The first husband of the Countess of Carrick, mother of Robert the Bruce, was *Adam de Kilconceath*.* In Fife there is a place called *Kilconquhar*,—the Cell or Church of *Conacher*—and near Dunkeld there has long been a small clan called *Conacher*,† which is just another

* His death is thus noticed in the "Chronicle of Melrose :"—
"Obit Adam de Kilconceath, comes de Karryc, in Acconia, cujus uxorem, committissam de Karryc, postea junior Robertus de Bruys accepit in sponsam," 1270.

† In Mackay's "History of the House and Clan of Mackay," a tradition is mentioned that the Forbesees and Mackays sprang

mode of spelling and pronouncing the *Kilconcath* or *Concath* of Carrick and Fife. The inference to be drawn from this is, that the Picts of Pictavia in Scotland, and the Cruithne of Ulster, now of Gallogway, were one and the same people—the Ulster Picts having originally passed over to Ireland from Scotland.

The near proximity of so powerful and ambitious a neighbour as William the Conqueror, naturally induced the Scottish kings to strengthen their military system, and they could not have acted more wisely than by receiving with open arms such of

from the same progenitor, whose name was *Ochonacher*. He is said to have been in the army which William the Lion brought “from the Hebrides and the West of Scotland, from Kintyre northward, including a considerable body from Ireland,” against Harold, Earl of Orkney and Caithness, toward the close of the twelfth century. But little faith can be placed on a tradition so vague as this. If he was the immediate ancestor of *John* and *Alexander*—the heads of the respective branches of *Forbes* and *Mackay*—it is rather curious that his own name should be lost sight of in these two great families, and survive only in the small clan of the *Conachers*, which has long existed in the vicinity of Dunkeld. One of them is mentioned by Sir Walter Scott as having taken part in the celebrated clan battle on the Inch of Perth, in the reign of Robert III., in 1392; and another, *Angus Conacher*, was the author of a medical MS., written at Ardconel, Lochawside, Argyleshire, in 1612, now in possession of the Highland Society. But whether the Conachers are derived from this fabulous Irish Ochonacher or not, it is evident that Kilconcath in Carrick, and Kilconquhar in Fife, must have had some other and an earlier origin. The name of Ochonacher, (*James Ochonacher*;) it may be remarked, occurs in the session-books of Dundee so late as 1660.

William's followers as chose to desert his standard. By so doing they weakened their neighbour while they strengthened themselves, and introduced amongst their subjects the example of men of mark, who had been nursed in the chivalrous feelings and practices of the leading nations of Europe.

After St David's time, who closed his reign in 1153, a considerable period of peace was enjoyed, interrupted only by the expedition of William the Lion into England, during which he was surprised and taken prisoner. Scotland, it is universally admitted, made great progress in agriculture and commerce, and became wealthy. Any one will be convinced of this who consults Fordun, the "Foedra," Macpherson's "Annals of Commerce," &c. Berwick was the great emporium of our foreign traffic, and vessels of unusual size were built even as far north as Inverness. Such were the resources of Scotland in 1244, that Alexander II. was enabled to lead an army of 100,000 foot, with 3000 cavalry, to the borders of England, for the purpose of repelling a threatened invasion by Henry III., but which was amicably averted by treaty. Under Alexander III., the nation attained to unexampled prosperity. That monarch paid great attention to agriculture; and his chamberlain's rolls, or accounts, in many instances attest the affluent state of his exchequer. The splendour of his army, at the celebrated battle of Largs, in 1263, where the pretensions of the

Northmen were silenced for ever, was the theme of even the enemy's praise. And on such good terms were England and Scotland, that Alexander III., who married the Princess Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry III., furnished that monarch, in 1264, when he and Prince Edward were so pressed by the Earl of Gloucester and other barons that the Tower of London was besieged, with an army of 30,000 men, with which he was enabled to subdue his rebellious subjects. Though much friendly intercourse prevailed between the two countries at this time, it must not be forgotten that Henry III. entertained very ambitious views towards Scotland, which the firmness of Alexander alone prevented him from putting into execution. In paying homage to his father-in-law for the lands he held in England, during the marriage festival at York, the boy king, with much dignity and firmness, repudiated the proposition, insidiously proposed by Henry, to do homage also for his kingdom; and in all his intercourse with England, care was specially taken that nothing should be construed into an acknowledgment of feudal dependence upon the sister country. By his firmness in this particular, and the union and strength of the Scots at the time, he completely baffled all those attempts to claim the feudal supremacy of Scotland,—attempts so grievously put in force by Edward I., Henry's son and successor. The death of Alexander III. in 1285, followed soon afterwards by that of his grand-daughter, "the Maiden

of Norway," exposed the country to the utmost distraction and ruin. As the ancient song, preserved by Wyntoun, has it:—

“Quhen Alysandyr, oure kyng, wes dede,
 That Scotland led in luive and le,
 Away wes sons * of ale and brede,
 Of wyne and wax, of gamyn and gle:
 Oure gold wes changyd into lede—
 Cryst, borne into virgynte,
 Succour Scotland, and remede,
 That stad is in perplexyte.”

By the way, it may be remarked that this relic of the thirteenth century is in itself an evidence of the great progress which had been made by Scotland in the literature of the Gothic Scots. There is nothing in the English of the same age at all to be compared with it, either in point of language or as a poetical conception; a pretty good argument that our Lowland tongue was *not derived from England*.

By this failure of the line of Alexander III., the succession devolved upon the heirs of David, Earl of Huntingdon, youngest son of David I., of whom *John Baliol*, *Robert Bruce*, and *John Hastings*, were the representatives, being the issue respectively of his three daughters. In this “perplexyte,” six regents were appointed to rule Scotland during the competition between the candidates. These were Robert, Archbishop of Glasgow, John Cumin, and John the Great Steward of Scotland, for the south side of the Forth; Macduff, Earl of Fife, John

* Plenty.

Cumin, Earl of Buchan, and William Fraser, Archbishop of St Andrews, for the north side. For two years after the death of the king, a civil war raged between the factions of Bruce and Baliol, a fact not generally known to history.*

In an evil hour the competitors agreed to submit their claims to Edward I., who, reviving the often-exploded plea of vassalship to England, undertook the task of umpire, on condition that he should be acknowledged as Lord Paramount of Scotland. This plea had its foundation in the capture of William the Lion, who invaded England in 1174, and was surprised and taken by the Barons of Yorkshire, with 400 horsemen. To obtain his liberty, the Barons of Scotland agreed to the proposal of Henry that he should become his *liegeman for Scotland*, as well as his other territories. Henry died in 1189, and was succeeded by Richard *Cœur de Lion*, who, with the view of proceeding on a crusade to the Holy Land, deemed it prudent to restore to William the castles of Roxburgh and Berwick, which he held as a guarantee of his vassalship, and to relieve him of all such servitude in future, save for the lands which he held of the crown in England. This he did for the consideration of £10,000, and the security which the gracious act afforded to his own kingdom during his absence. This agreement between Richard and William settled the question for ever. It was therefore mere pretence on the

* Tytler's "History of Scotland."

part of Edward to revive this claim, to cover the ultimate designs which he entertained and subsequently put in operation to reduce Scotland to thorough servitude. As Sir Walter Scott contended in the *Quarterly Review*, no English monarch ever was in possession of the country so as "to create a fief as a feudal dependence." It is worthy of remark, at the same time, that it was not the nation at large that submitted to Edward's plea of supremacy, but simply the claimants themselves. They were willing to accept the crown upon his own terms, but in this they did not consult the will of the people, and no parliament was called to sanction their resolution. When Baliol subsequently renounced his allegiance to Edward, it was his own renouncement; Scotland, as a kingdom, stood in the position of never having undertaken the obligations of vassalship to the English crown. Fordun, Barbour, and Wynthoun, represent Bruce (grandfather of the hero of Bannockburn) as having had the first offer of the Scottish crown, but that he would not have it as the vassal of England. The documents produced by Palgrave, in his illustrations of Scottish History, shew that this was a popular error. But as the correspondence of the Bruce party on the subject was, of course, secret, these historians could have no means of ascertaining the truth. Bruce, the competitor, was a Norman baron, holding large possessions in England, with which he was as much identified as he was with Scotland. His grandson,

Robert the Bruce, however, inherited, through his mother, not only the blood, but the estates of the old Earls of Carrick, and it is evident that, from a very early period, he had secretly resolved upon espousing the national cause, and asserting his right to the crown.

It is of little moment what were the precise arguments put forward by *Baliol* and *Bruce*, in support of their respective claims. *Baliol* was the great-grandson of the eldest daughter, and *Bruce* the grandson of the youngest. As is well known, Edward, after the most protracted and capricious deliberation, decided in favour of *John Baliol*; and he decided correctly, according to our modern notions of succession; but at that time the matter was not so well understood. *Bruce*, being the *grandson*, and *Baliol* the *great-grandson*, it was held by many, on the old Celtic principle, that he was nearest in degree to the main stock, though by a younger daughter. As Blind Harry has it:—

“Our prynce Dawy, the Erle of Huntyntoun,
Thre dochtrys had that war of gret renoun;
Off quhilk thre com, Bruce, Balyoune, and Hastyng;
Twa of the thre desyryt to be kyng.
Balyoune clamyt of fyrst gre lynialy;
And Bruce fyrst male of the secund gre by.”

The right of *Bruce*, besides, had been recognised by the Estates in the reign of Alexander II.*

Baliol ascended the throne of Scotland as the

* The documents connected with this historical fact were first published by the Record Commission in 1837.

liegeman of Edward I. in 1293. And now it happened that the policy pursued by the Scottish kings, from the time of Malcolm Caenmore downwards, in bestowing lands and honours upon the disaffected Normans and Saxons of England, became a source of weakness in place of strength to the country. But this they could hardly have been expected to foresee. The oldest of these barons had not been planted in Scotland much above two hundred years, many of them not half that time, and not a few were only of recent transplanting, while the more influential of them held lands in both kingdoms. It was therefore of comparatively little importance to them in what way the crown of Scotland was settled, or whether there was a crown at all in Scotland, since they might as well be vassals to Edward for all their lands as a portion of them. Scotland was no more to them than England, so that the tenure of their lands was secure. Under these circumstances they had only to range themselves on the side of their friends, or that which they deemed the strongest, in the coming struggle, quite irrespective of the independence or honour of the country; and when we reflect that nearly all the great baronies, and principal offices of hereditary trust, were in the hands of such adventurers, it will appear the more surprising how the people of Scotland were enabled to surmount the complication of difficulties by which the national existence was borne down. Not only so, but the burden of resistance, especially in Wallace's

time, fell chiefly on the inhabitants of the Lowlands north and south of the Clyde. The Highlanders, with the exception of a portion of the west Highlanders, under Sir Neil Campbell of Lochow, more secure in their fastnesses, took little interest in the struggle. On the contrary, many of them, such as the Macdougals of Lorn, espoused the opposite side. Had the timeserving barons kept aloof altogether it would have fared much better with Scotland; but many of them took an active part in attempting to manacle the nation. Nor were they without mercenary motives in doing so. According to the *Rotuli Scotiæ*, the following parties were to have lands to the annual value of £100 each, on condition that the kingdom of Scotland should continue in the possession of the English crown:—the Bishop of Glasgow, James the Steward, Patrick Earl of Dunbar, William Sinclair, Patrick de Graham. John de Soulis was to have lands to the annual value of 100 merks, and John Camyn had a gift of the large sum of £1563, 14s. 6½d. Nothing but the most indomitable courage and perseverance on the part of the people, headed by leaders springing wholly or partially from the old inhabitants, or who had thoroughly identified themselves with the land of their adoption, could have thwarted the Edwards in their magnificent attempts to add Scotland to the crown of England.

One of the first and most patriotic of these leaders was the ever-memorable SIR WILLIAM WALLACE,

KNIGHT OF ELLERSLIE, with respect to whom Burns has well expressed the warmth of national feeling—

“At Wallace’ name, what Scottish blood
But boils up in a spring-tide flood?”

Curiously enough, for what is known of this great man we have but little occasion to thank history. While he lived, and for some time afterwards, the country was so distracted that historical, or any other kind of literary composition, was hardly to be looked for; and those historians who subsequently undertook to record the events of that period, touched but slightly the interesting narrative involved in the career of the hero. For ages after his death the country appears to have been so full of traditional stories respecting his extraordinary deeds that it seemed somewhat superfluous to attempt a narrative of them. It is possible, also, that the jealousy with which he was regarded by many of the nobility may have helped to smother for a time the light which the annalist might have thrown upon his career. Bruce, who finished what Wallace had begun, was fortunate in having Barbour for his chronicler. Barbour’s poem, “The Bruce,” was finished, it is believed, in 1375, only some twenty-three years after the death of the king himself. Wyntoun, whose “Cronykil” was finished in 1424, quotes somewhat largely from Barbour, and excuses himself from writing on the same subject, after the able manner in which it had been handled by his predecessor.

In a similar feeling, referring to the deeds of Wallace, he says—

“Of his gud dedis and manhad,
Gret gestis, I hard say, ar made;
 But sa' mony, I trow noucht,
 As he in-till hys dayis wroucht.
 Quha all hys dedis of prys wald dyte
 Hym worthyd a gret buk to wryte;
 And all thai to wryte in here,
 I want bathe wyt and gud leisure.”

It has been supposed that the *gestis*, or tales, alluded to were Fordun's *Scoti-Chronicon*, which Wyntoun had not seen, or the prose account of Wallace by Blair. Henry's poem of “Wallace” was not written for thirty-six years after “The Bruce,” and it is possible that the author was induced to compose it, not only from the example of Barbour, but from the language of the *Cronykil* itself. The account given by Wyntoun and that of Henry, in reference to the quarrel between Wallace and the English at Lanark, bear such an affinity as could hardly be the result of accident, “leaving no room to doubt,” says Carriek, in his “Life of Sir William Wallace,” “that either the two authors must have drawn their materials from the same source, or that Henry, having heard Wyntoun's version of the story, considered it so near the original as to leave little to be corrected.” Henry himself says that his poem is a true rendering of the “fayr Latyn” of “Maister Blayr,” chaplain or companion to Wallace:—

" Off Wallace lyff quha has a forthar feill,
 May schaw furth mair with wit and eloquence,
 For I to this haiff don my diligence,
 Eftyr the pruff geffyn fra the Latyn buk,
 Quhilk Maister Blair in his tym undyrtuk,
 In fayr Latyn compild it till ane end ;
 With thir witnes the mar is to commend.
 Byschop Synclar than lord was of Dunkell,
 He gat this buk, and confirmed it himsell,
 For werray trew ; thar off he had no dreid,
 Himself had seen great part of Wallace deid.
 His purpos was till have send it to Rom,
 And fadyr off kyrk tharon to gyff his dom.
 But Maister Blayr, and als Sir Thomas Gray,
 Eftir Wallace thai lestit mony day,
 Thir twa knew best off gud Schir Wilyhamy's deid,
 Fra senteyn yir quhill nyne and twenty yeid,
 Fourty and fyve off age Wallace was cauld,
 That tym that he was to [the] Southeroun sauld.

I suld have thank, sen I nocht trawail spared ;
 For my labour na man hecht me reward ;
 Na charge I had off King nor othir lord ;
 Gret harm I thocht his gud deid suld be smord.
 I haiff sed her ner as the process gais ;
 And fenyeid nocht for friendschip nor for fais."

It does not appear that the author was in any way indebted to the family of Wallace for his information. On the contrary, he only alludes to them by way of apology for a misstatement into which he was led :—

" Bot in a poynt, I grant, I said amyss,
 Thir twa knychtis suld blamyt be for this,
 The knycht Wallas, off Craggé rychtowys lord,
 And Liddaill als, gert me mak [wrang] ecord.

On Allyrton mur the crown he tuk a day,
 To get battaill, as myn autor will say.
 Thir twa gert me say that ane othir wyss;
 Till Maister Blayr we did sum part off dispyss."

The statement of Henry thus bears the innate stamp of truth upon it. The Latin history of Wallace by Blair is not extant; but that it existed no one can doubt.* The passage in Wyntoun amounts to a proof of this. Besides, there was no occasion for the author inventing such a story. It would have been sufficient authority for him that he embodied such facts as he might have found in Fordun, and the narratives which were everywhere current of the amazing deeds of Wallace. No such length of time had elapsed as to render these fabulous, and many persons living could have set the Bard right where his information was at fault.

Very little is known as to the patriotic author of "Wallace" himself, and for that little we are indebted to Major, the historian, who says:—"Henry, who was blind from his birth, in the time of my infancy, composed the whole book of *William*

* Thomas Chalmers, author of a "History of the House of Douglas," speaks as if he had seen the work of Blair. In reference to Blind Harry's version, he says, "It is paraphrastically turned into English rhyme, the interpreter expressing the main body of the story very truly; howsomever, missing or mistaking some circumstances." *Arnaldi Blair*, whose *Relationes* (1327) have been published by Sir Robert Sibbald, is made to assume the title of chaplain to the knight of Ellerslie; but his statements have evidently been made up from Fordun, and they could not be the source from whence the Minstrel obtained his information.

Wallace; and committed to writing, in vulgar poetry, in which he was well skilled, the things that were commonly related of him. For my own part, I give only partial credit to writings of this description. By the recitation of these, however, in the presence of men of the highest rank, he procured, as he indeed deserved, food and raiment." This is perhaps as candid and kind a notice of the Minstrel as could well be expected from one who wrote in the language of the learned. He did not mean that the poetry of Henry was vulgar, though he wrote in the vulgar or vernacular language—nay, he positively says that in that kind of composition he was well skilled. Major does not seem to have known that Henry drew his facts from Blair's MS., and believing what he states, that he committed to writing "the things commonly related of him," we need not wonder at his caution in saying that he gave "only partial credit to writings of this description." He describes Henry as a minstrel, but certainly one of the highest rank. Major is supposed to have been born in 1469, consequently Henry composed his "Wallace" about 1470, or a few years later.

The fact of Henry being a minstrel and blind, no doubt tended to detract from the poem as a work of authority. But there is no good ground for this, in so far as the main facts are concerned. He is allowed to have had more poetical talent than either Barbour or Wyntoun, and perhaps his genius may have heightened the colouring of what he depicts.

But although the scepticism of Major has been followed in modern times by such critics as Lord Hailes, it is certainly gratifying to find a growing disposition at last to rank Henry as an authority, side by side with Barbour and Wyntoun. His blindness, and the necessity of employing an amanuensis, seemed much against him ; and certainly, in some passages, his verses lack the polish or accuracy of expression which probably would not otherwise have marred them ; this may be owing to errors of transcription, but his case is by no means without a parallel. At the close of the same century was born *Robert Wauchop*, a younger son of the Laird of Niddrie-Merschell. He was blind, or nearly so, from his birth, yet rose to be Archbishop of Armagh, and one of the Pope's Legates. He was esteemed one of the most able men of his time, whether as a divine or an ambassador. He was present at the celebrated Council of Trent, and published a full account of its protracted sittings. He died in 1551. All his learning was acquired through the verbal communication of others, there being no books for the blind in those days.

The late Dr Jamieson's edition of "The Bruce," and "Wallace," printed from MSS. respectively of 1488 and 1489, by Dean Ramsay, now in the Advocates' Library, did much to place the author of "Wallace" in his proper position as an authority. This work appeared in 1820. Not only is the poem carefully revised, but the introduction and notes all

tend to confirm the main statements of the Minstrel. But, in addition to this, the "Wallace Papers," contributed by Joseph Stevenson of Durham, one of the Sub-Commissioners of Public Records, and published by the Maitland Club in 1841, prove, by documents which he has brought to light, that the narrative of Blind Harry, in some of the disputed passages, is substantially correct. One of the points most doubted—that Wallace ever visited the Continent—is placed beyond doubt by a letter recommending Wallace, from Philip of France, addressed to his agents in Rome. Philip, who was anxious to conclude a peace with Edward at this time, seems to have played fast and loose with Wallace and his country: and though he did not hand him over to Edward, as he once proposed, Scotland, like Flanders, was excluded from the treaty between crowned heads.

Another point warmly contended against by Lord Hailes—the betrayal of Wallace by Menteith—is set at rest by documents in the Chapter House, which shew that £1100 of sterling money was given for the capture of the hero,* and of this sum £100 was expended in the purchase of land as a reward for Menteith. In short, the terms of the sentence pronounced against Wallace, which is given at length in the publication by the Maitland Club, contain in themselves a sort of general outline of the main facts in the narrative by the Minstrel.

* This was a very considerable sum, taking the difference in the value of money then and now.

It is perhaps not of much importance to allude to the social condition of the people, in relation to one another, during the era of Wallace. Suffice it to say, that it was pretty much the same as in other feudal countries at the time. The baron, who held his lands from the crown, had the right of what is called, in law phrase, "pit and gallows,"* and was the king's vassal. Those who held their lands by charter from the baron were his vassals, and owed him fealty. The common people were divided into classes—the free and the unfree. The former, if they cultivated land on their own account, were termed, in legal documents, *husbandi*, or husbandmen; if for hire as labourers, they were designated *cotarii* or *cotagii*; if as hinds, the *servi*. The latter were slaves, bound to the lands, with which they were bought and sold, and could only obtain their freedom by gift or purchase. Unlike the slaves, however, of modern times, they were allowed to acquire property. Wyntoun, in describing the institution of the "ox-gang" by Alexander III., thus mentions the three grades:—

" *Yhwmen*, pewere *Karl*, or *Knawe*,
 Dat wes of mycht an ox til hawe,
 He gert that man hawe part in pluche;
 Swa wes corne in his land enwche;
 Swa than begowth, and eftyr lang
 Of land was mesure, ane ox-gang."

From this state of society it is evident that the

* There was a distinction in this respect between what were termed the great and lesser barons.

baron, or over-lord, had immense power. If circumstances threw him into rebellion, or if he espoused the cause of the invader, in place of supporting that of his country, he usually carried all his vassals and people with him—hence it is that such traitors as Cospatrick of Dunbar, whom Wallace was so anxious to gain over to the national party, could do so much mischief. There was, however, an important body of freemen in the towns, who, even in the thirteenth century, especially in the royal burghs, had begun to exercise considerable influence. Yet, notwithstanding, it is apparent that, without the co-operation of the great lords, it was impossible even for the king himself, in emergencies, to avail himself of the entire forces of his kingdom. The difficulties of Wallace, either violently opposed, or not supported by most of the great barons, may easily be conceived: and our astonishment is correspondingly excited when we think of his having accomplished so much.

In his time warriors like himself were usually clothed in mail, light or otherwise. Common men wore only a head-piece, a *jack* for the body, with plaited sleeves. The arms were swords, spears, dirks, bows, &c.

It may not, perhaps, be amiss to glance a little at the state of England at the time the great struggle commenced with Scotland. For perhaps the greater part of a century after the advent of William the Conqueror in 1066, a sort of agrarian war was

maintained by the Saxons, in isolated bodies, against their Norman oppressors, but this spirit of insubordination had been extinguished long before the era of Edward Longshanks. The barons themselves had found it necessary, in order to check the license of the crown, to stand forward in the vindication of what may be deemed popular rights. Magna Charta, signed at Runemede by King John, in 1215, is a proof of this. Both the lay and ecclesiastical dignitaries were opposed to the king, and in favour of the restoration of the old Saxon usages. It is therefore absurd to maintain, as some writers have recently done, in periodicals and elsewhere, that the war of independence in Scotland was just an extension of the spirit of Saxon resistance to Norman rule, and that the English people were not hearty in carrying hostilities north of the Tweed. There never was a more absurd perversion of historical facts. The disputes between Henry III., who succeeded King John, and his subjects, arose chiefly out of his evasion of the Great Charter; and had it not been for the timely aid afforded him and his son, Edward, by the Scottish king, Alexander III., when thirty thousand men crossed the Tweed to assist them, it is difficult to say what might have been the consequence. There was no sympathy here for the *Saxon* in opposition to the *Norman*. It is ridiculous, therefore, to say that such a feeling nerved the arm of Wallace in the succeeding reign. Henry, though ambitious, was a weak king. His

son, Edward, however, was of sterner mould, and he carried matters with a bolder hand. He had succeeded in reducing the Welsh to entire subjection. Ireland obeyed his royal behest; and, like his father, he had long entertained the idea of annexing Scotland to his diadem. He was also lord of Aquitaine, in France, which he held as a vassal of the French monarch. Edward was thus a prince of vast possessions and power, and he must have regarded the conquest of Scotland as a matter of easy accomplishment, should he not succeed in gaining his purpose by artifice.

It so happened, however, that his lordship in France brought him into trouble. A dispute between some Norman and English seamen at Bayonne gave rise to a system of piratical reprisals at sea, in which the English were joined by the Dutch, and great injury was sustained by the French merchantmen. At length Philip of France summoned his vassal, Edward I., to appear at Paris, and answer for his offence. Declining to do so, his property of Aquitaine was forfeited, and his castles and cities seized by the French. Edward prepared for war against France, (1294,) and it was his demand upon Baliol, as his liegeman, to attend him with a Scottish army against Philip, that thoroughly aroused that monarch and the Scots to a sense of the position in which he had placed the country by acknowledging Edward as his lord-paramount. Taking advantage of the broil with France, the Welsh broke out into

insurrection, but they were premature; and the army which Edward was about to carry into France was directed against Wales in such a manner as speedily put down the hostile movement, Edward inflicting a terrible retribution. The wars thus carried on in Guienne, Wales, and Scotland drained the exchequer so thoroughly, that he had recourse to extraordinary levies, thus violating the Great Charter of King John in one of its most vital principles. At length the clergy, barons, and merchants, who, of course, suffered the most by these exactions, were roused to actual resistance. In 1297, when about to lead two armies into France, the Earls of Hereford and Norfolk refused to leave England; and angry words passing between Edward and Norfolk, the latter left the field, with fifteen hundred lances. In this way Edward was repeatedly checkmated by his barons, not only in his war with France, but in that with Scotland—the barons refusing to grant supplies, or to march against the enemy until their demands were complied with. The haughty Edward had often to bend to his subjects in emergencies of this kind, and an extension of popular freedom was wrung from him under the pressure of necessity. But, these concessions obtained, his barons and their vassals were equally hearty with the monarch in their ambitious views of conquest. They ravaged Scotland with a rapacity which never could have been inflicted by a reluctant soldiery. It is impossible, in short, to trace the slightest sympathy be-

tween the inhabitants of the two countries, throughout the whole war of independence, arising out of any common Saxon feeling as opposed to Norman supremacy. If there is anything discoverable at all in the form of sympathy, it is to be found amongst the Norman barons of both countries; not arising, however, from any particular enmity to the people, but simply from a desire to maintain their possessions. If the war with Scotland helped to increase and extend the liberties of England, it was simply because it so impaired the exchequer with Edward as to reduce him to the necessity of abridging the privileges of the crown that he might obtain the means of carrying out his ambitious projects. The protracted resistance of the Scots was practically beneficial to English liberty, but it is by no means traceable to any common sentiment of Saxon against Norman. So much was the pressure of the war with Scotland felt, that Edward had to abandon, by treaty, all that his ambition cherished in France, that he might be able to direct the whole of his vast resources against Scotland.

CHAPTER II.

THE YOUTH-HOOD OF WALLACE.

GENEALOGISTS, in tracing the family of Wallace, have brought them, like the ancestors of most other barons, from Normandy. One Eimerus Galleius occurs as a witness to the foundation charter of the Abbey of Kelso, about 1128, and he is supposed to have been the father of Richard Walence or Waleys, one of the witnesses to the charter of Paisley Abbey, founded by Walter, High Steward of Scotland, in 1169. This Richard held extensive possessions in Kyle. Carrick, in his "Life of Wallace," follows this idea of the origin of the family. But the name is found repeatedly in English documents as Walens or Waleis, and, as explained in the "Wallace Papers," it simply means a Welshman or a Briton. Kyle is well known to have been one of the principal seats of the old British race during the existence of the Strathclyde kingdom; and the natives, after the conquest by the Scots and Picts united, were called, like the same race in England, *Walenses*. It thus needs no *Eimerus Galleius*, of the Kelso charter, to

father the Wallace family. The name, as it appears in charters, is Walence or Waleys, and the first Richard, or his predecessors, may have been of the old British, or Welsh, race of Ayrshire. It is quite a mistake to suppose that the great lords, such as the High Steward, invariably supplanted the old race by giving grants of the land to vassals who followed them from England. In most cases, except where the land was really without inhabitants, they were merely created over-lords, the old inhabitants still retaining their possessions.

It is thus by no means a stretched derivation of the Wallace family to suppose that they were chiefs of the old British tribes who had possessed lands in Ayrshire, in the days of the somewhat fabulous "King Cowl," and that they became vassals of the Stewards, in conformity with the new policy of the times. Indeed, it is hardly possible to account otherwise for their large possessions, and the number of their name, in Ayrshire. If they only appear for the first time in the latter half of the twelfth century, is it likely they could have spread out so widely as to hold not only Riccarton, but the extensive heritages of Auchincruive and Sundrum in the thirteenth? The greater portion of both Kyle Stewart and King's Kyle seems to have belonged to the Wallaces. Auchincruive and Sundrum passed to the Cathcarts by marriage, but there were the Wallaces of Cairnhill, Shewalton, Failford, Burnbank, Barnweil, Dundonald, Brighthouse,

Helington, Galrigs, Camceskan, Holmeston, &c. in Ayrshire; and Ellerslie, Johnston, and Ferguslie, in Renfrewshire. It is quite possible, also, that the descent of Wallace from the old stock of the inhabitants, in contradistinction to the recently-settled barons, had some influence in exciting the stern resistance of the patriot, and drawing the people around him. Be this as it may, Richard Walence or Waleys is the first identified in charters as the ancestor of the Wallace family. His castle stood on the banks of the Irvine, at a village called Riccarton, near Kilmarnock, supposed to have been so denominated from his name, Richard-toun, and to have grown up under the protection and encouragement of the manor-place. *Richard* is said to have been succeeded by another *Richard*, of whom nothing is known but that he was contemporaneous with the second Walter the Steward; but this is by no means satisfactory, for the first Richard also occurs in a confirmation charter to the Abbey of Melrose by the second Walter, and the two Richards may be one and the same. Henry Wallace, believed to have been a younger brother of the second Richard, acquired some lands in Renfrewshire early in the thirteenth century; but he was more probably the son of the second Richard. Adam Waleys, living in 1259, is said to have had two sons, Adam and Malcolm, the first of whom succeeded him, and the second obtained Ellerslie. A "Genealogie of the Family of Craigie-Wallace," in

MS., dated 1719,* states the matter differently. "Sir *Richard*," it says, "was son to Adam Wallace of Riccarton. He had only one brother, *Malcolm*, who gott the ffive pound land of Ellerslie, in portion natural, holding by ward and releife of the family of Riccarton, and afterwards it held in the same manner of Craigie, after the two familys were joined in one." There are some discrepancies in names and statements by the various inquirers into the early descent of the Wallace family, but the above seems to be the true account, and it agrees with Blind Harry, who says—

"Schir Ranald knew weill a mar quiet sted,
 Quhar Wilyham mycht be better fra their fede,
 With his Wncle Wallus of Ricardtoun,
 Schir *Richard* hecht, that gud knight of renown."

The MS. further says, "This Malcolm married Jean Crawford, daughter to Sir Ronald Crawford of Crosbie, Sheriff of Ayr, upon whom he begott the famous and valiant champion Sir William Wallace of Ellerslie, whose memorie is eterniz'd for valour and loyalty. . . . Beyond Adam Wallace of Riccartoun there is little of certainty clearly instructed, only by fragments of writes and seals, and the rank which it has always borne in the country. It is reputed to be amongst the antientest familys contained in one name within the Kingdom of Scotland." Malcolm of Ellerslie had three sons, Sir Malcolm,

* Charter-chest of the Wauchopes of Niddrie-Merschell. This genealogy is similar in substance to the account printed in the "Wallace Papers."

Sir William, (the hero of Scotland,) and *John*. Some genealogists call the eldest son Andrew, on the authority of Fordun, but the Minstrel uniformly styles him Malcolm, and we are inclined to think he is right, the eldest son being generally named after the father. He is also said to have been killed, along with his father, in a skirmish with the English; but Wyntoun affirms differently—

“ His eldare brodyre the herytage
Had, and joyced in his dayis; ”

so that, according to this author, although he may have been slain by the English, it must have been subsequently to the death of his father. John, the younger son, was executed by the English in 1307.

Sir William Wallace was born before the demise of Alexander III.; and Carrick presumes that he was thirty-five years of age when betrayed in 1305. If so, it follows that he must have been born about 1270. Blind Harry says he was called forty-five when executed, but this is inconsistent with other passages of the poem, and Carrick supposes it to have been an error of the scribe in writing *forty* in place of *thirty*. He would thus have reached the age of twenty-seven before he appears in history. The point, however, is still doubtful.

It is said, upon the authority of Fordun, that the early years of Wallace were spent with an uncle, a wealthy ecclesiastic at Dunipace, by whom his mind was richly stored with the classic literature of the time. Blind Harry says nothing of this circum-

stance. After the surrender of the Six Guardians of Scotland on the 11th of June 1291, Edward assumed the character of Lord-paramount of Scotland, and issued an edict demanding the universal homage of the people. Determined to risk all penalties rather than bend to the usurper, Sir Malcolm Wallace of Ellerslie fled with his eldest son to the fastnesses of the Lennox, Dumbartonshire, and his lady proceeded with the youthful hero to the house of an aged relative, Crawford of Kilspindie, in Gowry, by whom she was well received. Nothing is said by Blind Harry of the younger son, John, but possibly he was at Kilspindie also.

While his mother resided at Kilspindie, Wallace was sent to the school at Dundee. Schools at that time were attached to the monasteries, or other religious houses, and were designed wholly for the education of such of the upper classes as chose to take advantage of them, and for ecclesiastics and other professional persons. If Carrick is correct in his estimate of the age of Wallace at his death, he must have been twenty years of age at this time, which is rather inconsistent with the manner in which Blind Harry speaks of "hys tendyr age." The probability is that he was some years younger; for afterwards, when he

"In armys syne did mony hie waslage,"

the Minstrel describes him as of age "but aughtene yer auld."*

* The editor of the Perth edition of Wallace guesses his age to have been sixteen.

said that he became acquainted with John Blair, his future chaplain and historian.

At this time Edward held cruel sway over Scotland. His soldiers invaded all the garrison towns, and exercised the most wanton tyrannies. Blind Harry tells us that Wallace often pondered on the state of his country,

“Gret pitte thoct that Scotland tuk sic harmys,” and often to himself did “mak his mayne.” As to his having “formed an association among his fellow-students for the purpose of defending themselves, and restraining the wanton outrages of the intruders,” it seems apocryphal enough,* but that the people were frequently insulted by the overbearing soldiers may be readily conceived. Wallace himself had been “richt offt in stryff” with the enemies of his country, and as he always wore a sword and dagger, not a few of them had bitten the dust. Proceeding to Dundee on one occasion, it was his fortune to be assailed by the son of Governor Selby,†

* According to the “Statistical Account of Scotland,” Blair and Sir Neil Campbell of Lochow were amongst his companions at Dundee. This is probable. The Campbells of Argyle were warm supporters of the national cause.

† Selby, of Cumberland, succeeded Gilbert de Umfraville as governor of the castles of Dundee and Forfar. Umfraville was descended from a kinsman of William the Conqueror, and having obtained a grant of the possessions of Ingram de Baliol, both in England and Scotland, became Earl of Angus. He refused to deliver up the castles of Dundee and Forfar, at the command of Edward, on the ground that they had been received in charge from the Scottish Regency, unless Edward and the Regency joined in an obligation of indemnity, which was given.—*Dugdale*.

a young man of nearly twenty years of age. The governor himself had become odious by his rapacity, and the son was equally overbearing and despitiful. He was accompanied by four men, who went with him, as Blind Harry says, to play. The appearance of Wallace on this occasion is well described :—

“Sad of contenance, he was bathe auld and ying,*
Littill of spech, wyss, curtas, and benying.

Likle he was, richt byge and weyle beseyne,
Intill a gyde† of gudly ganand greyne.”

Our youthful hero was thus attired in a goodly suit of fashionable green, with sword and dagger by his side. He was speedily assailed by young Selby, who haughtily addressed him—

“Thou Scot, abyde,
Quha deuil the grathis in so gay a gyde?
Ane ersche mantill it war thi kynd to wer,
A Scottis theutill ‡ wndyr thi belt to ber;
Rouch rewlyngis apon thi harlot fate.
Giff me thi knyff; quhat dois thi ger so mete?”

So saying he stepped forward to layhold of the dagger, but Wallace, seizing him by the collar, slew him on the spot. Instantly flying, he was pursued by Selby's attendants, and others of the English attempted to intercept him; but he bore down all opposition, and reached the house where his uncle

* This accords precisely with the portrait of Wallace at Niddrie-Merschell, of which a copy forms the frontispiece to this work.

† Garb.

‡ Whittle, or knife.

had formerly lodged, the goodwife of which arrayed him in woman's attire, and he sat down to spin. The *ruse* proved effectual; the English soldiery searched the premises, little dreaming that the stalwart kimmer at the wheel was "the wicht Wallace."*

By the assistance of his kind hostess our hero was guided up the water (the Dee) at nightfall, and found his way in safety to Kilspindie. On learning what had happened, his friends became alarmed lest his whereabouts might be discovered, and it was deemed prudent that he and his mother should seek some other place of shelter. Disguised as pilgrims, they set out on foot, not as Carrick says, on a positive pilgrimage to St Margaret's at Dumfries, but professedly so, with the view of concealing their real intention. St Margaret (Queen of Malcolm Caenmore) was of the royal line of England, and sufficiently commanded the respect of the English soldiery. The travellers passed through the Ochils, by Dunfermline and Linlithgow, to Dunipace, where they were received with great kindness, and invited to stay until better might betide.

It is probable that here Wallace and his mother

* Lord Hailes, with his usual fastidiousness, doubted this adventure of Wallace at Dundee, although Buchanan narrates the circumstance in "classic Latin." He might as well have questioned any other event in the history of Wallace. It is questioned because Bower, the continuator of Fordun, takes no notice of it. The circumstance assuredly lay more in the way of Blair, or the Minstrel, than either of the historians mentioned.

learnt for the first time the unfortunate rencontre at Loudon Hill, in Ayrshire, between Sir Malcolm Wallace of Ellerslie, at the head of a few of his retainers, and a party of English under Fenwick. Sir Malcolm was slain, and, according to Blind Harry, his eldest son also. Probably excited by this intelligence, and aware that the country was astir, Wallace and his mother declined the offered hospitality of their host. "Our kyne ar slayne," said Wallace, and "will God I lieffe, we sall ws wreke our part."

From Dunipace they proceeded to Ellerslie, where they were met by Sir Ronald Crawford of Crosbie, his mother's brother. He had the protection of Percy, governor of Ayr, and she solicited him to purchase peace for them also, as "scho couth no forthir fle." Wallace, however, would not accept of this respite, and, leaving his mother at Ellerslie, proceeded with his uncle to "a mar quiet sted," at his uncle's, Sir Richard of Riccarton. It is rather singular that Carrick omits this visit to Riccarton altogether. It cannot be that the incident which arose out of it was less "characteristical" than others which he relates.

The castle of Riccarton stood on a gentle eminence near the Irvine water, which, having changed its course somewhat in modern times, then ran pretty close to its base. In consequence of the marriage of John Wallace of Riccarton, grandson of the uncle of Wallace, with the heiress of Craigie, a neighbour-

ing property, Craigie Castle became in future the principal residence of the family, so that the old fortalice of Riccarton was allowed to go prematurely to decay. Though not a stone of it now stands, the site is still discernible, and part of the orchard, with some very old trees, yet exists. Old Richard Wallace, the owner of the heritage of Riccarton, is described by the Minstrel as blind from the effects of war,

“Yeit he was wiss and of his counseil gud.”

Young Wallace was here in February, (1292,) and he found it necessary to decamp the following month. Respecting his fishing adventure on Irvine water, which some affect to treat as romance, the Minstrel is more particular than he is wont. In April, “the three and twenty day,” he left the castle to amuse himself fishing in the Irvine. He was unarmed, and unaccompanied save by a little boy to “leide his net.” He was very successful, having taken fish abundantly; and by ten o’clock there came past, not far from where he stood, the Lord Percy and a numerous retinue, on their way to Glasgow Fair. If this story were a fiction, the Minstrel must have been perfectly acquainted with the locality; for the highway still in use, between Ayr, Kilmarnock, and Glasgow, ran within a few yards of Riccarton Castle; and the Irvine was crossed by a ford, there having been no bridge over the river till so late as about 1724. An old thorn-bush, removed only a few years ago, used to be pointed out as the scene of

the scuffle we are about to describe. Percy and his court having stopped to look at Wallace and his fishing operations, five of the party, "cled into ganand greyne," rode out from the rest, and demanded "Martyn's fysche"* from the Scot in a very haughty manner. Wallace answered civilly, and ordered the boy to give him a portion; but the haughty Southron would not have them of his dealing, and, lighting down, took the whole from the child. Wallace prayed him, if he was a gentleman, to leave part, because

"Ane agyt knycht seruis our lady to-day." †

The Southron answered that he should have leave to fish and take more; but that, as for these, he served a lord, and they must go to him. Wallace, somewhat provoked, said, "Thou art in the wrang." "Quham thowis thow, Scot?" said the Englishman, drawing and rushing upon Wallace. The latter had no weapon save the "poutstaff," a pole used in fishing with the net. With this instrument he felled his opponent to the earth, and the sword flying out of his hand, he seized it, and immediately slew him. He was then set upon by the other four, two of whom he also succeeded in laying prostrate, and the other two fled after Percy, who, by this time, was considerably on his way through the muir. On learning what had happened, Percy is said to have treated his defeated followers very scornfully for

* It was the time of Lent. † No doubt alluding to his uncle.



“With this instrument he felled his opponent to the earth, and the sword flying out of his hand, he seized it, and immediately slew him.”—WALLACE, Page 40.

allowing themselves to be put to such confusion by a single individual, and refused to return in search of him. On acquainting his uncle with what had occurred, it was deemed prudent that Wallace should no longer remain at Riccarton. Having replenished his purse, and kindly inviting him to apply for more when necessary, he took leave of his aged relative, refusing, at the same time, to allow any of "hys emys sonys" to accompany him.

Young Wallace, "in pryss of arms," and prompted to madness by the loss of his friends, rode straight to Auchincruive, on the banks of the Ayr, about two miles further up the river than the burgh of that name. It belonged to Sir Duncan Wallace, who also possessed Sundrum, an estate on the banks of the Coyl, in King's Kyle. The precise relationship of Sir Duncan to the baron of Riccarton is by no means clearly established by genealogists, but that they were of the same family is unquestionable.* He was well received by Auchincruive, and the Laglane wood, in the vicinity, which still bears the name, often sheltered him from his enemies.

* According to the old genealogy already referred to, he was the brother of the Laird of Riccarton, their mother being "— Bruce, daughter to the Earle of Carrick." They may have been brothers, but their mother could not have been a Bruce of the Carrick branch, because Adam de Kilconcath, first husband of the Countess of Carrick, mother of Robert the Bruce, died only in 1270. She may have been a De Carrick, however, of the race of the old Earls of Carrick, through whom the properties of Auchincruive and Sundrum were probably derived.

Desirous, upon one occasion, of seeing the town of Ayr, "his child * with him, as than na man had he," he left his horse at the Laglane wood, and proceeded on foot to "the markat corss." The Percy and his soldiers held the Castle of Ayr, and ruled with a high hand over the depressed inhabitants. Amongst other modes of exhibiting their superiority over the Scots, in conformity with the spirit of the times, a churl of huge dimensions boasted that he would lift more than any two of them, and for a groat offered to allow any one to strike him on the back as hard as he could, with a "sasteing in a boustous poile," which he carried with him for the purpose. The precise nature of this *sasteing* Dr Jamieson has not been able very clearly to explain, but it may be expressed in Scottish as a *rung* of considerable dimensions. Wallace was delighted with this species of sport, and proffered him his "grottis thre" for a single blow. It was at once accepted, and seizing "the steing" (stang, a pole, or rung) dealt the carl such a blow that he fell dead with his back broken. Wallace was instantly surrounded by a host of enraged Englishmen, amongst whom, first with the steing and subsequently with his sword, he laid about him so stoutly that he left five of them dead on the street, and gaining his horse at Laglane wood, though pursued by horse and foot, he reached Auchincruive in safety.

Longing again to visit the town, he found the servant of his uncle, the Sheriff of Ayr, about to be

* By "his child" is meant a page or attendant.

denuded by the Percy's steward of certain fish he had purchased for his master. Importuned by the servant, Wallace entreated the steward to leave the man alone, but he answered in scorn, and smote Wallace on the back with his hunting-staff. Wallace instantly slew him with his dagger, but the fray brought so many of the English upon our young hero, that, after a protracted struggle, in which seven of his opponents were killed, he was overpowered and taken prisoner. Lodged in the old jail of Ayr,* which stood on the High Street, immediately above the Fish Cross, he was fed on "barrell herying and wattir," till he became so ill that, to all appearance, he was dead. The English then threw him over the prison wall into a draff midden, where he lay till "his fyrst noryss, (nurse,) of the Neutoun of Ayr," came to see his body, and obtained leave to have him conveyed to her own house. Here the nurse and her daughter attended him with marvellous kindness, care, and secresy, until his entire recovery.

* A portion of the wall of this old building still exists, we believe, in connexion with the shops which now occupy the site. A house at the corner of New Market Street, built on a portion of the ground once included in the boundary of the jail, has a statue of Wallace. It was put up by the proprietor, Mr Cowan, in commemoration of the hero and his imprisonment. And he did this patriotic action, prompted by the fact that an effigy, or head of Wallace, had previously occupied a niche in the wall of the old prison-house, which he had to pull down before erecting the new building. Whether the head of the present effigy is a copy of the former one, we cannot say, but that such a relic existed there at all seems in so far to countenance the statement of Blind Harry.

Carrick passes over this serious adventure. It is, no doubt, somewhat marvellous, yet the Minstrel relates it with great precision, and evidently with a full belief in its truth. It is quite probable, however, that he may have taken a poetical licence with the main facts. Amongst other corroborative circumstances, he mentions the curious incident that *Thomas the Rhymer* was staying at Faile Monastery with the minister at the time :—

“ Thomas Rimour in to the Faile was than,
 With the mynystir, quhilk was a worthi man ;
 He wsynt off to that religious place.”

This passage, as appears from Dr Jamieson's notes, has been strangely misunderstood, having been printed, so early as 1594, “ Thomas Rymour, *with outin fail*, was than,” &c., the printer evidently not knowing that there was such a religious house as Faile in Ayrshire ; and the passage is interesting as shewing the antiquity of the Red Friars there, the head of whom was styled minister.*

Having learned all about the fate of Wallace from a servant of the monastery, Thomas the Rhymer proceeded to the nurse's house in the Newtown of Ayr, where he saw and conversed joyfully with the future champion of Scotland, of whom he prophesied—

“ Forsuth, or he decess,
 Mony thousand in feild sall mak thar end,
 Off this regioun he sall the Southron send ;

* The Kirk of Fail is mentioned in a charter by Robert II. to James de Lindsay.

And Scotland thriss he sall bryng to the pess :
So gud off hand agayne sall neuir be kend."

When sufficiently recovered, Wallace, armed with an old sword, which he found in the house of his kind nurse, betook him to Riccarton, where he might have himself supplied afresh with a horse, armour, and money. The nurse and her daughter, to whom he owed his life, were sent to his mother at Ellerslie. On his way to Riccarton, he was assailed by Squire Longcastle, who, with two attendants, had been at Glasgow. In self-defence, for Longcastle was resolved to take him back to Ayr, Wallace slew the Squire and one of his men, the other taking to flight.

Our hero met with a warm reception at Riccarton, from old Sir Richard and his three sons. Sir Ronald from Corsbie, his mother from Ellerslie, and "gud Robert Boyd," were also there, all overjoyed at his escape.*

* The whole of these adventures, including the slaughter of young Selby at Dundee, must have occurred, we should think, between the 11th June 1291, when the Scottish regents surrendered the fortresses to Edward, and the 30th November 1292, when Baliol was crowned, and the fortresses restored. Lord Percy appears to have been governor of Ayr and Wigton, contemporaneously with Selby of Dundee. When new governors were appointed by Edward, after the battle of Dunbar, which laid Scotland at his feet for the time, Henry de Percy, nephew of the Earl of Warrenne, held the same office. From November 1292, when Baliol was crowned, till that monarch renounced his allegiance to the English crown in 1295, Wallace had no occasion to meet with the English, and must have lived in retirement. In 1292, he would hardly be twenty years of age.

CHAPTER III.

RETROSPECT OF EVENTS—BATTLE OF LOUDON HILL—THE BUCKLER-
PLAYER AT AYR.

By adventures of this kind, and a display of extraordinary personal prowess and hardihood, the name of Wallace became notable among the people of Ayrshire. Deeds of blood were by no means congenial to his nature. The Minstrel says—

“Off cruelness full litill thai him kend;”

but his feelings of patriotism were wrought up to an unnatural pitch by the overbearing indignities exercised by Edward's soldiers, and the slaughter of his own father and other friends.

It may be necessary, however, before proceeding further with our “process,” as the Minstrel sometimes calls his narrative, to revert to what was going on in a national sense. Edward Longshanks, in his capacity of arbiter, decided in favour of the claims of Baliol, who received the Scottish crown and swore fealty to the royal umpire, as his liege lord, 20th November 1292. On the 30th of the same month he was crowned at Scoon; and he

again swore fealty at Newcastle on the 26th December.

It is well known how the crown proved indeed a "crown of thorns" to poor Baliol—how he was harassed by summonses from the Lord-paramount to attend the English courts; how demands were made upon him to supply Scottish troops to fight the battles of Edward on the Continent; and how, driven to desperation, he not only negotiated a treaty of mutual aid with Philip of France, but, with the sanction of the Scottish Parliament, made a solemn renunciation of the homage exacted by Edward. This occurred on the 5th April 1296. Well aware what the result of such a step would be, the Scots, with a unanimity which showed the deep sense of national injury under which they laboured, marched a numerous army for the invasion of the north of England. They crossed into Cumberland on the 26th March 1296, assaulted Newcastle, and set fire to the town, but were compelled to retreat. Entering Northumberland, on the 8th April, they plundered Lanercost and Hexham, but retired in disorder from before Harbottle.

Scotland had not been at war since the battle of Largs in 1263; therefore, however excellent the material of their army might be in men and equipment, it wanted those chief qualities to insure success—discipline and experience. In this respect it was greatly inferior to the army of Edward, which he speedily assembled at Berwick. His warriors had

been trained in the wars of the Continent, and had greatly the advantage. Notwithstanding, at the siege of Berwick, eighteen of his ships were destroyed, and the troops, led on by himself, in a state of exasperation at the loss of his vessels, were repulsed. They only succeeded in the second attack by a stratagem. The cruelty which he exercised on the inhabitants, against whom he let loose his soldiery, is a lasting stain on his character. According to Wyntoun, seventeen thousand were butchered. The work of slaughter was put an end to by an incident which the chronicler thus relates :—

“ Thus they slayand ware sa fast,
 All the day, till at the last,
 This kyng Edward saw in that tyde
 A woman slain, and of her syde
 A bairn he saw fall out sprewland,
 Besyde that woman slayne lyand;
 ‘Lasses,* lasses,’ then cried he,
 ‘Leve off, leve off,’ that word suld be.”

At the battle of Dunbar, which immediately followed, (28th April,) and where the Earl of Warren and Surrey commanded, the Scottish troops were broken in their ill-timed and tumultuous attack on the English ranks, and defeat, as might have been expected, was the consequence.

Upon this occasion, as upon all others where England and Scotland contended in subsequent times, there was not wanting treachery. The Minstrel says of Edward—

* From *lasser*, fatigue.

“ To Corspatryk of Dunbar sone he send,
 His consell ast, for he [the] contre kend :
 And he was brocht in presence to the king,
 Be suttale band thai cordyt of this thing.”

The Minstrel attributes the fall of Berwick and the loss of Dunbar to this man's defection, although it is more than probable, considering the power of Edward, that he would have succeeded at any rate. He was Earl of March, one of the disappointed competitors for the crown, who, rather than be subject to Baliol, was ready to transfer his allegiance to Edward. He was long popularly known as the betrayer of his country on this occasion, and is derided as such in the “Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy.” Sir Richard Siward, governor of Dunbar Castle, (which had been given up to Baliol by Cospatrick's more patriotic lady,) was hardly less culpable, in agreeing to surrender it to Warren within the space of three days, if not relieved. Many of the Scottish troops took shelter in it as they fled from the field of Dunbar, but met a cruel fate when the Castle was immediately afterwards delivered to the English. Amongst the prisoners were the Earls of Athol, Ross, and Monteith. Siward* was one of

* From the narrative of Peter Langtoft, it is evident that he had had a private understanding with the English for some time :—

“ A knycht was tham among, Sir Richard Seward,
 Tille our faith was he long, and with kyng Edward,
 Tille our men he com tite, and said, the Scottis wiide
 Thre dayes haf respite, and than the castelle zelde,

those Northumberland chiefs who had obtained lands in Scotland, and cared as little for the independence of the one country as the other. Ten thousand Scots were slain at the battle of Dunbar. Baliol, after a degrading feudal penance, was committed, along with his son, to the Tower in London, and many of the Scottish nobility were sent into England in chains.

Prior to the invasion of Scotland, it is said, on the authority of Fordun, that Edward had secured the co-operation of the Bruce party, by promising to place the son of the competitor on the throne of Scotland, in place of the rebellious Baliol. Bruce and his adherents consequently fought against the national party at this time. After the victory of Dunbar, he reminded Edward of his promise:—"What!" said the haughty monarch, "have I no other business but to conquer kingdoms for you?" Bruce retired in silence, and is understood to have afterwards lived in retirement on his English estates. His son, Robert the Bruce, became Earl of Carrick, by virtue of his mother's title, and seems to have acted chiefly on his own responsibility. He would be about twenty-three years of age at this time.

After the triumph at Dunbar, Edward, whose forces were renewed by fifteen thousand men from Wales and thirty thousand from Ireland, made a

To the Baliol suld their send, ther castelle to rescue,
 Bi that bot he vs mend with for zow to renue
 The castelle ze sall have, without any delay."

progress of twenty-one weeks throughout Scotland. He went north as far as Elgin, and on this occasion enacted a similar policy to that of sacrificing the minstrels in Wales, by destroying the national records, and carrying away the *Liafaile*, or fatal stone of Scoon, which still remains in Westminster Hall. On his departure he appointed John Warren, Earl of Surrey, lieutenant or guardian of the kingdom; Hugh de Cressingham, an ecclesiastic, treasurer; William Ormesby, justiciary; Henry de Percy, nephew of Warren, keeper of the county of Galloway and sheriffdom of Ayr; and Robert de Clifford, warden of the eastern districts. Walter de Agmondesham was made chancellor, with a new seal, the old great seal of Scotland, surrendered by Baliol, having been broken in pieces.

Carrick presumes "that both Wallace and his brother were present at the battle of Dunbar." But this rests solely on the idea that Wyntoun is correct in stating that Sir Malcolm outlived his father, and that his death, from the circumstances, could have occurred nowhere else. But the Minstrel, in describing the skirmish at Loudoun Hill, and speaking of Fenwick, plainly says—

" He had at dede off Wallace fadyr beyne,
And *his brodyr* that douchty was and der."

The Minstrel and Wyntoun are thus decidedly opposed, and which is right it is difficult to decide; except that subsequently certain passages of the

Minstrel lead us to believe that he succeeded his father.

Whether at the battle of Dunbar or not, it is extremely probable, as Carrick supposes, that, seeing the deficiency of the Scottish troops in the art of war, and resolved that the usurpers of his country should not be allowed to possess the land in peace, he conceived the design of carrying on a species of guerilla warfare, and proceeded to arrange his plans accordingly. Unless prepared in this way, it is difficult to conceive how bands of well-armed men should have so promptly attended to his rallying-note in various quarters of the country. This, however, was no doubt the work of time, as his fame as a leader began to spread, more than the result of any well-devised scheme. Under the circumstances, in short, no such scheme could have been so generally and immediately acted upon.

The Minstrel represents our hero as still at Riccarton after his last and nearly fatal adventure at Ayr; but he opens "Buke Thryd" as if a considerable period had elapsed in the "process" of his story. He very poetically describes "joyowss Julii," (in the summer of 1296,) and the bounty of Nature.

"Bot Scotland sa was waistit mony day,
Throw wer sic skaith, at labour was away;"

and a general scarcity and dearth prevailed over the land. The English, however, wanted for nothing—both victual and wine being supplied abundantly by carriage.

Bent on his purpose of revenge, Wallace at length took leave of Riccarton. Sir Richard, his uncle, had three sons—Adam, Richard, and Symon*—the oldest of whom, large in person, and “auchtene yer of age,” accompanied him. Robert Boyd, Kneland, “ner cusyng to Wallace,” and “Edward Litill, his sistir sone so der,” constituted the small band of patriots. “Weill graithit in till thar armur cler,” they rode, accompanied by their servants, also in arms, to Mauchline Muir. † There they had not remained long when they were informed by their friends, who were “bound undir trewage,” (an expression on the part of the Minstrel which shows that there had been previous concert,) that Fenwick, the officer under whom Wallace’s father had met his death, was on his way from Carlisle, with a convoy for Percy, at Ayr. Wallace was greatly pleased with this information, and resolved to intercept him. For this purpose they proceeded to Loudoun, having about fifty in their company, and took up their position in a wood, for it was near night. An hostler at Loudoun, a true Scot, who brought the party meat and drink, told them that “thair forrydar ‡ was past till Ayr agayne,” from

* This does not agree with the “genealogie” formerly mentioned, which makes Sir Duncan of Sundrum brother to Adam of Riccarton. The Wallaces of Sundrum must have branched off from Riccarton at an earlier period.

† This was rather a famous place of warlike muster, in previous as well as later times.

‡ Fore-rider.

which they inferred the main "carriage" would be in Avondale. From Loudoun Shaw the party proceeded to Loudoun Hill, in "the gray dawning" next morning, and there made their arrangements to await the coming convoy, which they were informed by their servants was approaching fast. The Minstrel gives a good description of Wallace and his armour at this period. Ever since his imprisonment in Ayr, he says, he daily wore "good sure weid:"—

"Gude lycht harness, fra that tyme wsyt he euir;
 For sodyn stryff, fra it he wald nocht seuir.
 A habergione undyr his goune he war,
 A steyle capleyne in his bonet but mar;
 His glowis of plaitin claith war couerit weil,
 In his doublet a close coler of steyle;
 His face he keptit, for it was euir bar,
 With his twa handis, the quhilk full worthi war;
 In to his weid, and he came in a thrang,
 Was na man than on fute mycht with him gang.
 So growane in pith, off power stark and stur,
 His terryble dyntis war awfull till endur.
 Thai trast mar in Wallace him alane,
 Than in a hundreth mycht be off England tayne."*

* Of the comparative prowess of Wallace and Bruce, both Miss Porter and Carrick quote a passage from Boece, relating the conversation which James I. had in 1430, with an aged widow of one of the Lords of Kinnoul, on the subject. She described Bruce as a man of fine appearance, and of such power as could easily overcome any other man of his time; but he was excelled by Wallace, in so far as he excelled other men. In wrestling, Wallace could have overcome two such men as Bruce. No great reliance is to be placed on the statement of Boece, still it is probably no unfair estimate of the powers of the respective warriors. The "habergoine," or armour for the breast

Kneeling down, the small band of patriots offered up prayers, and having been shortly addressed by Wallace, in reference to the slaughter of his father, they finally awaited the advance of the English, who, by this time, were passing Loudoun Hill. In the early sunlight of the morning, Fenwick, who was at the head of the convoy, with about 200 men, immediately concluded that it was the outlaw, Wallace, "that chapit (escaped) our presoune," whom he saw in command of the party, and he exultingly anticipated carrying him speedily captive to Percy. Leaving the convoy under charge of a few men, and the attendants on the horses, he hastened forward at the head of 180 men, "in harness burnyst brycht," to attack the small band of patriots. The approach was narrowed by a "maner dyk off stanyis," which compelled them to ride more closely; and to their surprise, in place of awaiting the onset, and neck, worn by Wallace, consisted of chain and ring-mail. It had been introduced by the Crusaders in the early part of the reign of Alexander III. The "goune" spoken of by the Minstrel was no doubt the surcoat, or coat of arms, which Wallace sometimes threw over his face, when he did not wish to be recognised. His device was the *red lion*. The "*steylle capleyne*" is defined by Jamieson as "a small helmet;" but it seems rather to have been a species of steel lining to the cap, for the Minstrel describes it as worn *in his bonnet*. The limbs were usually defended by an incasement of boiled leather, with knee-plates of iron, and guards for the shin-bones. A round or triangular shield completed the defensive armour of the period. Wallace fought chiefly with the sword, a two-handed one being his favourite; sometimes he used the mace and spear, as also the dagger, when in close quarters.

the Scots took the field before them, while, so far from riding over them, as they intended, the case happened otherwise "in that tide."

The onset was fierce in the extreme. The English, on harnessed horses, rode rudely around them, but the Scots, on foot, "gret rowme about thaim wair." Wallace drove his spear through the body of the foremost rider, by which means the shaft was broken; but he drew his sword, and as the English poured upon them, the Scots "schar through habergeons full gude." On either side "full cruelly thaidang." Fenwick, on a great horse, "in till his glitterand ger," was easily distinguishable, as enraged he wielded his "fellone aspre sper." The moment Wallace got his eye upon him he sprang forward with the rage of a lion, clearing his way amidst the "fell frekis" by which he was assailed. Reaching him at length, he struck him somewhat awkwardly, so that the knight fell on the other side of his horse, where Boyd pierced him with a staff-sword. Before he was dead, however, the great press came so fast that Boyd was borne to the ground; but he was rescued by Wallace, and the two together hewed their way through the thickest, followed by their trusty adherents. Though greatly disheartened by the fall of their leader, the English still fought bravely under one Bowmond, "a squier of renown;" but he too was cut down by young Wallace of Riccarton; yet many of the English dismounted, and fought on foot. Wallace and his patriot band,

however, conducted themselves so valiantly that the remnant of them were at last glad to fly, which they did on the south side, leaving one hundred dead on the field. Amongst the Scots three only are mentioned by the Minstrel as having been killed. Two of them were from Kyle, and one from Cunninghame, followers of Boyd.

The entire convoy fell to the victorious Scots: one hundred and twenty carriage horses, with gold, wine, and flour, and other stuffs in abundance. The whole of the prize they led to Clydesdale Forest, where, having been deposited in safety, the Minstrel adds, all the English knaves,* fit for war were hanged "on the bowand treis." The four score soldiers who escaped from the field fled directly to Ayr, and were the first to communicate the unwelcome tidings of their defeat to Percy.

This is the first recorded action fought against the English in which Wallace had the command.† According to Carrick, who does not give his authority, the following well known friends of Wallace were with him—Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwell;

* Servants, but these were different from the *servi* of Scottish charters, insomuch that they were hired servants, in whom their masters had no property, such as "the miller's knave," for example. But to suppose that the Latin term *nativi*, used in charters as signifying the native inhabitants—those born on the soil—as some antiquaries maintain, is derived from the word *knave*, seems to be a very great mistake. The two words have no radical affinity.

† Carrick makes this battle to have been fought in 1297, but it must have been in July 1296.

Sir William Douglas, ancestor of the Douglasses ; Robert Boyd, afterwards of Kilmarnock ; Alexander Scrymgeor, hereditary standard-bearer of Scotland ; Roger Kilpatrick of Dumfriesshire, from whom the present Empress of France is descended ; Alexander Auchinleck of Auchinleck (now Boswell), in Ayrshire ; Walter Newbigging, believed to be of Lanarkshire ; Stephen of Ireland, supposed by Carrick and others to have been really a native of Ireland, not *Stephen Ireland*, as some have suggested—(it is evident, however, from the Minstrel, that he was a native of Argyleshire ;) Hugh Dundas, ancestor of the Dundas family ; John Kneland, or Cleland of Lanarkshire, where there were, and still are, families of that name ; Ruthven, ancestor of the Ruthven family ; Sir David Barclay of Lanarkshire—(he and Newbigging had entered into a band of manrent, dated 20th April 1281 ;*) Adam Curry, a descendant probably of the Curry who fought and was slain at Largs, but their locality is not known, unless of the Curries of that ilk in Annandale ; John Blair, and Thomas Gray, both ecclesiastics, —the first probably of the Balthyock family in the north—the latter was minister of Liberton, in Lanarkshire. This is a much larger company than the few compatriots mentioned by the Minstrel, though Carrick is probably correct.

The "Statistical Account of Scotland" mentions a place called Beg, above Allanton, in the parish of

* Memoirs of Somerville.

Galston, where the battle was fought. The Minstrel, however, always speaks of it as the battle of Loudoun Hill, and the remains of a British fortlet, in the time of the Romans, is supposed to have been made use of by Wallace and his adherents while waiting the advance of Fenwick. The battle of Drumclog was also fought in the vicinity of Loudoun Hill, so that this prominent landmark, which rises out of the surrounding plain, like a huge cone, has been witness to the deeds of three great eras in the history of Scotland,—the Roman invasion, the war of independence, and the struggle for civil and religious liberty which preceded the Revolution.

The loss of the convoy was severely felt by Percy, whose garrison at Ayr had been reduced to very scanty allowance. He blamed the authorities for allowing Wallace to escape so carelessly, when they threw him for dead over the prison walls, and spoke of getting his supplies by sea, in place of overland from Carlisle. Meanwhile Wallace and his companions remained in Clydesdale Forest for twenty days, no doubt contriving new plans to annoy and harass the enemy. According to the Minstrel, no Southron was to be seen in the neighbourhood at that time. The noise of the skirmish at Loudoun Hill soon spread throughout the country, and the name of Wallace, while it alarmed the invaders, gave new life to his oppressed countrymen.

Percy called a council of English lords and others at Glasgow, at which, the Minstrel says, upwards of

ten thousand persons attended. The principal question regarded Wallace. "Sir Amar Wallange, a fals traytour," who lived at Bothwell,* recommended that a peace or truce with him should be entered into until they consulted Edward. Percy observed that Wallace would not accept of their truce, upon which Sir Aymer recommended that the peace should be effected through the medium of his uncle, the sheriff, whose lands should be made responsible for his fidelity. Sir Ranald was sent for, but he declared his inability to control Wallace. Through the courtesy of Percy, however, a bond was drawn up, on the part of the forces under Edward, agreeing that Wallace should not be molested, and the sheriff proceeded to Clydesdale Forest in search of his nephew, whom he found just as he was bound for dinner. The meeting was of the most cordial nature, and after dining in a sumptuous

* There is some mystery in reference to this Sir Aymer de Vallenge. The Minstrel represents him as a Scottish traitor, who must have been a different person from the Aymer de Vallenge, Earl of Pembroke, who figures in the history of the times at a later period. Lord Hailes was in error when he represents the Minstrel as always speaking of "Aymer de Valloins, *Earl of Pembroke*, as a false Scottish knight." He never once alludes to him as *Earl of Pembroke*; but assuredly the whole tenor of his narrative in reference to this person leads to the inference that he was a Scotsman, or in some way more immediately connected with Scotland than an Englishman could be supposed to be. The suggestion of Kerr, that his country is nowhere mentioned, is out of the question, since, if he was an Englishman, he could not be a traitor to Edward, seeing that he was acting in his interest.

manner, with excellent wine, Sir Ranald broached the subject of the peace, and counselled Wallace to accept of it, if it were but for a brief space only, that he might the better arrange his plans of opposition in future. Wallace was opposed to all terms with Edward, but, on the counsel of Boyd, Adam Wallace of Riccarton, Kneland, and others, agreed to a short peace, so as to save his uncle from the threatened injury. It was to last for ten months. Under this protection, which began in August 1296. each proceeded to his own home, and Wallace and his uncle took their way for Corsbie.

After remaining for some time inactive at Corsbie, Wallace, tired of such a monotonous life, repaired one day to Ayr, to see what was going on in the county town. He covered his face so that he might not be known. On the High Street he stood by and saw an Englishman playing "at the scrymagis," (fencing,) with a buckler in his hand. This person jeeringly invited Wallace to a trial. "Smyt on," he said, "I defy thine actiounne." Upon which our hero cut him down through the crown to his shoulders, and lightly returned to his own party again. The buckler-player was dead, as the Minstrel briefly remarks—"quhat nedis wordis mair?" Wallace and his small party of friends, not more than sixteen, were immediately surrounded by about seven score of armed men, and a vigorous *mêlée* ensued. Though few, his party were all tried men, and used to arms, so that many a Southron was

made to bite the dust. A reinforcement arriving from the Castle, Wallace deemed it prudent to draw off. Leaving twenty-nine of their enemies dead on the field, they reached their horses, and rode for security to Laglane Wood. Three of Percy's own relations were slain in this encounter, and suspecting that it was "wicht Wallace" who had so set upon his soldiers, but also aware that they were themselves to blame in the first place, he sent a herald to Sir Ranald, desiring that he would "tak souerte of Wallas," and keep him from "market toun or fair." On reaching Corsbie, and his uncle showing him Percy's communication, Wallace, who seems to have had the highest respect for the sheriff, promised that he would do nothing to cause him grief, so long as he remained under his roof.

CHAPTER IV.

PERCY'S SERVANTS SLAIN—COUNCIL AT GLASGOW—WALLACE VISITS EARL MALCOLM—GARGUNNOCK TAKEN—CASTLE OF KINCLEVEN TAKEN—BATTLE OF SHORTWOOD SHAW—BETRAYED AT ST JOHNSTON.

THE Minstrel relates that in the month of September, (1296,) a great council of the English was held at Glasgow for the purpose of making laws for Scotland, the Bishop of Durham presiding on the occasion. All the Sheriffs of counties were convened, and amongst others, the hereditary Sheriff of Ayrshire. Sir Ranald, accompanied by Wallace well graithed, and two men that "douchtye war in deid," prepared for the journey. In these days, travellers, if there were any number of them, generally carried their own provisions, and other commodities, for the *harberies*, or *hostelries*, by the wayside were seldom able to supply more than bare lodging. Wallace and his two men were in advance of the Sheriff, and overtook the boy who led Sir Ranald's sumpter horse. Softly they rode till they came to Hesilden,* where they suddenly overtook Earl Percy's "sowme,"

* There is a place called Haziltonhead on the Glasgow and

or baggage, in which there were considerable riches. Percy's horse was so done up that it could not go further, and five men were left in charge of it, two on foot, and three on horseback. The person in charge immediately demanded of Wallace's party whose horse it was they had in leading, and being informed that it belonged to the Sheriff of Ayr, he insolently pressed it into the service of Percy, and cutting the traces let the harness fall. Wallace remonstrated against such robbery in time of peace. He obtained no redress, however, but remembering his promise to Sir Ranald, he bridled his indignation, and riding back to his uncle at the Muirside, explained what had occurred. Sir Ranald, however, counselled peace, but Wallace, expressing himself with some warmth, declared that he would have amends, and renouncing his allegiance, rode again forward on his mission of vengeance. Sir Ranald, because of his sumpter horse having been seized, and that he might not in any way be implicated in what should happen, resolved to remain at the Mearns* all night, where he grieved much for his nephew.

Relieved of his obligation to his uncle, Wallace and his two friends rode briskly forward, in search

Kilmarnock road, where the coaches and carriers used to stop before the railway was made. This is probably the "Hesilden" of Blind Harry.

* Mearns, as well as Haziltonhead, was a celebrated resting-place for the coachmen and carriers prior to the construction of the railway.

of the "sowmer man" and his party, whom he overtook eastwards, a short distance of Cathcart. Without much parley Wallace attacked the English, all of whom he speedily slew, and spoiled the sumpter horse of the jewels and money with which, amongst other things, it was loaded. He also took the horses and their harness with him. At that time there was "a bryg of tre"* over the Clyde, across which he passed after nightfall, but not deeming it safe to remain near Glasgow, he and his attendants passed into the Lennox, which was still held by Earl Malcolm, who had not then given in his allegiance to Edward.† Wallace and his men lodged at a friendly hostelry, for a day or two.

Meanwhile, when intelligence was brought to Percy of what had occurred, he at once concluded that it was Wallace who had done the deed, and greatly enraged, ordered Sir Ranald to be sent for. It was discovered, however, that he was still at the Mearns, and that the slaughter of the Englishmen had occurred quite near to Glasgow. Though brought immediately before an assize, nothing could be made of Sir Ranald, as he was ignorant of the movements of his nephew.

Wallace remained four days at the hostelry in the

* The timber bridge which connected the north and south banks of the Clyde at Glasgow, prior to the stone bridge built by Bishop Rae, about 1350.

† Earl Malcolm was of the old Lennox line. He fought with Bruce, and in his old age was killed at Halidon Hill, 19th July 1333.

Lennox, while the council was sitting at Glasgow, and tidings were brought him of the law they had passed for his apprehension. He was, in the language of the Minstrel, to have no rest. Robert the Boyd, and Kneland, stole out of Glasgow, in much sorrow for their leader, for they knew not where he was. Edward Litill, a near relative of Wallace, and probably ancestor of the Liberton and Meikledale families, was in Annandale, and Adam Wallace remained at Riccarton, so Wallace had none of his old and immediate friends with him.

From the hostelry he proceeded at length to Earl Malcolm, who made him exceedingly welcome. The Lennox was at that time well filled with warlike men, and still bade defiance to the power of Edward. The Earl offered Wallace the entire command of his adherents, if he would continue in the district; but he declined, it being his purpose to free his country from the invader, or perish in the attempt; at the same time explaining his intention of immediately going northward. *Stephen of Ireland*, who continued a faithful friend to Wallace in his future career, was then in the Lennox with him. It has been supposed by Carrick and others, that Stephen was truly an Irishman; but this could hardly be the case, if the Minstrel's words are to be taken in their evident meaning. He says, speaking of Wallace, that—

“he ordynyt him to pass,
And othir als that *borne war* off Argill.”

It appears from this that Stephen was simply a native of Argyleshire, the inhabitants of which were called Irishmen, down to a recent period, from their being the descendants of the colony of Scots who settled there under Fergus in the sixth century. There were others, however, who were evidently from Ireland. Wallace was now resolutely engaged in organising a small force to be employed upon the guerilla mode of warfare he had previously contrived. The Minstrel says he received all who came of their own free will, and some of them were

“into Irland borne,
That Makfadyan had exilde furth before.”

This Makfadyan is described as “a King Edward’s man sworn,” of low birth. There was another person from Ireland, of the name of Fawdoun, of whom the Minstrel says,—

“Melancholy he was of complexion,
Hewy of statur, dour in his contenance,
Soroufull, sadde, ay dreidfull but plesance.”

Wallace received all that came. The oath of adherence to him as captain was made in presence of Earl Malcolm. The men he had brought from home were Gray* and Karlé,† the two trusty friends who accompanied him from Corsbie. Although the first

* Supposed by the editor of the Perth edition of “Wallace” to have been Sir Hugh de Gray of Browfield, in the county of Roxburgh, ancestor of the Lords of Gray in Perthshire, but evidently the same Thomas Gray, parson of Liberton, who fought at Loudoun Hill.

† See an account of the “Kerlies, or M’Kerlies, of Cruggleton,” at the end of the volume.

only is mentioned in Carrick's list, the latter appears also to have been at Loudoun Hill, and he had great confidence in their fidelity and hardihood.

“He them commandyt ay next him to persew,
For he thaim kend rycht hardye, wiss, and trew.”

Wallace at length took leave of the good Earl, who offered him gifts, but he declined them, having of gold abundantly, from the capture of Percy's sumpter horse. In place of accepting the Earl's bounty, he himself gave freely to poor and rich; for, as the Minstrel says, “off rychess he held na propyrte.” When he passed through the Lennox he had sixty good warriors in his leading, whom he halted and placed “in a waille,”* or rude fortification, above Leckie. This must have occurred towards the close of 1296. There was in the vicinity (Stirlingshire) a small strength or peel erected by the English, called the Peel of Gargunnoch, which the neighbours were much annoyed at, and Wallace was induced, although reluctantly, to undertake its capture. It was commanded by a Captain Thirlwall. The peasantry observed considerable laxity on the part of the commander, the drawbridge being frequently left down at night for the convenience of the labourers in the morning. The Minstrel describes it as—

“Within a dyk, bathe closs, chawmer, and hall,”

* A little south of Gargunnoch there is, according to the “Statistical Account,” a conical height, called Kiln-hill, upon which there are the remains of a ditch or rampart, of a circular form, where Wallace is supposed to have lodged his men prior to the attack on Gargunnoch. It is likely that the fort was of British origin, but Wallace may have taken advantage of it.

but well supplied with men and victual. Two spies were despatched at midnight to see in what state the little fortress was. They found the drawbridge down, and the sentinel asleep. Wallace then led his men quietly to the bridge, over which they passed, but the door was fastened by a strong wooden bar, which resisted every attempt to drive it out of the wall. He was perplexed by this delay, and went to it himself considerably out of humour. By sheer strength of arm he raised the bar out of the *stent*, or aperture for receiving it, together with three yards of mason-work. His men marvelled at his amazing power. He then, with his foot, struck up the gate, making "braiss and band to byrst all at anys." The garrison were thoroughly roused by the noise. The sentinel struck at Wallace with his staff of steel; but he instantly grasped it from him, and felled him at a blow. Then advancing he singled out the captain, and dealt with him in a similar manner. Closely followed by his warlike band, the garrison were speedily put to the sword. Twenty-two, says the Minstrel, lost their lives "in that steid." The women and children were put into a place of safety, and drawing up the bridge, Wallace and his men remained four days in the peel, the country in the neighbourhood not knowing what had occurred. Having plundered the place of all that was valuable, they destroyed the building, and proceeded at night to the neighbouring wood. The captain's wife, women, and three children were set at liberty. Not choosing, or

thinking it safe, to remain where they were, they resolved to cross the Forth; but the moss was so difficult that it could not be traversed on horseback, so Wallace alighted on foot. They had few horses, and they put little value on them. To save their lives, the Minstrel says, "feill strenthis oft thai socht;" that is strengths of turf or earthen walls, such as they took advantage of while lying in wait to attack Gargunnoch. That they made use of such old British camps as they fell in with for this purpose, there can be little doubt. Stephen of Ireland was the guide upon that occasion;—another proof of what we formerly remarked, that he was not an Irishman, but a Highlander, and well acquainted with the country. He led them towards Kincardine, and they rested in a forest "that was bathe lang and wide;" no doubt part of the ancient Caledonian wood, the moss or muir from which extended to the water side. Thence they proceeded to Methven wood, near Perth. After the sun was down Wallace walked about on the banks of the Teith or Tay, where he saw droves of wild animals traversing the ground. He soon brought down a fine hart with an arrow, and his party were regaled with fresh venison, making an excellent dinner, as they had plenty of everything. Giving his staff of steel to Karlé to keep, he passed through the Teith water into Strathern, going covertly lest the Southron, in great force, should espy them. They spared, at the same time, none whom they met of English

blood.* They took up their lodging in Methven wood for the night. In the morning Wallace found the country abounding in bestial, wild and tame, from which circumstance he drew a good augury.

Appointing Stephen of Ireland to command the party until his return, he set out by himself to visit St Johnston, (Perth,) where he proposed to tarry a few days. He knew that the mayor kept the port, and by a messenger acquainted him with his presence. He was courteously received by this functionary, who inquired his name. Wallace gave it as "Will Malcomsone," (son of Malcolm, which was his father's name,) from Ettrick Forest. He was desirous, he said, to see the north land, if he could find a better dwelling. The mayor said he questioned him not for any ill, but that fell tidings had come of one Wallace, in the west country, who was martyring down the king's men most piteously—

"Out of the trewiss, forsuth, we trow he be." †

* Amongst others they slew a squire and four attendants at "the Blakfurd."

† It is singular that Dr Jamieson offers no explanation in his notes to "Wallace" of this rather curious passage. We have somewhere seen a commentary upon it to the effect, if we recollect rightly, that "out of the trewiss" meant that he wore the kilt, and was a Highlandman. We should think, however, the true interpretation is, that they considered him of Irish extraction. The ancient Irish, it is well known, were distinguished from the Scots by wearing pantaloons, or trews, and a mantle, in place of the belted plaid, which served for kilt and upper garment. "Out of the trewiss, forsuth, we trow he be," seems

Wallace replied in such a way as to mislead the mayor, and he was allowed to pass freely into the town.

His object was to ascertain whether it were practicable to take St Johnston, but he found the gates strong, and the fosse and walls deep. He learned, however, that Kincleven Castle, in Perthshire, commanded by Sir James Butler, "ane agit cruell knycht," was about to be strengthened by a party of soldiers from the town, where his son, Sir John Butler, was captain under Sir Gerard Heron.* Having ascertained the time they were to start for Kincleven, Wallace took leave of his leman, and gladly pursued his way to Methven wood. Blowing his horn, his company speedily rallied, and were glad to see him, as they had entertained fears of his safety. Having been apprised of his intention, they made themselves ready with all despatch, and marched in goodly array out of the wood towards Kincleven. On Tayside they drew into "a waille"—probably an old strength—from whence, sending out

therefore plain enough to imply his descent from those who wore the pantaloons. This must, of course, have reference to the historical fact of colonies of the Picts and Scots, returning from the north of Ireland, having settled in Argyleshire in the sixth, and in Galloway in the eighth centuries. After all, it seems probable that, by "out of the trewis," Blind Harry merely meant that he was "out of the *truce*."

* Supposed to have been an ancestor of the old family of Heron, in Northumberland, rendered famous by Sir Walter Scott in "Marmion."

scouts, they stole into a thick wood. An hour before noon three of the "fore ryders went bye," and soon afterwards the whole "court of Inglissmen" appeared, consisting of ninety horsemen, all well armed. Wallace immediately advanced to the attack. The Englishmen marvelled what they were, but seeing their intentions to be warlike, they threw sharp spears at them, and thought to ride them down. Wallace and his heroes went boldly against them, however, and in the first rush a number of Englishmen were slain. The shaft of his spear having broken, Wallace quickly drew "a burnyst brand," and passed thrice throughout the host, both men and horses falling under the lightning rapidity of his blows. Sir James Butler alighted on foot, and, surrounded by his best troopers, fought gallantly, not a few of the Scots falling by their hands, at the sight of which Wallace was greatly grieved. He lost no time in pressing forward to where "the Butler bauld and keyn" was dealing his blows around him, and, excited with rage, struck him so forcibly on the head that the blade passed through his basinet and brain, killing him on the spot. Though thus deprived of their captain, the English, from their superiority of numbers, continued to fight on courageously. Wallace was nobly seconded by Stephen of Ireland and his chivalry, and Karlé did good execution with his "staff of steill." Leaving sixty dead on the spot, the English at length fled precipitately towards Kincleven, from the walls of

which their friends saw what had taken place. Few men of arms were within the castle, its occupiers being chiefly women and priests. They instantly let down the bridge, and opened the gate wide, that their countrymen might pass in, but they were so closely followed by the Scots, that friend and foe mingled with each other. Wallace was amongst the first to gain the entrance. As a matter of course, the garrison, with the exception of the captain's wife, women, and children, and two priests, were put to the sword. Having buried the dead, both within and without the castle, included in which were five of his own men killed in battle, Wallace drew up the bridge, and made himself secure against any attack by the Southrons.

Here he and his party remained for seven days, during which they spoiled the castle of all its valuables, carrying off nightly what they deemed proper to a place of safety in "Schortwode Shaw." At length, having set their prisoners at liberty, and in accordance with a politic principle of the system of warfare he had adopted, Wallace set fire to the building, and razed it to the ground. The flames from the castle walls conveyed the first intelligence of what had occurred in the neighbourhood, and the captain's wife carried the tidings with her to St Johnston. Sir Gerard Heron, who commanded there, was in great wrath at the recital, and all being in the belief that it was "the wicht Wallace" by whom the party had been attacked, he prepared

a thousand well-harnessed horsemen to go in search of the outlaw.

Wallace meanwhile took up his position in Shortwood Shaw, where he had erected five stalls, or strengths, constructed strongly of wood, together with a sixth, with a long range, or lead, from which, if compelled, they could retire into the others by passages made for the purpose.

Sir John Butler, son of Sir James who was killed at Kincleven, had a special command. With two hundred men he entered the wood, determined to avenge his father's death, leaving the main body at the outskirts under Sir Gerard, no doubt to prevent the escape of the Scots. The rude species of fortification not being completed when the English appeared, Wallace passed somewhat in advance, with part of his small force, leaving the remainder to hold it against all comers. The English, of course, were ignorant of the real number under him at this advanced post. He made a strength of a "cleuch" or hollow, with trees laid transversely. From the one side of this position they could issue into the plain, and enter it again by returning through the wood. He had only twenty good archers to oppose one hundred and forty English bowmen, aided by eighty spearmen, placed so as to be ready should the Scots issue from their stronghold. This strong party commenced what the Minstrel calls "a bykkyr bauld and keyn" against the Scots. Wallace had a large bow, which no man but himself might draw, and from his

secure position he brought down numbers of the English ; yet, the Minstrel says,

“Thar awfull schoyt was felloun for to byd,
Off Wallace men thai woundyt sor that tid.”

The Scots bowmen were always deemed inferior to their “auld enemies” of England, an inferiority which Carrick disputes ; but it was felt and admitted from the war of independence downwards, though it might be difficult to account for the difference upon physical grounds, save probably the natural impatience of the Scots, who generally preferred close combat. The Minstrel himself says,—

“Few off thaim was sekyr of archary ;
Bettyr thai war, and thai gat ewyn party,
In field to byde, othir with suerd or speyr.”

Perceiving that his men were experiencing considerable damage, Wallace caused them to remain more under cover, while he himself continued to ply his shafts with deadly effect upon the Lancashire bowmen who were opposed to them. At length he was himself wounded. An English archer, observing the opening at which Wallace appeared when drawing his bow, stole out to cover from the ranks, where he took aim, and shot him in the neck, through a collar of steel which he fortunately wore. Wallace was surprised, but not much injured, and his quick eye at once perceiving where his enemy lay, he stepped deliberately out, and slew him by a sword cut in the neck as he was turning to fly. After he had slain fifteen of the English by his own bow, the

arrows of the Scots began to fail, and they found themselves so environed on all sides that, as Wallace manfully counselled them, they must either do or die. William Loran, (Sir William de Lorayne,) as the Minstrel calls him, a nephew of Butler, who was slain, came out of Gowrie at the head of three hundred men to assail the Scots. This leader approached upon one side of the wood, which was but of small dimensions, and Sir John Butler on the other, while Sir Gerard Heron kept ward outside. It was now afternoon, and Wallace had only fifty men to contend against the host by which he was surrounded. They gallantly withstood the assault made upon their strength, but, as they pressed strongly upon their enemies, the remainder of the force having joined them, Sir John Butler continued so to divide the small body, while Lorayne essayed their position with might and main, that Wallace was compelled to retire towards a new strength.

The English had themselves become divided, but uniting again, pushed on to the assault. So many of the Scots were hurt and slain, that they could not hope to make a fair stand. In these circumstances, Wallace manfully but sadly prepared to renew the struggle even single-handed rather than be taken alive. In the thickest of the fight he sought "the Butler," and struck him to the ground, though the blow was interrupted by the bough of a tree. The English, however, crowded so round their commander, that they bore him away. Lorayne, grieved

and wrathful at what had occurred, began to draw rapidly round the little band; Wallace suddenly caught a sight of him, and springing out at the side, was upon him before help could reach him. "He got no gyirth * for all his birnyst weid"—as the Minstrel says,—“his trenchand sword struck on his gorgeat off steill,” and “derffly to dede he left him on the land.” The Scots rallied nobly round their leader, until he was won from the thick of the enemy, and succeeding at last in taking the strength, Wallace and his band kept it in defiance of their enemies. On the cry that Lorayne was dead, Sir Heron “tranontit † that stede,” then called a council of war. The party of Wallace, now reduced by seven more, while one hundred and twenty of the enemy had perished, retired to Cargill Wood. The English afterwards searched the Shaw for the hidden treasure carried away from the castle of Kinclaven, but finding their labour vain, they returned in sorrowful plight to St Johnston.

The second night after the battle, the Scots repaired to Shortwood Shaw, and carried away the spoil, including gold and silver, which they had deposited there. Before morning, they reached Methven Wood, and there remained for two days. Thereafter they repaired suddenly to Elcho Park, where they meant to continue for some time. Wallace, disguised as a priest, resolved to visit his leman at St Johnston, whom the Minstrel describes

* Safety.

† Retreated.

as a woman of considerable beauty. She received him with much "plesance," and on retiring at night, he arranged to meet her at her own house three days afterwards.

Wary as Wallace had been, he was observed by certain of his enemies, who communicated the intelligence to Heron and Butler, before whom the woman was carried. She denied all knowledge of Wallace, but they threatened to burn her "in a bayle fyre" if she did not disclose what she knew; offering her, on the other hand, if she helped to "bryng yon rebell downe," to load her with riches and honours, and to marry her to a knight of her own choice. Thus tempted, she agreed to betray him, mentioning the time he was to visit her. Men of arms were accordingly planted at the gates to watch the "wicht Wallace," and greatly did his enemies rejoice.

Unwitting of the treason against him, he kept his appointment, and was joyfully received by his false leman. Unable to prevail upon him to remain all night, for he would not sleep, he said, until his men he saw, and thinking probably that the plot would be marred, and that she would be exposed to the vengeance of the English commander for having deceived them, she gave way to the utmost grief, and after much questioning by Wallace, confessed what she had done. Believing her contrition to be sincere, he forgave her, and borrowing part of her attire, as a disguise, he hurried away by the south

gate. To the many armed men he found there he dissembled, telling them to hasten quickly to the chamber of the leman, where, he said, Wallace was locked in. Misled by this misinformation, Wallace was allowed to pass without further question, and he hurried on with such strides as awakened the suspicion of some of the soldiers, who followed him as far as the South Inch, where, turning upon two of the foremost of his pursuers, he slew them both.

CHAPTER V.

WALLACE TRACED BY A SLEUTH-HOUND—FAWDOUN SLAIN—HERON
 KILLED BY KARLE—GASK HALL—VISION OF FAWDOUN—BUT-
 LER SLAIN BY WALLACE—FINDS SHELTER AT TORWOOD—
 MEETS HIS UNCLE—VISITS DUNDAFF—IN LOVE WITH A YOUNG
 LADY AT LANARK—HIS HORSES INJURED BY THE ENGLISH AT
 LOCHMABEN—HE SLAYS HUGH OF MORELAND—GRAYSTOCK
 SLAIN BY SIR JOHN THE GRAHAM—LOCHMABEN CASTLE TAKEN
 —ALSO THAT OF CRAWFORD.

It was in the dark month of November (1296) when Wallace so narrowly escaped at St Johnston. In the bustle occasioned by the flight of their intended victim, the Minstrel affirms that his leman fled unperceived, and finding, from the dead bodies, that he had gone in the direction of the South Inch, six hundred armed men were placed around Elcho Park, one hundred being charged with the management of a sleuth-hound* to track out his hiding-place. This hound was bred in Gyllisland, and had been used to course on the Esk, and in Liddisdale. Sir Gerard Heron remained with "the stail," or main force,

* The use of these hounds for such a purpose in Scotland is well authenticated.

while Sir John Butler took the range with three hundred men. The Scots sought for an opening to escape, but found none, so that they were compelled to do battle—forty matched against three hundred men. Wallace and his party fought with their usual gallantry. Forty of the Southrons lay on the ground; but fifteen of themselves were slain. Butler's army at last became so disconcerted that the Scots passed through them to their strengths. On to the Tay side they hasted, with the intention of passing the river; but Wallace found it so deep, that, as half of his men could not swim, he resolved rather to peril all in battle than hazard the lives of his men where he could do nothing to save them. Again they returned to the field, where Butler, having reorganised his party, assailed them with all his power. Do or die was the feeling of the Scots, and they fought with unconquerable courage. Wallace endeavoured to reach Butler, as the readiest way to end the fray; but he was under an oak, with a crowd of men, where a clear stroke could not be got at him, yet dashing forward, a "full royd slope" was made, through which the Scots passed. Stephen of Ireland, "quhilk hardy was and wicht," and "trew Karlé, douchty in mony deid," did great service. Sixty Southrons were slain in this last encounter, and nine of the Scots. Butler, having lost a hundred men in all, retired to "the stail" for a fresh supply, and while Sir Gerard and he were best arranging their plans, Wallace, with sixteen men—

all that survived of the party he had led from the Lennox—made his escape.

The English now put the sleuth-hound upon his scent, and tracked him so closely that he deemed it prudent to deviate from the route he had taken to Gask Wood, preferring another, which lay uphill about two miles distant. On his way thither, an incident happened which has been variously commented upon. Fawdoun, the Irishman, whom the Minstrel, as we have already seen, describes as melancholy of complexion, heavy of stature, dour in his countenance, sorrowful, sad, aye dreadful without pleasance, under the pretence of being tired, refused to proceed further. Wallace, says the Minstrel,

“ ——— was wa to leyff him in that thrang.

He bade him ga, and said the strenth was ner ;

Bot he tharfor wald nocht fastir him ster.”

Wallace, enraged at his stubbornness, and suspecting his fidelity, for he was regarded with suspicion, struck off his head with his sword. Had Fawdoun really been so knocked up that he could proceed no further, it certainly would have been rash in Wallace thus to treat a faithful adherent ; but he was a strong man, and not likely, under the circumstances, to be so reduced by weakness that he could not travel two miles further to a place of security. Wallace was quick and decided in his judgment, and he saw that Fawdoun intended to betray him, as well, perhaps, as to give information where the treasure lay con-

cealed. Upon no other footing could Fawdoun hope to escape the vengeance of the English, who, with the sleuth-hound, were fast upon them. Carrick thinks it a proof of Fawdoun's presumed guilt, that Stephen of Ireland, whom he assumes to have been a countryman and friend of his, did not in the slightest censure the deed of Wallace. But the fact is, that the circumstance is rather an evidence that neither he nor Karlé, as some have supposed, were Irishmen. The Minstrel justifies the act, on the ground of personal safety, as well as policy, for he would have been a lost man to the cause, whether he turned traitor, or was slain by the English. At the same time he adds—

“Deyme as yhe lest, ye that best can and may ;
I bott raherss as my autour will say.”

The stars were now beginning to appear, and five hundred of the enemy were in pursuit of him. Unknown to Wallace, Stephen and Karlé remained behind in concealment. When the English host had reached the spot, the hound stopped at the body of Fawdoun, and would not proceed further. In the crowd of English soldiers who gathered round, Stephen and Karlé mingled unperceived, and as Sir Gerard Heron stooped to look upon the body of Fawdoun, Karlé, by a stroke of his sword upwards, gave him a mortal wound in the neck, and immediately he and Stephen fled towards the Earn. The death of Sir Gerard produced great consternation, and for “woe off wepyng” Butler remained inactive

for some time. They deemed, however, that Wallace must be near at hand, and as the wood was small, it was thought he could not long escape them. Forty men conveyed the dead body of Sir Gerard to St Johnston, and various parties were sent in different directions to beat up the retreat of our hero. A strong power remained at the same time at Duplin. Butler passed to Dalreoch, while the fords were guarded, so as to keep the wood till day-break.

Wallace, with only thirteen men left, sought the forest for his two faithful followers, Stephen and Karlé, whom he grieved for as having been taken by the enemy. In the hall of Gask Castle* they at last lodged themselves, and with two sheep slaughtered from a neighbouring fold—for they were without food otherwise—prepared a repast, of which they stood much in need. While enjoying rest and repose after their fatigue, rude horns were heard to blow on the neighbouring hill. Two men were despatched to see what the matter was, but they returned not. Still the uproar continued, and other two were sent. These two also did not return, and, uneasy at the boisterous noise which “so brymly blew and fast,” he ordered the whole remaining nine to go forth. Thus left alone, “the awfull blast aboundyt mekill mayr,” insomuch that he believed

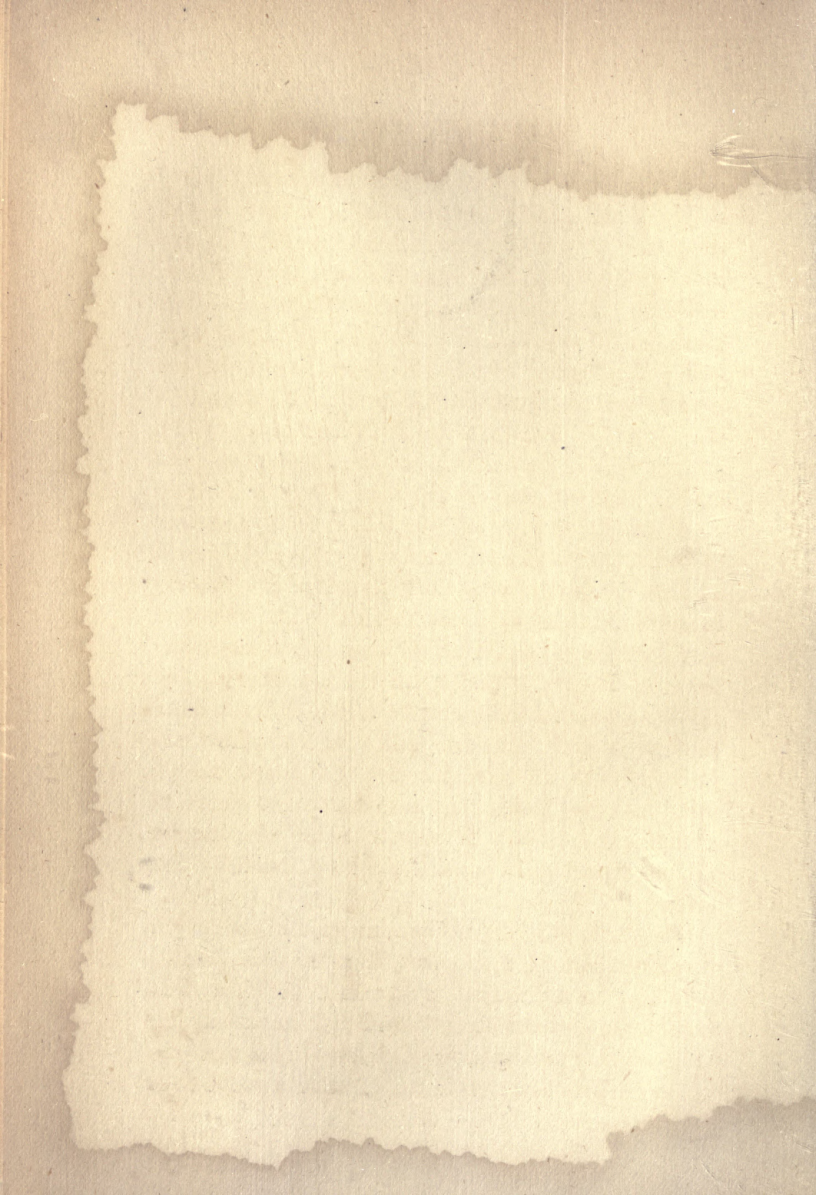
* The old castle of Gask stood nearer the river than the present house of Gask, and the ruins are styled Wallace's Castle, from the traditional adventure which occurred in it.

that his retreat was discovered. Wallace then drew his sword, and stepped forward in the direction of the sound. Here he fancied he saw Fawdoun, carrying his head in his hand. Wallace crossed himself and stood still, not being altogether above the superstitious fears of the period. Fawdoun dashed the head in at him, which he instantly picked up and cast out again. As the Minstrel says, he felt in his heart "gretlye agast," and believing that it was no spirit of man but a devil that had thus appeared to him, he strode up the hall, and resolving no longer to remain there, made his exit by a closed stair, the boards of which he tore away, and leaped fifteen feet over.

Carrick endeavours to explain this incident, which is well in keeping with the superstitious feeling of the age, by natural causes. He assumes that the horns were sounded by the English as a *ruse*, in imitation of a custom of the Scots at that period, when about to charge an enèmy, and that Wallace's men were by this means taken and slain. He supposes also that the head of Fawdoun had become the prize of an English soldier, thinking it that of the outlaw himself, and, venturing somewhat before his companions, threw the head at Wallace on finding that he was mistaken. This is by no means, however, a very plausible way of accounting for the apparition. Had the soldier recognised Wallace in the person he had found in the hall, he would have given information as quietly as possible, in place of



“Fawdoun dashed the head at him, which he instantly picked up and cast out again.”—WALLACE, Page 86.



creating alarm by throwing Fawdoun's head at him. It would seem more natural to suppose that it was altogether a vision—a thing of imagination—on the part of Wallace. No doubt he must have felt uneasy—however justified he might be—at putting Fawdoun to death under the circumstances, and with a mind somewhat disturbed, and drowsy withal from fatigue, it is not surprising that, alone, amidst the gloom of night and the flickering gleam of the fire at which the sheep had been prepared for supper, such a vision should have occurred to him. At all events, it is a very poetical incident, and it is better to treat it as a matter of fancy than to attempt a clumsy solution by matters of fact which may be as unfounded as the vision itself. The Minstrel describes the mind of Wallace as so full of the apparition of Fawdoun, that, after he had escaped and fled up the water, he believed that the ghost had set the hall on fire, and that this vengeful spirit had been the cause of losing his men. Musing in moody mind his thoughts turned heavenward, to divine, if possible, the will of the Creator in all this, making piteous moans as he walked along the banks of the river.

The mists of night had by this time begun to roll upwards upon the mountains, when Sir John Butler, who had been engaged in watching the fords, discovered him. Galloping forward from among his soldiers, he came upon Wallace, and demanded who he was. The latter professed to be on a message to

Sir John Stewart, then in Doune. Butler said he lied, that he had been with Wallace, and drawing his sword, rode forward, with a threat. Wallace struck him above the knee, and cutting his limb in two, brought the knight to the ground. He then seized his horse, and by another sweep of the sword, cut his head from his shoulders. An English soldier, seeing the fall of Butler, set his spear in rest, and rode at him with all his force, so as to bear away the animal from him. Wallace, however, parried the thrust, and speedily deprived him of his weapon; then springing on his prize, he rode through the throng of armed men, who had now gathered round, and took his way to Dalreoch. Having slain a number of his pursuers, some of whom were drowned in the Earn, he fled with all speed through the muir, followed by a large force. The most forward of them he slew before the others could come up to their assistance. The horse was a good one, still he was afraid of his failing before he reached a place of safety. His pursuers were spread wide, so as to prevent his escape, and they were following on him fast. At the Blackford Wallace alighted, and his horse having lost wind, he walked on foot about a mile. By the time he was again horsed, numbers of the enemy were about him; and he felt that this could not last long. He still kept steadily in front, however, slaying the foremost of his pursuers as they neared upon him, until twenty of them had fallen by his hand. Reach-

ing a dark muir, at length his horse sank, incapable of going further. To foot he then betook himself with vigour, and getting out of view of his enemies among the long heather, struck off towards the Forth. Remembering that "Stirlyng bryg of tre" was well guarded by the enemy, he swam the river at Cambuskenneth.

Thus relieved of all immediate danger from his pursuers, Wallace made for the Torwood, where, before dawn on the following morning, at the house of a widow whom he knew, he found that rest of which he stood so much in need. Food she prepared, and while a woman, with her child, was despatched to Gask Hall, to learn tidings of his men, she caused two of her sons to attend him while he slept in a bed prepared at the wood side,* as he would not have been safe in her cottage; the third she despatched to Dunipace, to inform his uncle of his arrival.

After mutual and cordial greetings, Wallace and

* He is supposed to have been secreted in the huge tree, known until late times as Wallace's oak. The reading of the Minstrel hardly bears out this meaning, however. He says—

"Thai beknyt him † to quhat stede he suld draw,
The rone wes thik that Wallace slepyt in;
About he yeid, and maid but litill dyn.
So at the last of him he had a sycht,
Full prewalye how that his bed was dycht."

The expression, "the rone wes thik," would mean, not the hollow of the tree, but that the foliage was so close that he could not be seen from one point.

† Wallace's uncle.

his uncle entered into much debate as to the enterprise upon which he had entered—the latter deriding it as foolish in the extreme to think it possible, by his own influence alone, to compete with the power of Edward. He advised him to take a lordship, whereupon he might live; for he felt assured he would gladly give him abundance of land. Wallace, however, indignantly repelled the idea, saying he was resolved to bring Scotland to peace, or die in the attempt.

On the authority of Major and Fordun, he is said, somewhat sarcastically, to have reminded his uncle of the classic passage which he had so often instilled into him in youth :—

“Dico tibi verum, libertas optima rerum;
Nunquam servili, sub nexu vivo, fili.”*

The discussion, which ended amicably, was interrupted by the arrival of Karlé and Stephen of Ireland, both of whom were greatly overcome of joy when they saw their chief safe and well. They told him of the death of Sir Gerard, and of their escape through the Ochils, and how a true Scot had directed them to the Torwood. While they remained at the widow's that night, the woman arrived who had been despatched to Gask Castle. She told what she had seen on the way—the many proofs, in the dead bodies of Englishmen, of the hot pursuit Wallace

* “I tell you a truth, liberty is the best of all things;
My son, never live under any slavish bond.”

had sustained. She found Gask Castle and hall uninjured, not a stone out of its place, but no tidings of the men who had been entrapped by the blowing of the horns—a circumstance which, no doubt, helped to strengthen the superstitious impression of Wallace regarding the apparition of Fawdoun. “Tharoff,” says the Minstrel, “he grewyt gretlye in that tyd.”

Resolving no longer to remain in the forest, the widow generously supplied him with silver, and gave her two eldest sons to accompany him; while the priest, his uncle, furnished him with “gud horse and ger.” Taking leave of his friends, he and his four attendants, Karlé, Stephen, and the widow’s two sons, rode over to Dundaff* the same night. Sir John the Graham, an aged knight, who had distinguished himself at the battle of Largs, was lord of the land. He had purchased peace of the English, so that he might live in quietness, because of his age, but he had in no way given in his adherence to Edward. Here he was made extremely welcome by its owner, and remained in the castle for three days, resting himself in security. Graham had a son, also Sir John, who had been knighted at

* Dundaff Castle, of which there are still some remains, was situated near the source of the Carron, in Stirlingshire. The old knight of Carron, by some called David, and others John, was proprietor, not only of Dundaff, but of the lands of Strathblane and Strathcarron. The first of the family who appears in charters was *William de Grahame*, in the time of David I.

Berwick, when quite a youth, in consequence of his gallant bearing in one of the Border fights with the Percies. The Minstrel says—

“Alexander the ferss at Berweik maid him knycht,”

a passage which Jamieson does not attempt to explain, and which seems incomprehensible—for we know no Alexander the Fierce or First whom it could refer to. Be this as it may, Sir John Graham the younger and Wallace became warm friends, and they made an oath of mutual fidelity upon a shield in presence of the old knight. Sir John would at once have accompanied Wallace, but the latter, from past experience, counselled wariness until he should visit his friends in Clydesdale and see what force he could command. Graham at once agreed, promising to meet him with all his strength as soon as he should have intelligence of his being wanted. From Dundaff Wallace and his four adherents passed to Bothwell Muir, where they lodged privately with one Crawford, a relation by the mother's side. Next day he proceeded to Gilbank, where his uncle Auchinleck * resided.

Percy, at Ayr, having been informed of all that Wallace had done in the north, much consternation prevailed amongst the English. Some supposed that, because he had not crossed the bridge at Stirling, he must have been drowned in the Forth ; but Percy was of a different opinion—knowing that he

* The Auchinlecks of Auchinleck, as formerly explained.

possessed great strength, and was wise withal. Meanwhile Sir John Stewart * was appointed head sheriff of St Johnston.

Karlé was despatched to Sir Ranald of Corsbie, (uncle of Wallace,) Robert Boyd, Sir Bryce Blair, † and Adam Wallace, his cousin, at Riccarton, to inform them of all that had happened. They were greatly rejoiced at Wallace's welfare, and immediately sent him ample supplies of money. The Minstrel says—

“Maister Jhone Blayr ‡ was eftt in that message,
 A worthy clerk, bath wyss and rycht sawage.
 Lewyt he was befor in Paryss toun,
 Amang maistirs in science and renoune.
 Wallace and he at hayme in scule had beyne,
 Sone efterwart, as verite is seyne,
 He was the man that pryncipall wndirtuk,
 That fyrst compild in dyt the Latyne buk
 Off Wallace lyff, rycht famouss of renoune;
 And Thomas Gray, persone of Libertoune.
 With him thai war, and put in story all,
 Offt ane or bath, mekill of his trauaill;
 And tharfor her I mak of thaim mencioune.”

Wallace remained at Gilbank over Christmas, the English taking little heed of him, thinking that he had been either drowned or slain. The peace with Sir Ranald had, besides, four months to run.

Often he repaired to Lanark for amusement, and many “off that fals nacioune” were slain, none

* Perhaps this should be Sir James. † Of Blair, in Ayrshire.

‡ It is not quite certain whether he was of the Ayrshire Blairs
 † the Blairs of Perthshire.

knowing who did the deed. Hesilrig was then sheriff of Lanarkshire—a man of a cruel and tyrannical disposition, and much dreaded by the people. He marvelled much by whom his men were destroyed, and, for self-protection, caused them to go in greater bodies. Where the number exceeded all chance of quietly despatching the enemy, Wallace courteously refrained; and the conduct of his four men was unimpeachable.

In Lanark there lived a young lady, of great beauty and amiable disposition. She was the daughter of Hew Braidfute of Lamington, who, as well as her mother, was dead.* Hesilrig had done her much harm; he had caused her brother, the young laird, to be slain, and, under the plea of protection, exacted heavy sums from the property, and it was believed he designed her for his eldest son. Wallace had seen this lady on her way to the kirk, and fell deeply in love with her. In vain he attempted to argue himself out of his passion—as inconsistent with the great national task he had undertaken. He consulted Karlé, who advised marriage.

It so happened that this young lady was desirous of seeing Wallace, that she might find protection from the designs of Hesilrig. By means of her maid he was brought privately, through the garden, into her house, where dinner was prepared for his

* Hugh Braidfoot of Lamington, in the shire of Lanark, died about the year 1295.

reception. They discoursed of love with much ingenuousness. As a righteous wife, she said she would be bound to him in all service, but she would "leman be to no man born." Wallace declared his willingness to wed if the kingdom were free; but at this time he might not take such chance. The Minstrel declares his inability to tell the precise nature of the bond concluded between the lovers. To dinner they went; but

"The sayr grewans ramaynyt in his entent;
Loss off his men, and lusty payne off luff.
His leiff he tuk at that tyme to ramuff."

Next morning he left the Gilbank, accompanied by his four men, and proceeded to the Corheid, where his nephew, Tom Halliday,* lived, together with Edward Little, his cousin, who were delighted to see him, thinking he had been slain in Strathern. Three days they abode at Corheid, making good cheer the while. On the third day they bound them for Lochmaben, with sixteen of good chivalry in company. Leaving the party, all but three, in the Knokwood, Wallace, Litill, Karlé, and Halliday entered the town, where dinner was ordered at an hostelry. Meanwhile they went to hear mass, having no dread of Englishmen. While absent, young Clifford, "emys son to the lord," and four with him, came to the inn. He was a presumptuous young man, and had been engaged in not a few

* Halliday appears to have been a relation of Wallace, but the precise degree of connexion cannot be ascertained.

successful tilts. He demanded of the "gud wyff" whose horses these were fastened at the door of the hostelry. Knowing his character, she replied cautiously that they belonged to four gentlemen who had come out of the west. "What devil," said he, "made them so gaily to ride?" and in great scorn cut the tails off the four horses. The hostel wife cried piteously. When Wallace came, and was informed of what had occurred, he followed fast. He was greatly enraged, but jocular withal. Crying after the party, he said—

"Gud freynd, abid,
 Seruice to tak for thi craft in this tyde.
 Marschell thou art without commaund off me ;
 Reward agayne, me think, I suld pay the ;
 Sen I off laitt now come owt off the west
 In this cuntre, a barbour off the best,
 To cutt and schaiiff, and that a wondyr gude,
 Now thow sall feyll how I oyss to lat blude."

So saying, he dealt the captain a stroke that finished his career, and soon another he brought to the ground, by which time his men had slain the other two.

Taking Clifford's horses with them, as well as their own mutilated animals, and after paying the landlady, who made piteous moan, they departed without waiting to dine. When the death of Clifford became known, a strong force, consisting of seven score, was sent from the castle by the English in search of the four Scotsmen. To the Knockwood *

* The "Statistical Account of Scotland," parish of Kirkmi-

they rode for the remainder of their party ; but as the wood was small, and afforded little protection, they alighted for the purpose of leading their horses towards a height. The English force was not above a mile distant, mounted on fresh horses, and shining in burnished steel. The Scots took horse, and, as Wallace advised, sought the Easter Muir ; afraid they were, at the same time, that the hurt animals would fail. As the English neared the Scots, their mounted bowmen shot their arrows fast, and wounded two of them severely. Enraged to see his men bleed, Wallace turned upon them, and in a brief space fifteen were slain, while the rest fled quickly to their strength again, followed by the Scots. Tom Halliday, however, discovered an ambuscade of two hundred of the enemy, and immediately counselled his uncle to withdraw.

At the Corheid, as the Minstrel remarks, they

chael, says :—"There are several indistinct remains of ancient fortifications, but no tradition about any other than a small fort in the Knockwood, called Wallace's house, said to have been thrown up by Sir William Wallace, after he had slain Sir Hew of Moreland and five of his men, at a place still named from that the 'Sax Corses,' *i. e.*, the six corpses, and where there are two or three large stones, which seem to have been set up in remembrance of some great transaction." It is evident, from the narrative of the Minstrel, that Wallace had no time to construct such a defence, although he may have taken temporary advantage of some old remains. It is evident, also, that the six corpses do not apply to the event alluded to. Tradition—although generally founded upon some leading fact—is very apt to be wrong in the details.

would fain have been, which the Southron perceiving, they followed quickly. Sir Hew of Moreland, one of the most esteemed warriors in the north of England at the time, led the pursuit. He was clad in well-forged steel, and mounted on a noble courser. Wallace drew up under a large oak, and, awaiting the advance of Moreland, clove him, head and shoulders, with one stroke of his two-handed sword. He then seized the spear, and mounted the horse of his enemy, for his own was spent by loss of blood. Wallace, now surrounded by the English, was rescued by his men, who speedily returned to the charge, and for a time the *mélée* continued with great fury on both sides. Halliday maintained the fight boldly on foot, while Wallace, on horseback, and with spear in hand, rode through their ranks. Three he slew ere he lost his weapon; then, drawing his sword, he dealt death on every side. At length the English took to flight, glad to seek the castle for safety. Besides their commander, Moreland, they lost twenty men at this bout, while the Scots did not lose one, five being wounded only. One Graystock, next in command, and who had but lately come to Scotland, upbraided his countrymen for flying before such a handful. With three hundred in his train, he followed fast upon the Scots, vowing that he would be revenged. Wallace's men were now mounted on the horses of their enemies, their own being greatly knocked up. He himself rode somewhat in the rear—

“And Halyday prewyt weill in mony place;
Sib sister sone he wes to gud Wallace.”*

Expecting to be followed by the English, they rode warily, and arrayed their small band so that they could not come upon them in a body, and, from experience, they were afraid to advance in detail. Approaching in array together, the English saw how coolly Wallace rode within so short a distance; and from Moreland's horse they knew the rider to be him. They immediately advised Graystock not to pursue further; but he abused them for cowards, and, watching a proper place for attack, continued to follow. Wallace was unwilling, with so few, to accept battle on the plain, and careful not to expose his men, he kept riding anxiously, sometimes in front and sometimes in the rear, till his horse could travel no further.

Sir John the Graham, of Dundaff, formerly alluded to, had fortunately been at the Corheid, with thirty good warriors in his train, to learn tidings of Wallace, and meeting with Kirkpatrick of Torthorwald, a relative of our hero by the mother's side, who had been in Eskdale Wood for the last half year in opposition to the English, they joined their forces, Kirkpatrick being accompanied by fifty men. As soon as they perceived the friends they were in search of, they rode down upon the English, making

* The Minstrel must mean by “sib sister” that Halliday was Wallace's cousin—son of his mother's sister; but, unless Malcolm of Ellerslie had been twice married, this could not have been possible.

great slaughter. Wallace, on foot, "gud rowme he gat." The Southron fled, and, remounted on the enemy's horses, the Scots made all diligence to block up the chase. Graystock took flight on "a stern horss and stout," accompanied by a hundred of his men, who held together in the rout. Aware that in flight the best always pass with their chief, Wallace, with some warmth, urged Sir John the Graham, whom he found before him cutting down whosoever he might overtake, to pursue with his fresh horse the flying chief. Kirkpatrick also understood the counsel, and joining with their whole strength in pursuit, while Wallace brought up the rear, Graystock was soon overtaken and slain by Sir John the Graham, and the entire rout was either killed or dispersed. When the battle was over, which "rycht at the skyrt off Queenysbery befell," the greeting between the chiefs was of the most gratifying description, Wallace apologising, with all the natural goodness of his disposition, for the apparent heat of his remonstrance while in pursuit of the foe. As the Minstrel quaintly remarks—

"Schir Jhone the Grayme to thaim come happely."

By this time the day was down, and night approaching fast. Counsel having been asked of Wallace, he recommended an attack on Lochmaben Castle, as, after what had occurred, few men could have been left for its defence. This was at once agreed to; and as they approached, the night being dark, Tom Halliday, best acquainted with the country, was re-

requested to lead the way. Calling one of his men, John Watson, who had been a sojourner in the castle for some time, as he said, against his will, they rode on, going smartly up to the castle gate. The porter came forward, and began to ask tidings of Watson. "Open quickly," said the latter, "for the captain is coming." Unwisely he did as requested, and was instantly slain by Halliday. Watson, with the keys in his hand, followed by the main body under Wallace, found no one to oppose him, the inmates consisting of women and two servants. All parties having fasted for a considerable time, and provisions being largely spread before them, with ale and wine, a sumptuous repast was enjoyed; meanwhile the flying English, men-at-arms and on foot, who had been at the Knockhead, were admitted by John Watson as they sought the shelter of the castle, ignorant of what had taken place, and instantly put to death—

"Na man left thar that was of England born."

Next day, the castle having been well inspected, Johnston, relative of Halliday, "nere neuo to Wallace," was sent for, and constituted captain of Lochmaben, with a goodly array of men under him. The women had leave to go to England. Next morning Wallace and Sir John the Graham proceeded to the Corheid, where they remained for the night. The following day, after dinner, they rode to Crawford Muir, Tom Halliday returning to the Corhall, where he continued without fear, none of the English knowing

that he was concerned in the late skirmishes. Kirkpatrick passed into Eskdale Wood, where he expected to abide in safety.

Wallace and Graham, with forty men, proceeded down the water from Crawfordjohn, and towards night lighted upon Clyde. Wallace suggested an attack upon Crawford Castle, and undertook, with one in company, to proceed in advance by way of strategy. A Cumberland person, of the name of Martindail, ruled over the whole of the lordship of Crawford at that time. Accompanied by Edward Litill, Wallace went on his way. Near an hostelry, not far from the castle, he met with a woman who counselled him, if he were a Scot, to pass on, for the Southrons of the castle had been drinking there for a length of time, and from their conversation about one Wallace and the taking of Lochmaben, she was afraid he would meet with harm. Learning that the woman was a true Scot, and thinking the chance most opportune, as no man of fence had been left in the castle, Wallace, beckoning to Sir John the Graham, at once entered the house. "*Benedicite!*" said he to the company. The captain, branding him for a Scot, asked him what "bellamy*" he was that came so grim." Without further parley he drew his sword, and laid about him with such good-will that in a short time he had slain fifteen, Edward Litill, who kept the door, having despatched other five, which made up the full complement of the

* Friend—from the French *belle ami*, good friend, no doubt.

fighting men belonging to the castle, all of whom were then in the hostelry. Sir John the Graham, as enjoined by Litill, passed on to the castle with his men. He set fire to the gate, and there being no one but women within, an entrance was soon made good. Little provision was found in the place, yet they lodged there all night, bringing supplies from the hostelry. Next day they spoiled the house, burned all the timber work, and leaving it a ruin, proceeded to Dundaff, where they spent the night in pleasance.*

* According to Carrick, tradition states that Wallace, when he sought the hostelry, was disguised as a beggar; and the inn, nay, the very room in which the slaughter occurred, is said still to exist in the village of Crawfordjohn. The narrative of the Minstrel does not countenance the idea of disguise; and the question of the captain, in answer to Wallace's "*Benedicite!*" seems to intimate that he appeared in a more formidable shape than that of a beggar—

— "Quhat bellamy may thou be,
That cummys so grym?"

CHAPTER VI.

WALLACE MARRIES THE HEIRESS OF LAMINGTON—ASSAULTED BY THE ENGLISH, AND RETREATS TO CARTLANE CRAIGS—MURDER OF HIS WIFE BY HESILRIG—SLAUGHTER OF HESILRIG BY WALLACE—BATTLE OF BIGGAR—CHOSEN GUARDIAN OF SCOTLAND—TAKES A STRENGTH ON THE CREE—ALSO TURNBERRY CASTLE—TRUCE AT RUTHERGLEN—RESIDES AT CUMNOCK.

THE octaves * of February were over and part of March (1296-7) before Wallace left Dundaff for Gilbank. With the spring-time of the year, which the Minstrel describes so glowingly, when "wooddis has won thar worthy weid off greyne," Wallace's love for the young and unprotected lady of Lamington returned in all its fervour; and, after sundry meetings with her, and much debate with himself on the subject of love and war, they became united. The Minstrel says, according to his author, "scho was his rychtwyss wyff." The question has been much disputed; but the fact evidently rests on the statement of Henry, who, in this instance, pointedly refers to his "auctor" Blair, the party, he being a priest and friend of Wallace, by whom the marriage

* The space of eight days after a festival.

ceremony was probably performed. How long they lived together the Minstrel could not declare, but the issue of their union was a daughter, who, he says, was married to a Squire Shaw. There is nothing at all dubious in the statement of Henry as to this incident in the life of his hero. He made no secret of his intercourse with the false leman of St Johnston, and as little delicacy might have been expected in this instance had the visits of his hero to the heiress of Lamington been of an equally unlicensed character.* Notwithstanding the happi-

* Thus, according to the Minstrel, Wallace had a daughter by his marriage, and the Baillies of Lamington hold to be descended from her. It is difficult, however, as Carrick observes, to understand how this happened. Taking it for granted that this daughter was legitimate, the Minstrel says she was married to one "Squire Shaw," and that "rycht gudly men come off this lady ying." The Baillie descent may have been by a second marriage—succeeding to the property through failure of the first family, if there were any; or by marriage with the heiress of the Shaws. At all events the fact that the daughter of Wallace succeeded to her mother's property of Lamington is in itself a proof that she was legitimate. Wallace does not seem to have possessed any property himself. The son of Sir Malcolm, his elder brother, Sir John Wallace, succeeded to Ellerslie, which afterwards fell into the Riccarton family. Had Dr Jamieson attended to this statement of the Minstrel, it would have dissipated all doubt arising from the property of Ellerslie having reverted back to the main stock of the Wallaces. Alluding to the "justice aire" which he called at Lanark (about 18th August 1297), the Minstrel says—

"His brothir sone put to his heritage."

Legitimate or illegitimate, therefore, the daughter of Wallace could not succeed to the heritable property of Ellerslie. Langtoft mentions the capture and execution of a Sir John de Wal-

ness he enjoyed with his "wedded love," the mind of Wallace continued to run on the depressed condition of his country, and he could not live at ease so long as the Southron lorded it over his native soil. The Minstrel is highly poetical when he says—

“Now leiff thi myrth, now leiff thi haill plesance;
 Now leiff thi bliss, now leiff thi childis age;
 Now leiff thi youth, [now] follow thi hard chance;

 Now leiff thi luff, for thou sall loss a gage,
 Quhilk neur in erd sall be redemyt agayne;
 Folow fortoun, and all hir fers owtrage;
 Go leiff in wer, go leiff in cruell payne.”

It was, says the Minstrel, in the year 1297 that Wallace went into Lanark amongst his mortal foes. He was accompanied by nine of a following, and Sir John the Graham, who came also into the town, had fifteen. They went to hear mass at the kirk, which was situated without the burgh. They and their men were "graithit in gudly greyn," which was the fashion of the season.* Hesilrig, the English sheriff, and Sir Robert Thorn, a subtle knight, resolved to cross Wallace on his return from devotion. One of his boldest men, a person of light and jeering words, thus saluted him—

lace, whom he calls a brother of Sir William, but a mistake of this kind may be easily accounted for. The memory of Wallace is still fresh in Lanark. The house in which he resided stood at the head of the Castlegate, opposite the church.

* According to Wyntoun his armour was concealed under his belted mantle of green.

“ ‘Dewgar, gud day, bone senyhour, and gud morn !’
 ‘ Quhom scornys thow ? ’ quod Wallace, ‘ quha lerd the ? ’
 ‘ Quhy, schir, ’ he said, ‘ come yhe nocht new our se ?
 Pardoun me than, for I wend ye had beyne
 Ane inbasset to bryng ane wncouth queyne.’
 Wallace answered :— ‘ Sic pardoune as we haiff,
 In oyss to gyff, thi part thow sall nocht craiff.’
 ‘ Sen ye ar Scottis, yeit salust sall ye be ;
Gud deyn, dawch lard, bach lowch banyoch a de. ”

This affords, with what follows, a good specimen of the banter of the times. The Englishman taunts Wallace with having newly come over the sea—in other words, with being an Irishman—just as a vulgar banterer of our own day would say, “Are ye not newly *swam* ?” and he concludes by saluting him, both in Scotch and Gaelic, “Good morning, lazy laird ; if you please, God bless you !” The last line is curious, as indicating that Gaelic was still understood in the west country as late as the days of Wallace. Indeed, it is said by Buchanan not to have been extinct in Ayrshire in his time ; and there is reason to believe that Robert the Bruce, from his being a native of Carrick, knew the language sufficiently to converse with his Highland adherents.

Wallace was unwilling at this time to have any disturbance, so that the scorn of words was prolonged with greater patience than he generally exercised. At length the English so gathered round, while Sir Robert Thorn and Hesilrig were seen approaching with “thair power,” that the Scots

deemed it folly longer to parley. The *mélée* which ensued is described by the Minstrel to have lacked nothing of the blood and slaughter that usually characterised such onsets. The English, however, mustered so strongly that, after leaving fifty of them dead on the street, the Scots were glad to make their escape. "The *woman*," says the Minstrel, saw the peril they were in, and immediately lifting the gate, allowed them to pass through her premises, Wallace and Graham keeping back the enemy till the whole of their party were safe. The Scots fled to a retreat at Cartlane Craigs, where a cavern is still pointed out as the cave of Wallace. On the escape of his victim, Hesilrig had "the *woman*" apprehended, and instantly put to death.

That the Minstrel means by "the woman" the heiress of Lamington, whom he says Wallace had married, there can be no doubt, for it is not probable that such "*gret dulle*" would have been occasioned by the fate of a strange person, however much she might have contributed to the safety of the party.

Wyntoun, upon whose statements great reliance may generally be placed, relates this skirmish with the English somewhat differently. He represents it as altogether a private adventure of Wallace himself, he being wholly unaccompanied. He also describes Hesilrig as absent on the occasion, but that on his return, and learning the amount of slaughter committed, and that the escape of Wallace had been

effected chiefly by means of the heiress of Lamington, he gave orders for her instant execution.

It is difficult to account for this disparity. There is such a similarity between the writers in the introduction and dialogue, previous to the fight, that, as Carrick remarks, it is impossible to doubt that they were either taken from the same source, the history of Wallace by Blair, or that the Minstrel borrowed almost the precise words of Wyntoun. In either case the difference is puzzling. If Blair's work was the authority of both, how could they have—either the one or other of them—so far departed from their information? If the Minstrel borrowed from Wyntoun, why did he deviate from him in everything save the introduction, unless he had good reason so to do? As Wyntoun wrote nearly a century before the Minstrel, it is not likely that the latter was ignorant of the fact; and if so, he must have had the "process" of his author (Blair) to go by in preference. In such a case, therefore, we can hardly do as Carrick has done, prefer the story of Wyntoun to that of the Minstrel.

Intelligence of the death of his wife was brought to Wallace by "a trew woman," her servant. His grief, as well as that of Sir John the Graham, and all who were with them, was extreme. Seeing them weep so sorrowfully, Wallace endeavoured, while his own spirit was wellnigh breaking, to encourage his friends—

"'Cese, men,' he said, 'this is a butlass payne;

We can nocht now chewyss hyr lyff agayne.

The bailfull teris bryst braithly fra his eyne.
 Sichand he said: 'Sall neuir man me se
 Rest in till eyss, quhill this deid wrokyn be,
 The saklace slauchter off hir, blith and brycht,
 That I avow to the Makar off mycht,
 That off that nacioune I sall neuir forber,
 Yhong nor ald, that abil is to wer :
 Preysts no wemen I think [nocht] for to sla,
 In my defaut bot thai me causing ma.
 Schir John,' he said, 'lat all this murnyng be,
 And for her saik thair sall ten thousand de.
 Quhar men may weipe, ther curage is the less;
 It slakis ire off wrang thai suld redres.'"

While at Cartlane Wood, Wallace was joined by his uncle of Auchinleck, (who had heard what had befallen,) with ten adherents. Bent on revenge, the party proceeded to Lanark at night, the English watch little thinking of them at the time. They parted on entering the town, Wallace and his men to find out Hesilrig, and Sir John the Graham and his followers to search for Sir Robert Thorn. The sheriff was asleep in his own house, which was distinguished from others by its height. Wallace broke open the door with his foot; Hesilrig, alarmed, rushed towards the stair, where he was caught by Wallace and slain. As he fell over, Auchinleck, not knowing that he was dead, stabbed him twice. Young Hesilrig, coming to the assistance of his father, met a similar fate, and the cry going rudely to the street, great numbers were collected. Sir John the Graham set fire to the house of Sir Robert

Thorn, who perished therein. The townspeople rallied to the assistance of Wallace, and upwards of twelve score of the enemy were slain. Lanark was now entirely in the hands of the Scots, and the news of what had occurred travelling into all quarters, great numbers flocked to join his standard, and he was unanimously chosen as chief and leader. He now made no secret of his intention to free his country from the yoke under which she laboured.

With the adventure at Lanark, Wallace first appears as the champion of his country in most of our early chronicles. It is taken notice of chiefly as immediately preliminary to his openly declaring himself as the enemy of English dominion.

At this time the lordship of Bothwell was possessed by Sir Aymer de Vallence,* one of Edward's men, while Murray, the rightful owner, fled to Arran. This person sent a despatch to Edward, apprising him of the movements of the Scots, and of their intention to reconquer the kingdom. Great preparations were accordingly made by that monarch for a fresh invasion of Scotland, "that rewme to statut new." A Scotsman, born in Riccarton, was with Edward, as one of his pursuivants. He knew all England well, and had been in Normandy, France, and Flanders. He was called by the English,

* A Scotsman, according to the Minstrel, and evidently, from the name, of the same stock of Walenses or Valenses as Wallace himself. There is some dubiety, however, about the identity of this person.

Grymsbe, from his burly, dark appearance. Hearing of Wallace, this person fled secretly from Edward, and sought the Scottish chief, whom he found in Kyle, whither he had gone to collect what forces he could. From this person Wallace had the fullest tidings of England, and the intentions of Edward. He was called Jop by the Scots, and being a person of ability and faithful, he was made arms-bearer of Scotland.

On his return from Ayrshire, Wallace speedily assembled his forces. He gave a free discharge to all who accepted of his peace, for what they had done before. His uncle, Sir Ranald's, truce with Percy had expired, still he was under a bond, so that he durst not be known himself in battle against the Southron, but he sent all the men he could command, and the Wallaces, his own relations, poured in to him from all sides. Under Adam Wallace of Riccarton, and Robert Boyd, a thousand horseman came from Cuninghame and Kyle to his standard at Lanark. Sir John the Graham and his good chivalry, Sir John of Tinto, "gud Auchinleck," and many a true Scot, to the number of three thousand on horseback, and a vast concourse on foot, but without proper arms, were arrayed under the Scottish banner.

The Minstrel says that by the time this had occurred, Edward of England, with sixty thousand men, had advanced as far as Biggar, a village in Lanarkshire. There is probably a mistake here, for

Edward is said to have been then on the Continent. But as the precise date* is not given, it is impossible to say decidedly. The Minstrel may have spoken figuratively of the presence of Edward. It is probable, at the same time, that the number of the English is exaggerated. Be this as it may, he gives a very circumstantial account of what took place—

“Thai playntyt thar feild with tentis and pailionis,
 Quhar claryowns blew full mony mychty sonis;
 Plenyst that place with gud wittail and wyne,
 In cartis brocht thar purwiance dewyne.”

The “awful king,” he says, caused two heralds to proclaim, that if Wallace came within his grace, he should have pardon and reward; if not, he was to be treated as a rebel, and hanged. He then proceeds to tell how young squire Fehew, sister’s son to the king, went in disguise with the heralds, that he might have a sight of the Scottish chief, who, with his army, lay at Tinto Hill. Wallace replied by a written document in the most scornful manner; and having been informed by his standard-bearer, Jop, who squire Fehew was, he caused him to be be-

* The battle of Biggar must have been fought in April 1297. It is not mentioned by any of the contemporary English historians, and is, therefore, regarded as apocryphal; yet we cannot think that such a rising as unquestionably took place at Lanark would be allowed to go unchecked for any length of time; and it is so borne out by traditional circumstances, that it is impossible to doubt that an important engagement took place at Biggar. Edward does not appear to have left England on his expedition against Philip of France till the summer or autumn of 1297.

headed,* while the two heralds were mutilated in a manner which attested his insatiable hatred of the ravagers of his country.† Wallace then designs to visit the English host, of which purpose he informs no one save Sir John Tinto.‡ Betwixt Culter and Biggar he met a delf merchant, with whom he bargained for an exchange of clothes, his horse and pitchers. In this disguise, as night approached, he passed through the English encampment, and observed the manner in which it was arranged. He was subjected to much annoyance by the soldiers, who made sport of him, broke his wares, and otherwise enjoyed themselves at his expense. Amidst the ribaldry and noise, he fled with all speed back to his own army; and well he did so, for they considered him lost or betrayed, and as Sir John Tinto was the last person seen in his company, suspicion

* No such person can be traced in the "Fœdra," or elsewhere, and the story is considered fabulous. The same person, and his death, however, are again referred to by the Minstrel, in detailing the particulars of Wallace's invasion of England, after the battle of Stirling, so that unless there was some authority for the statement he would hardly be found returning to it.

† The narrative of the Minstrel makes no disguise of the fact that Wallace was animated by the most deadly hatred of the English, and on no occasion did he spare them. It at the same time bears ample testimony to his uniform leniency to the priesthood and women whom he had in his power. He has been accused of the contrary by the chroniclers of England; but this is a mistake, if his biographers—Blair and the Minstrel—be correct.

‡ Nothing more is known than the name of this individual; yet the Hill of Tinto, or "Tinto's Tap," is a prominent feature in the topography of Lanarkshire.

so fell upon him, that Graham had caused him to be bound, and the cry rose to burn or hang him. Wallace speedily unbound the knight, and made known the business he had been upon. Sir John the Graham was somewhat displeased, saying it was not chieftain-like to put himself in such peril; but Wallace replied that they must all put themselves in greater peril ere they should win Scotland.

Having rested till near day, the whole army was put in motion. Wallace himself, with Boyd and Auchinleck, leading the van; Sir John the Graham, with Adam of Riccarton and Somerville, led the second thousand; the third was placed under Sir Walter of Newbigging, David his son, and Sir John Tinto. Behind these three divisions he ranged the footmen, with instructions not to engage until they saw the proper time, as they wanted harness and weapons to sustain the first encounter.* He then called all the chieftains together, and gave strict injunctions that the men should be kept from pillage until the battle was gained—

“Wyne first the men, the gud syne ye may haiff.”

Thus prepared, and with one accord, they pushed on to the English camp. On their way they were joined by Tom Halliday, with his two sons, Wallace and Rutherford, and Jarden † and Kirkpatrick, with

* The same arrangement as Bruce seems to have made at Bannockburn, when he stationed the *gillies*, or camp followers, on the rising ground behind the main army.

† Supposed to have been ancestor of the Jardens of Applegirth in Annandale.

three hundred men in arms. The sight of them gave great pleasure and encouragement to the Scottish army. Wallace, who knew the encampment, led on his division against the pavilion of the king, or his representative. The first onset was terrific, the whole host being taken by surprise. The mass of the English rallied round the pavilion, and there the battle raged with dreadful fury. The Earl of Kent, who had been out during the night with five hundred men, rushed to the rescue. Sir John the Graham dashed in with his second division; next the third, bearing down the pavilion; and then the foot, following in clamorous fury, arming themselves with what weapons they lighted upon. The Earl of Kent, who gallantly maintained the fight in advance of the pavilion, was at length cut down by Wallace, when the whole host began to give way, bearing off their leader reluctantly. Four thousand of the English were killed on the field, and seven in the flight. Twenty thousand of them fled in a body. The Scots pursued as far as Culter Hope, when they were recalled. By this time the sun had risen clear and high, and returning to the camp, the elated army of Wallace fared sumptuously on the rich purveyance of the enemy. After a little rest, they spoiled the encampment of all its stores—of jewellery, money, and other valuables. Thinking the English might rally, Wallace, with good generalship, resolved not to risk another encounter on so plain a field. Causing the spoils of the camp to be deposited in

Ropis Bog, he led his army to Davis Shaw, where they remained the greater part of the day.

When the English commander saw that the Scots had ceased the pursuit at Culter Hope, he rested the flying host at Johnie's Green, where his broken army gathered together. He grieved much for the loss sustained. The king's brother, Hew,* two nephews, and the Earl of Kent, were amongst the slain. Two cooks, who had escaped from the camp at Biggar, informed the English general how the Scots were regaling themselves, and that they might be easily overcome in their drunkenness. He would not, however, be moved by such a tale, believing that the Scottish leader had more skill than allow himself to be so taken. The Duke of Longcastle, however, obtained leave, at the head of ten thousand men, to make the trial. He was joined by Westmoreland, and a lord of Picardy, who had kept Calais with Edward, each commanding a thousand horse. These twelve thousand were joined by the whole power of Roxburgh and Berwick, Sir Ralph Gray, and Aymer de Vallence, with his power. On arriving at Biggar, they were surprised to find nothing but dead corpses. They were speedily informed, however, of the whereabouts of the Scots. As soon as Wallace was apprised of their approach, he removed his army from the wood to Ropis Bog, leaving their horses in a little shaw at the one side of it, where people on foot might pass. His design

* This is considered fabulous.

was to sustain the English onset on foot. Seeing where the Scots had passed, Longcastle resolved to follow, thinking that the moss, which was covered with long grass, would avail them little. In this they were greatly mistaken. The advanced squadrons of the English sunk deep in the mire, and became an easy prey. Then the Scots took to dry ground, and fiercely assailed the remainder. Sir John the Graham, after having been rather roughly handled by the Knight of Picardy, pierced at last his "brycht byrneis" steel, and brought him dead to the ground. Wallace would fain have been at the false Vallence, but Westmoreland, who was between, received the stroke, while Robert Boyd slew a captain of Berwick. The English now fled at all points, carrying the news of their defeat to their chief, who sought the south with great sorrow. At the Birkhill he tarried a little, then crossed the Solway into England. Meanwhile the Scots sojourned in counsel at Braidwood.

Such is the account of the battle of Biggar given by the Minstrel. It is very circumstantial, still it is quite possible that he may have been misled, or rather that Blair, his author, was, as to Edward having been present with the English army. That there was a battle of some importance is evident from the tumuli at the east end of the town, and the tradition of such an encounter is never questioned. In the "Memorie of the Somervills," of whom Sir Walter of Newbigging was an ancestor, it is men-

tioned that David his son, then only in his fifteenth year, behaved so well that he was knighted, possibly by Wallace himself, on the spot.

Success having thus crowned the efforts of Wallace so far, he appointed a meeting to be held at the Forest Kirk. Here he was appointed warden, and received all who accepted of his peace. Among others came Sir William Douglas, who had been taken prisoner by Edward at Dunbar, determined no longer to acknowledge allegiance to the usurper. He was the more welcome that he had never appeared in arms on the side of the English. Into the south Wallace soon afterwards passed, and ruled the country as he thought best—appointing Scotsmen as sheriffs and captains, in lieu of the deposed English. The victory of Biggar must thus have been an important one, since such results followed. As the Minstrel says—

“ Fra Gamlis peth the land obeyt him hail,
Till Ur wattir, bath strenth, forest, and daill.”

In Galloway no house stood out against him, save that of Wigton—the captain of which stole away by sea to England, leaving everything waste. Wallace appointed one Adam Gordon as keeper.

A strength on the water of Cree,* from its peculiar construction, held out for some time. It was situated on a rock, the only entrance to which was barred by a strong wooden gate. Behind was the sea. Wallace visited this place himself at last, and re-

* Cruggleton Castle. See the *M'Kerlies*, at the end of the volume.

solved to take it. Leaving his party out of sight, he took only two with him—Stephen and Karlé, who could climb under the water.* The rock they mastered in this manner, and the guard, taking no heed of invasion from such a quarter, were instantly overpowered, the gate opened, and the whole of his men admitted. The garrison, sixty in number, were put to death. An old priest and two women only were left alive. Wallace and his men remained in the stronghold until all the purveyance of the English was consumed. He then dismantled the place, and retired.

To Carrick they next rode, and finding at Turnberry that the captain was at Ayr consulting with Percy, they set fire to the gate, when the castle was speedily surrendered, a priest and some women being the only parties left within. Wallace spoiled the place, and next day proceeded to Cumnock. From thence he reached Lanark, where he held a court of justice for the punishment of evil-doers. Having placed his brother's son in his heritage,† he returned to the Black Crag, where there was a castle which anciently belonged to the Dunbars. This house he garrisoned strongly with his adherents, and remained there in "gud rest" for three months.

The position of parties at this time was, that

* There is some dubiety about this expression, but such are the words of the Minstrel.

† His elder brother must have been slain before this time, as the Minstrel elsewhere asserts.

Wallace held all the south country and Galloway. Percy still held Ayr; Aymer de Vallence Bothwell, and Bishop Bek ruled over Glasgow. Such, too, was the state of Edward's affairs on the Continent that a truce with Wallace was deemed the most prudent step. The Earl of Stamford was then Chancellor of England. He and Aymer de Vallence were the chief negotiators in this affair. A meeting was arranged, on terms of mutual protection, to take place in the Kirk of Ruglen, where Wallace attended with fifty warriors as a guard. Sir Aymer de Vallence introduced the Chancellor of England to him; but Wallace refused to salute him, because he was an enemy of his country, and at once demanded his business. "To procure peace," said the Chancellor, "I am sent by our King." After some debate, Wallace said—

"Schyr, we jangill bot in wayne,
 My consell gyffis, I will na fabill mak,
 As for a yer a finaill pess to tak.
 Nocht for my self, that I bynd to your feill,
 I can nocht trow that euir ye will be leill;
 Bot for pur folk gretlye has beyne supprisyt,
 I will tak peess, quhill forthir we be awisit."

A band was then drawn out, to the effect that there should be a truce between the Scots and English for a twelvemonth, everything remaining as it then was—

"Castell and towne suld stand in that ilk stait."

This band, which was made in the month of Febru-

ary 1297,* having been signed and sealed, Wallace passed into the west country. He handed over the indenture to his uncle, Sir Ranald, and retired to his castle at Cumnock, having no great confidence in the good faith of the enemy.

Wallace first appears in history in 1297. Wyntoun narrates the occurrence at Lanark as happening in this year; and of course the battle of Stirling Bridge and his subsequent invasion of England are mentioned by various historians. The previous adventures of Wallace, and his repeated encounters with stray bodies of the English, rest wholly on the credit of the Minstrel; yet we see no reason to doubt his authority. It must be obvious to every one that Wallace could not spring into the position of leader of the army of Scotland, and guardian of the kingdom, without having previously recommended himself to his countrymen by the display of a prowess and success in war that placed him far above all competitors for such a position; but these particulars could not well be known to the English historians, while our own Wyntoun does not pretend to write a history of the hero, because, as he tells us, there were already so many *gestes* of his good deeds, that it would require a volume to do justice to his memory, and to write which he had neither "wit nor good leisure." As the biographers of Wallace, such

* The battle of Biggar could not have been fought before the month of April, consequently the Minstrel must be wrong here, unless the treaty was arranged to date *back* to February.

incidents in his earlier career were only to be expected from Blair or the Minstrel. That insurrectionary movements had taken place in Scotland is amply proved by the letter of Edward in 1296, addressed to Cressingham, still preserved in the *Rotuli Scotiae*, ordering him not to scruple to spend the whole money in his exchequer to put down these violent disorders.*

* Tytler.

CHAPTER VII.

VISION IN MONKTON KIRK—BARNES OF AYR—THE FRIARS' BENISON
—BEK AND PERCY DRIVEN OUT OF GLASGOW—DEATH OF
ROKEBY—STIRLING CASTLE TAKEN—MAKFADYAN AND HIS
ARMY DESTROYED AT THE PASS OF BRANDIR—COUNCIL AT
ARDCHATTAN—ST JOHNSTON TAKEN—ENGLISH DESTROYED AT
DUNOTTAR—SHIPS BURNED AT ABERDEEN—CASTLE OF DUN-
DEE BESIEGED—BATTLE OF STIRLING BRIDGE—CRESSINGHAM
SLAIN—SIR JOHN MENTEITH JOINS WALLACE—CRYSTAL OF
SETON.

As Wallace had dreaded, no long time was allowed to elapse ere symptoms of duplicity on the part of the English were observed. Early in April Edward held a council at Carlisle, to which many of the English captains were summoned, but no Scotsman, save Aymer de Valence, "that traytour was off auld." It is supposed that it was by his advice the English adopted the treacherous proceedings which followed. A justice aire was ordered to be held in the Barnes of Ayr, on the 18th of June (1297), to which all the leading men of the district were summoned. Percy, the Governor of Ayr, having been made aware of what was intended, refused

to be a party to such treachery, and one Arnulf, of Southampton, was appointed in his place. Another justice aire was called, on the same day, for the district of Glasgow—the great object being that Wallace should not escape.

Scotsmen wondered how the English should take such masterful proceedings on hand during the treaty of peace. Sir Ranald, the hereditary sheriff of the county, called a meeting of his friends prior to the 18th of June, at Monkton Kirk, which is situated about four miles from Ayr. Wallace, the Warden of Scotland, attended. The Minstrel says—

“This Maistir Jhone a worthi clerk was thar :
He chargyt his kyne for to byd fra that Ayr.”*

We presume that, by this “Maistir Jhone,” the bard means the chaplain of Monkton; and the reason he gives for his foreboding of evil is the departure of Percy, who had gone to Glasgow on pretence of attending the fair. The Minstrel here indulges in another of those superstitious occurrences characteristic of the age. After Wallace had entered the kirk, and fallen into slumber, Kneland, who followed, supported him while in this condition. In the vision which he saw, he thought an aged man approached, and taking him by the hand, and addressing him as his son, presented him with a sword of huge dimensions, “off burly burnist steill,” the plummet of which was of topaz stone, and both “hilt and hand” glittered like glass:—

* That justice aire.

“Gud sone,” he said, “we tary her to lang ;
Thow sall go see quhar wrocht is mekill wrang.”

Then he led him to a mountain and disappeared. Wallace followed with his eyes, and would fain have learned more of him. Then he saw a fire gleaming, which quickly spread over the whole of Scotland, from Ross to Solway Sand. Then descended

“A queyne,
Inlumyt lycht, schynand full brycht and scheyne.”

In her presence there was so much light that it wholly eclipsed the fire. She gave him a wand of red and green, and with “saffyr sanyt his face and eyne.” Addressing him as the chosen of Heaven to help those who suffered much wrong, and bidding him to be of good courage, though his reward should be small on earth, she handed him a book ; then ascending the cloud from which she had emerged, soared out of sight. On breaking up the volume, he found it to be written in three parts, the first in brass letters, the second in gold, and the third in silver. In his anxiety to make out the writing, Wallace awoke. Stepping from the church, and telling the worthy clerk of his vision, the latter unriddled it to the best of his ability. It was St Andrew who gave him the sword ; the mountain was a clear knowledge of the wrongs he was to right ; the fire he saw would prove evil tidings ; the lady, from her brightness, might be the Virgin Mary ; the wand represented rule and severe judgment ; the red betokened battle and blood ; the green, courage ;

the sapphire stone, with which she blessed him, indicated lasting grace; and the three-fold book meant his broken country, which he was destined to redeem. The brass letters spoke of oppression and war; the golden, honour and worthiness; the silver, clean life and heavenly bliss. This vision—which is also recorded by Fordun—and its interpretation, though it may be regarded only as a poetical fiction, is interesting as illustrative of the peculiar auguries of the time, some of which are not extinct in our own day.

From Monkton Kirk, Wallace rode home to Corsbie with his uncle, where the night was passed, and next morning set out for the justice aire. They had ridden as far as Kingcase,* when Wallace, with much depression of spirit, inquired for the band of peace, which had been agreed upon at Ruglen Kirk. Sir Ranald answered that it was at Corsbie in the charter-chest. Deeming it prudent to have it, lest the English should prove false, Wallace, at the desire of his uncle, rode back to Corsbie for the document. As no one save themselves knew where to find it, it would have been useless to send a messenger. Wallace, taking three of the company with him, returned to Corsbie accordingly. Sir Ranald rode on to the town, unsuspecting of deceit, and at once proceeded to the Barnes where the court was to be held.

* An hospital on Prestwick Muir, supposed to have been endowed by Robert the Bruce. But it would thus appear to have been in existence before he became king of Scotland.

These Barns, according to the statement of the Minstrel elsewhere, had been originally erected for the baggage of Edward—

“For gret bernys that tyme stud in till Ayr,
Wrocht for the king, quhen his luyng wes thar.”

It may be observed, however, that there was anciently a public barn or barns in Ayr, for the use of the burgh tenantry, the whole lands now forming the parish being the property of the burgh, the magistrates of which fulfilled the duty of the baron, having the right of “pit and gallows,” according to feudal tenure.

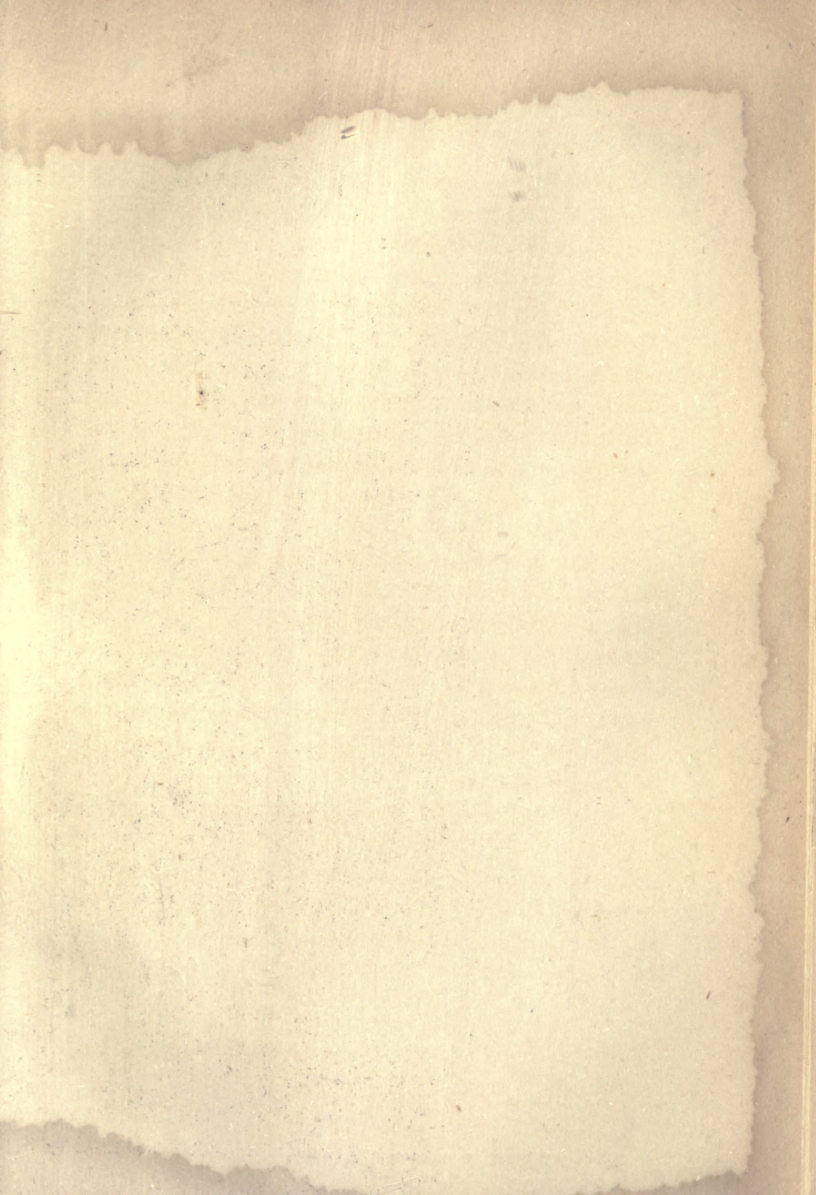
In the present instance, the Barns spoken of by the Minstrel must be regarded in the singular number, and he no doubt means *barracks*. “For gret bernys,” we should read, “for great barracks” at that time stood in Ayr—not that there were *four* barns, as in the printed editions. Dr Jamieson was certainly right in adhering to the MS. in this instance. It was—

“Byggyt about, that no man entir mycht,
Bot ane at anys, nor haiff off othir sicht.”

The whole description bears out that there was only one apartment—

“A bawk was knyt all full of rapys keyne ;
Sic a towboth sen syn was neur seyne,
Stern men was set the entré for to hald :
Nayne mycht pass in, bot ay as thai war cald.”

The building is thus spoken of wholly in the singular, *a tolbooth, the entry*.





“Wallace was hurrying unconsciously to the Barns, when he was hailed by his niece.”—WALLACE, Page 129.

Sir Ranald is described as the first to enter this infamous trap. A running cord, or noose, was immediately slipped over his head, by which they suspended him to the beam. Sir Bryce Blair, ancestor of the Blairs of Blair, still existing in Ayrshire, and his nephew, were the next victims; then "a gentill knycht," Sir Neil Montgomerie, of the noble house of Eglinton. Of Wallace's friends many were put to death: the Crawfords, Campbells, Boyds, Barclays, and Stuarts of Kyle, and Kennedies of Carrick. Eighteen score of barons and knights, according to the Minstrel, perished on this occasion. He says—

"Dolour it is heron to tary lang,"

and cuts short his story of the horrid tragedy. The dead bodies are said to have been cast out naked.

Robert Boyd, who had come to town apparently in the following of Sir Ranald, passed with twenty of the Wallace men to a tavern. Karlé, Kneland, and Byrd* had accompanied Wallace back to Corsbie. Stephen of Ireland, going out to the street, was informed by a "trew woman," whom Wallace afterwards addresses as "der nece," of what had happened. With Boyd and his men he retired to Laglane wood. Meanwhile Wallace had arrived from Corsbie, and was hurrying unconsciously to the Barnes, when he was hailed by his niece, and

* *Baird*, believed to have been the ancestor of the Bairds of Newbyth. There was, however, in later, if not in these times, a branch of the Bairds who held the property of Kilhenzie, in Carrick.

warned not only against entering, but to revenge the death of his kin. He was overwhelmed and confounded by the intelligence. Urging the woman to acquaint Boyd, Adam Wallace of Riccarton, and William Crawford,* he turned his horse in the direction of Laglane wood, where Boyd and Stephen had gone before, saying,

“Adeu market, and welcum woddis greyne.”

Fifteen men, with a macer, followed to compel his attendance at the justice aire. They of course did not know him, but the reception they met with convinced the few who returned that it could be no other than “the wicht Wallace.” He and his three men killed ten out of the fifteen, the rest made their escape.

The new Governor, Arnulf, to encourage his men to remain firm with him, promised that every gentleman should be made a knight, and that the lands of the dead barons were to be divided next day. Four thousand Southrons, as the Minstrel tells us, were that night in Ayr, and the Justice, for ease, chose rather that they should lodge in the Barns or Barracks, than the castle. Great provision had been made for the entertainment of the English on this occasion—

“Gret purwians be se to thaim was brocht,
With Irland ayle, the mychteast that couth be wrocht.”

* Second son of Sir Reginald, and cousin of Wallace. He is supposed to have been ancestor of the Crawfords of Haining in Stirlingshire, and of the Crawfords in Linlithgowshire.

Ireland, it would appear, was much famed in the thirteenth century for ale. The English had no watch set, and enjoyed themselves to great excess, both in eating and drinking. As the Minstrel says—

“Thar chyftayne than was gret Bacchus off wyn.”

Aware of the revelry in which they had indulged, and of their helpless condition, the “trew woman,” formerly mentioned, gathered together a number of the Ayr men, at the head of whom she proceeded to Laglane wood, and there met Wallace. They carried with them ample refreshments, so that all who chose might eat and drink. A considerable body of men having now been brought together, Wallace briefly addressed them, in reference to the dreadful tragedy which had been enacted, and the necessity of having some “remeid therefore.” Although he was Warden of the Marches, yet as many were there who had not been present at his election, he insisted that five should be chosen from the company, and that these five should cast lots who should be leader. Wallace, Boyd, Crawford, Adam of Riccarton, (the father of the latter being now dead,) and Auchinleck. These five thrice their “caffis cast,” and thrice the lot fell upon Wallace. Then, drawing his sword, he solemnly vowed neither to eat nor drink until vengeance should be wrought upon his enemies—

“For sleuth nor sleip sall nayne remayne in me,
Off this tempest till I a wengeance se.”

Wallace instantly formed his plan, which was to

set fire to the Barns and every house where the English were quartered. To his niece and a burgess of Ayr he assigned the duty of chalking the doors of the enemy. Then twenty men he sent to make withes, with which they fastened the "yetts" or doors of the chalked houses. Robert Boyd, with fifty men, he ordered to keep watch on the castle, so as to prevent any issue of forces from it when they should perceive the flames. With the remainder of his company Wallace went to the Barns; and having been well supplied with "lynt and fyr" by his female friend, the barracks and all the other dwellings in which the English were soon burst up into flame—a "lemand low," as the Minstrel has it. Strict injunctions had been given by Wallace to his men, as they kept guard on the ignited buildings, not to allow one to escape. The Justice himself was called upon in derision, amidst the flames—

"Lat ws to borch* our men fra your fals law."

The whole vicinity was soon alarmed, and the scene must have been fearfully appalling. The Minstrel describes it as surpassing everything "bot purgatory or hell." Men, driven to madness by smoke and fire, vainly attempted to escape—

"Sum durris socht the entré for to get;
 Bot Scottis men so wysely thaim beset,
 Gyff ony brak, be awntur, off that steid,
 With suerdis sone bertuyt thai war to dede;
 Or ellys agayne beforce drewyn in the fyr,
 Thar chapyt nayne bot brynt wp bayne and lyr."

* "Borch," surety, pledge; but in this sense it should be redcem.

The Minstrel relates an incident in the destruction of that evening that well illustrates the feeling of revenge which the treacherous conduct of the English had called into action. Seven score of them had taken lodgings in the monastery of the Black Friars. There were at that time several religious houses in Ayr, but the one in question stood on the river side, at the Townhead, not far from the Barns, the site of which is yet pointed out. Some of the fruit-trees planted by the friars still exist; the Friars' Well is near at hand, but the grounds have long since been occupied as a brewery. A "frer Drumlay," says the Minstrel, "was priour than off Ayr." Near midnight he placed a guard upon his sleeping and unwelcome intruders, and arming himself and seven other of the friars in good harness, when the Barns were on fire, they set upon the sleeping inmates at such various points, that many of them fled naked into the river, and nearly the whole company were either killed by the sword or drowned—

"Drownyt and slayne war all that herbryt thar,
Men callis it yeit 'The Freris blyssing of Ayr.'"

Few men had been left in the castle, but most of the soldiers that were there issued out immediately on seeing the fire. Boyd and his men allowed them to pass, then entered the building, and slew all that remained. Leaving twenty of his followers to maintain the castle, Boyd passed forth with the remainder to aid Wallace in keeping the town. According to

the Minstrel, five thousand of the enemy met their death that night in Ayr.* This event must have occurred about midsummer in 1297. It is wholly doubted by Hailes, who founds his opinion chiefly on the statement of Arnold Blair, who is sometimes confounded with Blair, the author of the Latin memoir of Wallace, and whose *relations* are known to be a meagre collection of facts from Fordun. Dr Jamieson incontrovertibly defends the Minstrel in this instance, and shows that the mistake lies with Blair in postdating the circumstance. Blair says, "On the 28th August 1298, they (Wallace, Graham, Menteith,† and Scrymgeour ‡) set fire to some gra-

* The number is, no doubt, exaggerated. An absurd tradition is repeated by Carrick, to the effect that Wallace did not remain till the conflagration was finished, but that, "at an elevated part of the road, on his return," he halted to look back, exclaiming, "The Barns of Ayr burn weel," from which circumstance the old church near the spot, he says, took the name of "*Burn weel Kirk*." The name of *Barnweil*, a property belonging to the family of General Neil, whose death in India was so much lamented, existed long before the days of Wallace. It is from the Celtic, *Bar'-n-wield*, the hill of streams, and is applied to a ridge of high land, now in the parish of Craigie, not far from the seat of the Wallaces. The parish of *Barnweil*, to which the church belonged, was suppressed in 1673. On the crowning height of *Barnweil*, a monument to Wallace, in the form of a substantial tower, was erected a few years ago, with the hearty concurrence of the proprietor of the lands, by William Patrick of Trearne, Esq., W.S., Edinburgh, a patriotic Ayrshire gentleman.

† The notorious Sir John Menteith. He for some time acted in concert with Wallace.

‡ Alexander Scrymgeour, ancestor of the Viscounts of Dudhope.

naries in the neighbourhood of Ayr, and burned the English cantoned in them." As already stated, the circumstance must have occurred about midsummer in 1297. None of the English chroniclers mention the butchery of the Barns of Ayr. The reason is obvious enough. Hailes was himself of opinion that the "story took its rise from the pillaging of the English quarters, about the time of the treaty of Irvine, in 1297." His favourite authority, Hemingford, no doubt suggested this. He says, that "many of the Scots and men of Galloway had, in a hostile manner, made prey of their stores, having slain more than five hundred men, with women and children." Whether he means that this took place at Ayr or Irvine is doubtful, but it seems unquestionable that it is the burning of the Barns of Ayr he refers to—forgetting, at the same time, all allusion to the treacherous tragedy which provoked the severe retaliation.

Of the narrative of the Minstrel there is ample corroboration. Barbour, in "The Bruce," speaking of Crystal of Seton, says—

"It wes gret sorrow sekyrly,
 That so worthy persoune as he
 Suld in sic maner hangyt be.
 Thus gate endyt his worthynes,
 And off Crauford als Schyr Ranald wes,
 And Schyr Bryce als the Blar,
Hangyt in till a berne in Ayr."

The "Complaynt of Scotland," written in 1548, upwards of twenty years prior to the printing of

the "Life of Wallace," also speaks of "the blac parliament at *the bernis of Ayr*," and the tragedy enacted by Edward there. Hailes seems to have been wilfully obtuse on the subject of what he calls "the famous story of the Barns of Ayr." There can be no reasonable ground for doubting the fact that it occurred some considerable time before the battle of Stirling Bridge.

When Wallace had gathered his men well together, he proposed that they should proceed without delay to Glasgow, for there a similar justice aire had been called, and he was afraid their friends might have suffered. He summoned the burgesses, and commanded them to keep the castle till his return. Selecting a sufficient number of horses from amongst those which had belonged to the English troopers, three hundred well-harnessed Scots took the road for Glasgow, and passed the "bryg, that byggyt was off tre," ere the Southron were alarmed. Bishop Bek, (of Durham,) who kept the town and episcopal castle belonging to the see of Glasgow, soon assembled his garrison, consisting of a thousand "men in armyss brycht," to resist the approach of the Scots. Wallace divided his small force into two, and arrayed them in proper order at the town-end.* He called Auchin-icck, who was well acquainted with the locality—

* Glasgow was then but a stragglng village, consisting chiefly of a single street, now called the High Street, at the head of which stood the castle, belonging to the see of Glasgow, occupied at the time by Bek.

“ ‘Uncle,’ he said, ‘ be besy in to wer.
 Quhethir will yhe the byschoppys taill upber,
 Or pass befor, and tak his benysone?’ ”*

Auchinleck replied in the same humorous vein—

“ ‘Unbyschoppyt yeit, forsuth, I trow ye be ;
 Your selff sall fyrst his blysyng tak for me.
 For sekyrly ye seruit it best the nycht,
 To ber his taill we sall in all our mycht.’ ”

Auchinleck took the back of the town, with instructions to strike in with as little delay as possible, by the North-east Raw, so as to take the English in flank, while Wallace and his division pressed boldly up the main street. On parting, uncle and nephew took each other by the hand. Adam of Riccarton was with Auchinleck, and seven score men. Wallace and Boyd gallantly led the other division right up the High Street. The English marvelled at the smallness of the company. A short time brought them into contact with Bek. The meeting was dreadful,—

“ The strang stour raiss, as reik vpon thaim fast,
 Or myst, throuch sone, vp to the clowdis past.”

Unequal as the contest was, Wallace and his men pressed forward stoutly, and many well-harnessed warriors were brought to the ground. Auchinleck and Adam of Riccarton soon appeared at the North-east Raw, and thoroughly parted the Northumber-

* Anthony Bek was a younger son of the Baron of Eresby. He was elected Bishop of Durham, 9th July 1283. He was the Cardinal Wolsey of his time, magnificent in everything ; he supported Edward in all his wars, and approved himself a good warrior.

land men in two. The assault of Auchinleck's party was so vigorous that they soon made great room, and Wallace, pressing into the throng, struck the standard-bearer down.* The death of this person damped the courage of his followers so much, that four hundred of them fled by the Friar Kirk, carrying the Bishop with them, to "a wode fast besyd." From thence, on fresh horses, they fled to Bothwell. Wallace pursued, and not a few of the enemy were overtaken and slain; but Bek himself and his best men escaped, through the assistance of Sir Aymer de Valence.†

* The Minstrel says Percy, but he is in error, for it is certain that Percy was not slain on this occasion. He is supposed to have been either in the east of Scotland with Robert de Clifford, or in England with his uncle, the Earl of Warren. Henry of Hornecester, a stout monk, is probably the party supposed to have been Percy. He was unhorsed by Wallace, and as he carried the banner of the Bishop, his fall had a discouraging effect on the English.

† In 1296 an edict was passed by the Scots for the expulsion of all English ecclesiastics; and Knighton and other authors complain of the cruelties exercised under Wallace in carrying this order into effect. Carrick defends the Scottish chiefs, on the ground that these ecclesiastics had been the means of falsifying the records of the country, intrusted to their charge, with the view of supporting Edward's claim of supremacy. They certainly had done much mischief, and would have done more; and although the Scots are chargeable with almost savage retaliation occasionally, yet, when we think of the butcheries of Edward at Berwick, Dunbar, and Ayr, and his merciless and overbearing attempts to enthral Scotland, it is by no means wonderful that the feeling of revenge was strong amongst the Scots. Fordun simply states that Wallace *pretended* to execute the

Of the extraordinary exertions of Wallace and his followers on this occasion the Minstrel says—he engaged at Ayr at ten o'clock at night, burned the Barns, was at Glasgow by nine next morning, encountered and defeated Bek, was at Bothwell an hour after noon, chastised Vallenge—then turned again, “as weyll witnes the buk,” and rested not till he reached Dundaff, where he told Sir John the Graham, much to the grief of the latter that he was not with him, of all that had happened. Wallace sojourned five days at Dundaff, during which tidings were brought him that Buchan, Athole, Menteith, and Lorn, had risen against Argyll in the interest of Edward.

Sir Neil Campbell of Lochow* maintained his heritage in defiance of Edward. One Makfadyan, a low-born Irishman, had obtained a gift of Argyll and Lorn from Edward, with the view of bringing the more inaccessible portions of Scotland under his control, and “fals Jhon off Lorn†” had concurred in it, having been made a lord in England, with a “grettar wage,” by Edward. Duncan of Lorn, however, still struggled for the lands, and took part with Campbell. Makfadyan was supported by four lordships, and commanded a force, of all gatherings, of fifteen thousand men. Many of them he had

edict of 1296. In the expulsion of Bishop Bek, however, and his myrmidons, it must not be forgotten that he was a powerful military leader as well as an ecclesiastic.

* Ancestor of the Dukes of Argyll. † Macdougall of Lorn.

brought out of Ireland, and with characteristic savagery, they spared neither women nor children. "Thai bestly folk," as the Minstrel says, "couth nocht bot byrn and sla." Makfadyan entered suddenly into Lochow. Campbell defended himself well; with three hundred men he retired to Cragvuyne,* by the head of Bradher Pass, a dangerous and difficult defile, and having broken the bridge, the enemy could not approach his strength, except by a ford, over the Avis or Awe, which he dared hardly attempt, lest Campbell should set upon him at a disadvantage. Lochow abounded in cattle, and Makfadyan expected to live there with his army for some time.

In these circumstances, Sir Neil Campbell despatched Duncan of Lorn, accompanied by Gil-michael,† in search of Wallace—whom they found at Dundaff—to obtain assistance against Makfadyan. Campbell and Wallace had been at school at Dundee together, and no doubt imbibed the same patriotic sentiments which animated our hero. Earl Malcolm, who held the Lennox with ease at this time, proffered the aid of men, and

* Carrick presumes that there was a castle there at this time, and probably he is correct; but the Minstrel does not say so. The rock, where the castle stood, he states, is called *Crag-andradh*, the *rock of the ladder*—admission to which was, in former times, by means of a ladder. *Cragvuyne*, or rather *Craganuni*, however, seems to have been the ancient name.

† *Gillie* means a servant, so that Gil-michael was Michael, the servant of Campbell.

to him there came also Richard of Lundin.* Wallace determined no longer to remain at Dundaff, being anxious to see the force with which Makfadyan ruled the western Highlands. Sir John the Graham, of course, also bound him to ride in this expedition. At this time Rokeby held Stirling Castle in great force. When Wallace approached this stronghold, he disclosed to Earl Malcolm a project for taking it. He caused his followers to separate into different bands, so that the garrison might not know their real strength. Earl Malcolm remained in ambush with the main force, while Wallace, accompanied by Sir John the Graham, and a hundred stout followers rode through Stirling. Towards the bridge they took the most open way. When Rokeby saw how few there were of the Scots, he took seven score of good archers with him, and followed fast upon Wallace. A skirmish immediately ensued, in which Wallace and Graham pressed gallantly upon the enemy. Graham had his horse shot down by arrows, on seeing which Wallace alighted, and fighting on foot with great vigour, the English were fain to turn for safety to the Castle; but Earl

* Lundin, in Fife; he was a powerful baron in that district. He is said to have brought 500 men to Wallace on this occasion. Robert de *London*, the king's son, appears in a charter of William the Lion to Perth, 1210. He was the king's natural son, and married the heiress of Lundin. Richard, the compatriot of Wallace, was their lineal descendant. In 1679 the family of Lundin, because of their origin, obtained leave to bear the royal arms of Scotland.

Malcolm had by this time come between them and the gates, and thus pressed in, a fearful fight and slaughter ensued. In the press of arms, Wallace came in contact with Rokeby, and slew him; but his two sons, with about twenty followers, made their way into the castle. Earl Malcolm resolved upon taking this stronghold, there being few to defend it. He did so, the two young Rokebys and their men having surrendered; but Wallace would not be driven from his first purpose. Makfadyan had committed great outrage upon the Scots, and he was determined to be revenged, or die in the attempt. At Stirling bridge two thousand men assembled under his banner, and with this force he took his way to Argyllshire, Duncan of Lorn acting as guide.

Gilmichael, who knew the country well, was sent forward as a spy. By the time Wallace arrived at Strathfillan,* part of his army, particularly the "small fute folk" were much fatigued, and fell behind; but seeing that it would be bad policy to delay his intended attack, and still worse to advance in broken array, he selected the most able. He had one hundred western men under his own banner;

* The author of "The Bridal of Caölchairn" is of opinion that this is a mistake, either upon the part of the Minstrel or his amanuensis, or the transcriber, because Strathfillan opens from the west, which could not be the direction in which Wallace approached; but coming from the south-east by Strathern, it would be at Fillan's Hill, a small conical mount, once sacred to the saint, where his men became fatigued. Passing over the mountains from this the army would enter Glendochart.

as many more he ordained to Sir John the Graham ; giving five hundred to Sir Richard Lundin, and Adam Wallace of Riccarton. Five hundred were left to follow as soon as they were in a condition to do so.

In this order the force took the mountain, and were soon in Glendochart, where they met Gilmichael, the spy and Sir Neil Campbell, who had moved from Cragvuyn to meet Wallace, whom he was overjoyed to see with such timely assistance. Joined by three hundred Campbells,* and drawing up by Lochdochart, Gilmichael was again despatched to spy the enemy. Having met with one of Makfadyan's emissaries, he learned that it was the intention of that intruder to move out of Craigmore, in the course of the day. Gilmichael afterwards slew his informant, that he might not carry back intelligence to Makfadyan. It being impracticable for horses, from the nature of the ground, Wallace's force alighted, and proceeded on foot, four deep, between the loch and the mountain. Here, as Campbell remarked, it was impossible for Makfadyan's men to escape, for behind there were "bot rochis heich," and in front "wattir depe and wan." Now augmented to eighteen hundred men, Wallace's troops advanced at once upon the "gret ost" of Makfadyan. The latter

* In a foot-note, Carrick states that part of these men were the retainers of Malcolm Macgregor of Glenorchy, chief of the clan Macgregor. The chief is known at all events to have been a staunch follower of Robert the Bruce.

were speedily broken, with much slaughter ; still, from their superior numbers, they rallied and fought with much resolution. Wallace and his men, however, so stoutly on them bore, that "the battaill on bak fyve akyr breid thai ber." Wallace, Graham, Campbell, Lundin, Adam Wallace, and Robert Boyd, astonished the rebels by their feats of arms. Makfadyan and his Irishmen, however, fought with the desperation which their circumstances inspired, and maintained the strife for upwards of two hours. But the Scots directing their efforts chiefly against the Irish, and making such "slopyys through the thrang," they were compelled at length to flight. Some ascended the rocks, and so many took the water that two thousand of them were drowned. The Scotsmen on the side of Makfadyan, kept the field, and threw down their arms, crying to be admitted to grace with Wallace, who ordered that none of their countrymen should be slain, but that the "outland men" should not escape with life. Makfadyan fled, with fifteen adherents, to a cave under Craigmore, where he was pursued by Duncan of Lorn, who slew the party, and brought the chief's head in triumph to Wallace. Campbell, taking it by the hair, threw it high into Craigmore, there to stand,

"Steild on a stayne for honour off Ireland."

All who made peace with Wallace* were restored

* The scene of this battle has been well described by the author of "The Bridal of Caölchairn." He takes the account given by the Minstrel, and comparing it with the locality, proves

to their lands, and Lorn enjoyed a quietness of rule it had not known for some time.

Immediately after this victory, a council was held at Ardchattan. All Lorn was given to Duncan, on condition that if his brother's son came from London, where he had greater wage, and abandoned the interest of Edward, the possession should be delivered up to him. Many true Scotsmen now joined Wallace. Amongst others came Sir John Ramsay of Ochterhouse,* with sixty men. He had maintained himself in opposition to the English in Strathern, though reduced to great distress by confiscation of his property, and otherwise. He was father of Alexander Ramsay, so honourably mentioned by Barbour in "The Bruce." One Sinclair,† a prelate of Dunkeld, who had been spoiled by the English, and lived under the protection of James, Lord Steward of Bute, also joined Wallace. The body of men who had been left behind, unable to proceed,

the position of the respective parties, and the precise field of the decisive struggle, beyond all question. It must have occurred in the northern extremity of the Pass of Brandir. Sir Neil had warily drawn his pursuer into this pass on the east side, so that when he came to Cragvuyn, or Craganuni, he had nothing to do but break down the wooden bridge or "bridge of tree" over the river Awe, to find himself in comparative security—while he could at any time, under cover of night, leave his retreat unknown to Makfadyan, who lay at Craigmcre, in the expectation of capturing Sir Neil.

* In Forfarshire. He was heritable sheriff there.

† William Sinclair, the patriotic Bishop of Dunkeld. He was a younger son of Sir William Sinclair of Roslin.

now came to the field where Makfadyan had been defeated, and gathered up whatever of weapons or harness they found, so that the Scottish host was considerably augmented as well as flushed with victory.*

* This expedition of Wallace against Makfadyan is noticed by scarcely any one except the Minstrel; yet, as Carrick remarks, it is impossible to doubt the Bard, who, being blind, could not so accurately describe the advance of Wallace through the intricacies of such a district unless he had been quoting from the narrative of Blair. The names of the places which he mentions are well known at the present time. *Uagh Mhac Phadan*, or M'Fadyan's cave, is still pointed out; and the rock on which his head was set is called *Beinnean Mhac Phadan*, the peak of M'Fadyan. The ruins of the priory of Ardchattan, where the meeting with the chiefs of the West Highlands was held after the battle, still exist. Numerous coins of Edward have been found in the vicinity, and, in 1829, as stated in the *Glasgow Herald* of the time, a number of them were found in an earthen vessel, on digging a grave at Balvodan, a burying-place a few miles from the priory. Many of these coins had been struck in Dublin. This is a remarkable confirmation of the Minstrel. None of Edward's troops are known to have penetrated the West Highlands, and the inference justly is that these coins formed part of the spoils of Makfadyan's camp. That invader was unquestionably in the service of, and paid by Edward. The name of Makfadyan and the Irish are odious to this day in Argyllshire, although the inhabitants of the West Highlands themselves have frequently been styled Irish by old writers, a fact which shows that they, at least, do not believe in the Irish origin assigned to the Scots. The tradition of the defeat of Makfadyan is also strong amongst them; and when we know that their knowledge of such an event could neither be derived from the Latin history of Blair, nor the poem of the Minstrel, because of the purely Celtic speech of the inhabitants until recent years, it would be absurd to question the truth of the Minstrel's narrative.

Certain incidents are recorded in connexion with Wallace, both before and after the council held at Ardchattan, of which the Minstrel takes no notice whatever. They rest almost wholly on the authority of Hemingford, a favourite chronicler with Lord Hailes. It is said that Wallace and Sir William Douglas made a rapid march to Scone, where Ormesby, the justiciary of Edward, was holding his court. The surprise was all but successful. Ormesby narrowly escaped, many were slain, and an immense booty captured.

Amongst other accessions of strength, the national party was joined about this time by the younger Bruce, with his Carrick retainers, those of his father, in Annandale, having refused to march under his standard. Hemingford also states that Bruce had, immediately before, attended the summons of Edward at Carlisle, where he took the oath of allegiance, and, by way of testifying his sincerity, ravaged the lands of Sir William Douglas, carrying his wife and children into Annandale. Hemingford, as Hailes remarks, seems to have been pretty well informed as to Scottish affairs at this period; but it must not be forgotten that he was one of the monks of Gisborn, who had extensive possessions in Annandale, and who were no doubt anxious to show that their dependents were well affected towards Edward.

The insurrection in Scotland had now assumed such an aspect that Edward deemed it necessary to

pause in his preparations for an expedition to Flanders, and ordered the Earl of Surrey, general of all the forces north of the Trent, to despatch an army to the north sufficiently powerful to put down the revolt. Forty thousand foot and three hundred cavalry accordingly entered Scotland, under the command of his nephew, Lord Henry Percy, and Robert de Clifford. When this formidable body were on their march through Annandale, a night attack was made upon their camp by the Scots, and although they succeeded in doing considerable damage, yet their force was too small to effect more than a surprise.

The English, proceeding to Ayr to enforce the peace of the Galloway men, learned the whereabouts of the Scots army, and came up to them near Irvine, encamped in a well-chosen position, evidently with the intention of giving battle. They were numerous enough to have done so, but the dissensions among them ran so high, that Sir Richard Lundin, with all his following, is said to have gone over to the enemy, declaring that "he would no longer remain with a party at variance with itself." The cause of dispute seems to have been chiefly as to who should be the leader. Many others followed the example of Lundin—the most prominent of whom were the Steward of Scotland, the Knight of Bonkill, his brother, Robert Bruce, William Douglas, Alexander de Lindsay,* and Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, whom Wallace had

* Lord of Crawford.

restored to his see by driving out Bishop Bek. The treaty by which these parties were to be restored to favour with Edward was negotiated by the bishop. The terms were, submission, and hostages for their future loyalty. It was expected that Wallace would have also adhibited his name to this document, which is preserved by Hemingford, and is dated 9th July 1297, but he indignantly refused to do so, and is said to have retired towards the north, accompanied only by Sir John the Graham, Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwell, and his own immediate friends and adherents. Percy and Clifford, satisfied with having broken up the Scottish forces, and procured the submission of the barons, seem to have immediately retired to England.

It is curious that this important episode in the career of Wallace has been omitted by the Minstrel, who carries him directly northward from the scene of his triumph over Makfadyan. That he was present at Irvine with the army at all, seems more than doubtful. If he were, it is rather surprising that, amidst the disaffection of his own countrymen, and in the presence of so large a body of English, he should have been allowed to retire unmolested with his followers. The silence of the Minstrel convinces us that he was not present. Assuredly he was not there when the submission was entered into, because the deed, written in Norman-French, bears the following words, which are subjoined, "Escrit à Sire Willaume;" "the meaning of which, I presume,"

says Lord Hailes, "is, that the barons had notified to Wallace that they had made terms of accommodation for themselves and their party;" in other words, that they had written him as to what they had done, which plainly enough implies that he was at some distance at the time. Tytler infers that he was with the army at Irvine, but the inference is not supported by the slightest authority.

The fact seems to be, that, after the burning of the Barns of Ayr and the success of Wallace in driving Bishop Bek from Glasgow, and while he was absent on the expedition to Argyll, the leading men of the west of Scotland—such as the Steward and young Bruce of Carrick—had assembled their followers, and drawn together a formidable army, altogether apart from Wallace, with the view of supporting the national cause; but not approving of his leadership, and at variance amongst themselves on the subject, they submitted to the English as the only means of safety. Graham and Murray are said to have been the only men of note who adhered to Wallace, but both of these patriots were with him in Argyll. Had he retired from Irvine in July so thoroughly deserted as he is represented, with his *prestige* damaged in consequence, is it likely that he could have rallied a force in the north of Scotland so formidable as to defeat an English army of upwards of fifty thousand men at Stirling Bridge on the 11th September following—scarcely two months afterwards? The statement of Blind Harry is much

more consistent with probability, that he led a small but efficient body of men into Argyll, where, with the assistance of the Campbells, he totally defeated Makfadyan, and was joined by numerous parties at Ardchattan, his army subsequently swelling with numerous additions as he proceeded northwards to Dundee, and from thence to Stirling. It is, besides, altogether doubtful whether Sir Richard Lundin deserted the national party at Irvine. The statement rests with Hemingford alone, who may have been misinformed. At the battle of Stirling Bridge he is said to have advised the English army to cross the river by a ford, which he would point out, in place of going over the narrow bridge. Now, this story is by no means probable. Although he had gone over to the English side in disgust, as is said, it can hardly be supposed that he would so suddenly and entirely lose sight of his *amor patriæ* as voluntarily to suggest what was calculated to prove so injurious to his countrymen, under the leading of one whom he had so recently followed with evident enthusiasm. In no other instance, besides, is his name ever mentioned by the English chroniclers, even by Hemingford, as having fought on the side of Edward. On the other hand, he is uniformly represented by the Minstrel as one of Wallace's principal chiefs, fighting with him against Makfadyan, and even at the very battle of Stirling, where Hemingford so pointedly speaks of him as on the side of Warren and Cressingham.

Under these circumstances, we hesitate not to follow the narrative of the Minstrel. Having remained sufficiently long at Ardchattan, Wallace took his way for Dunkeld; and thinking of St Johnston, he counselled with Ramsay as to how it might be captured. The veteran knight at once approved of the attempt. The walls, he said, were low, although the ditch was deep, but it could easily be filled up so as to pour a thousand men into the town at once.

At Dunkeld they remained four days, carefully preparing ordnance for the coming siege. "Ramsay gart byg strang bestials off tre,"* which men were taught to bring down the river Tay when wanted. In the siege Sir John was the chief guide. When the army had encompassed the town, or "willage," as the Minstrel calls it, for Perth must then have been a small place, they rapidly filled the ditches with earth and stone; and laying planks of timber on long supporting beams, made a clear passage to the walls, against which they brought their bestials to bear with good effect. Ramsay and Graham besieged the turret bridge, while Wallace and his men assaulted the centre of the town. The English made a valiant defence—

"With awblaster,† gayne, and stansys fast,
And hand gunnys rycht brymly out thai cast."

* *Bestials*, derived from the Latin word *bestialis*, applied originally to engines called *rams*, *sows*, &c.

† Awblaster, a cross-bow.

But all their efforts were vain. A thousand men passed hastily over the walls. Ramsay and Graham gained the turret gate, and the whole force had free entrance. At this juncture the Scots were joined by a true squire, called Ruan, (Ruthven,)* with thirty men, who did good service. The English were now speedily overwhelmed. Two thousand of them lay dead on the streets. Sir John Stewart, the governor, took to flight in a light barge, with sixty of his chief men, and sought refuge in Dundee. Wallace remained three days in St Johnston, despoiling it of all the riches and stores left by the English, not one of whom was permitted to remain within its boundaries. Having appointed Ruthven captain and sheriff of Strathern, Wallace proceeded northward.

At Aberdeen he summoned a council. At Cowper the English abbot fled, and as he proceeded northward he was met at Glamis by Bishop Sinclair, who rode on with him. In Brechin they tarried all night, and next day, harnessing themselves properly, he unfurled the banner of Scotland, and made plain proclamation of war against the English. Throughout the whole district of Mearns the Scots marched in battle array, driving their enemies before them. Four thousand took shelter on the promontory of Dunottar, and afterwards

* Sir William Ruthven of Ruthven, ancestor of the Earls of Gowrie. His descendants for generations possessed almost exclusive authority in Perth.

sought "gyrth," or safety in the kirk of Rane. The bishop began to make treaty for permission for them to retire to England; but Wallace, remembering the Barns of Ayr, set fire to the kirk, and all were consumed.*

Passing to Aberdeen "quhar Inglissmen besyly flittand was," and where a hundred ships, large and small, "that ruther fur and ayr," the Scots fell upon them at ebb tide, and having plundered the vessels, set them on fire. None of the English escaped, and, excepting priests,† women, and children, all the English on shore were killed.

Wallace then pushed his victorious army into Buchan, where Lord Bowmont held sway; the latter instantly fled by sea from Slaines. Then the

* "Wallace in fyr gert¹ set all haistely,
 Brynt up the kyrk, and all that was tharin,
 Atour the rock the laiff ran with great dyn.
 Sum hang on craggis rycht dulfully to de,
 Sum lap, sum fell, sum floteryt in the se.
 Na Southeroun on lyff was lewynt in that hauld,
 And thaim with in thai brynt in powdir cauld.
 Quhen this was done, feill fell on kneis down,
 At the byschop askit absolutioun.
 Than Wallace lewch, said, ' I forgiff you all;
 Ar ye wer men,² rapentis for sa small,
 Thai rewid nocht ws in to the toun off Ayr;
 Our trew barrownis quhen that thai hangyt thar."

† The Minstrel universally asserts that in all Wallace's victories or assaults, women and the priesthood were unharmed. The charge of cruelty, in expelling the English ecclesiastics, in conformity with the Scottish edict of 1296, does not, in his view, therefore, apply to Wallace.

¹ caused.

² War-men.

Scots held on their way north. At Crumwade (Cromarty) they slew a number of English. Returning again by Aberdeen, with a still augmenting army, they resolved to besiege Dundee. Nearly all the other strengths north of the Forth were in his possession. Meanwhile Sir Aymer de Vallence fled from Bothwell into England—leaving his native land for ever. Great tidings of Wallace he carried to Edward. The English king could not then go to Scotland himself, but he despatched Kertyingame, or Cressingham,* his treasurer, and Earl Warren, with a large army. Their object was to retake Stirling Castle, and again reduce Scotland to subjection. Edward himself intended to follow as soon as possible. The English, who mustered an army of sixty thousand men,† were received at the Tweed by Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, whose treachery is known to have wrought his country much mischief. To Stirling they passed, and immediately laid siege to the castle, then held by Earl Malcolm.‡

On learning this movement of the enemy, Wallace raised the siege of Dundee, and, leaving two

* Very little is known of this notorious person. Langtoft and other English authors blame his parsimony and tyranny for much injury done to the cause of Edward.

† Fifty thousand, with a thousand heavily-armed cavalry, according to Tytler; but this, exclusive of the eight thousand foot and three hundred horse, under Lord Henry Percy, said to have been dismissed by Cressingham.

‡ This is the statement of the Minstrel, and it is quite in keeping with the rest of his narrative. Stirling Castle, it is said, was at this time in the hands of Edward.

thousand Angus and Dundee men as a blockade upon the place,* he at once proceeded to Perth; next day he moved his army to Sheriffmuir, and there abode in good array for some time. Taking counsel with Graham and Ramsay, Wallace explained his views. He deemed their force too small to offer the English battle upon a plain field, and therefore he designed to adopt a stratagem at the bridge. Leaving Jop to marshal the army in battle array, and be at Stirling on the Tuesday following, he rode on with Graham and Ramsay on Saturday. The bridge was of plain wood. Having taken a subtle carpenter with them, he caused the bridge to be sawn across in the centre, "on charnail bands nald," and so rubbed with clay that the cutting could not be seen. The other end he caused to "stand on thre rowaris of tre," so that when one was withdrawn, the other two would drop down. The carpenter was ordered to sit under the bridge in a cradill bound to the beam; with strict injunctions to let go "the pyne" the moment he heard the blast of his horn, and no man in the Scottish army was to blow save himself.

It is said, though the Minstrel does not mention it, that the success of Wallace, since the affair of Irvine, had rather disposed some of those who broke away from him at that time, to a more patriotic view. They knew the sternness of Wallace in matters of duty. As Wyntoun says—

* Wyntoun and Fordun say that they were placed under the charge of Sir Alexander Scrymgeour.

“ The grettast lordis of oure land
 Til hym he gert thame be bowand;
 Ild thai, wald thai, all gert he
 Bowsum til hys byddyng be;
 And til hys byddyng quhay war noucht bown,
 He tuk, and put thame in presoun.”

The attack on the castle of the Bishop of Glasgow, the plunder of his house, and abstraction of his family, was an example not likely to strengthen the courage of the waverers.* Wishart had become obnoxious since his disaffection and ingratitude at Irvine.

Warren had been so remiss in exacting the hostages agreed to at the treaty of Irvine, that Edward despatched Brian Fitz Alan to supersede him as Governor, while he was to remain with the army—a circumstance which is said to have had a considerable effect on his subsequent proceedings. When ultimately pressed, the Scottish barons were desirous of a new arrangement in regard to certain matters affecting the liberty of the country, and found a plea, in the existing state of affairs, that they knew not well on which side to look for protection. On the pretext of opening a communication with Wallace, with the view of bringing him over to the side of Edward, the Steward and the Earl of Lennox obtained permission from Warren to go over to the Scottish army to consult with its leader. They did so, and in consequence of the jarring between the English commanders, they were allowed greater lati-

* This is an event, however, not noticed by the Minstrel, though related by others.

tude in this respect than they perhaps would otherwise have been. It appears from Langtoft and other English authorities, that Warren seemed more concerned about the disgrace into which he had fallen with Edward than mindful of his duties, while Cressingham, an ambitious and haughty churchman, seemed to rise in importance as his colleague had fallen. The latter was desirous, on the plea of economy, to disband a body of eight thousand foot and three hundred cavalry, under Lord Henry Percy, which Warren determined on retaining as a reserve. This, amongst other matters, led to acrimonious feelings between the parties. The English chroniclers make it thus appear, by way of palliating the defeat at Stirling, that there was disunion between the leaders, and our Scottish historians implicitly believe them. But when our own chroniclers speak of disunion among the Scots leaders, as at Falkirk, the statement is gravely doubted, if not contradicted.

The day of the great contest approached. Fifty thousand of the English repaired to the bridge to meet the Scots, the remainder of their army being stationed at the castle, for both the field and strength they expected to take without much trouble. They were fifty to one compared with the Scots,* who

* So says the Minstrel; but Tytler makes the army under Wallace amount to forty thousand foot and one hundred and eighty horse. This is assuredly an exaggeration; such a force could hardly be raised in the Lowlands of the north of Scotland, whence his followers were at that time chiefly drawn. At Fal-

abode on the north side of the river. Hew of Cressingham led the van of the English, some twenty thousand strong. Earl Warren had the second division, consisting of thirty thousand. Cressingham at once took the bridge, and when his division was over, Wallace was urged by some of his friends to blow the horn; but he refrained a little till Warren's host "thik on the bryg he saw." Then taking the horn from Jop, he blew the expected blast, when instantly the carpenter struck out "the rowar," and down with a crash went the bridge and all that were upon it. A hideous cry arose as both man and horse tumbled into the river.* The Scots now assailed the division which had passed over with great impetuosity. Wallace, Graham, Boyd, Ramsay, and Lundin, were foremost in "the stour." The English reared back at the first onset "fyve

kirk, under the *prestige* of the Comyn, the Steward, and himself, there were only 30,000 warriors, and Bruce at Bannockburn had no more, drawn from all Scotland.

* That such a stratagem was conceived by Wallace seems quite in keeping with his tactics, but it is probable that it was not carried out in the manner intended. According to Hemingford, the bridge remained entire; but it was so narrow, that only two horsemen could pass at a time. When the English were about half over, a body of the Scots took possession of the end of the bridge, and prevented them from crossing. Yet another English chronicler (Wallace Papers) admits that the bridge was broken down by the orders of Surrey, to prevent the Scots from pursuing. It would be natural enough for the English to look upon the incident in this light. Still it seems to be the fact that the bridge, from whatever cause, did break down—and the Minstrel may be in the right.

akyr breid and mar." Seeking for Cressingham in the throng, Wallace, with one swoop of his double-handed sword, brought both rider and horse to the ground. The death of Cressingham damped the courage of his men, still they fought on till ten thousand of them had met their fate. Then they began to fly in all directions. Seven thousand were drowned in the Forth, and not one escaped of all the large host that had crossed the bridge. Of the Scots no man of any note was slain, save Andrew Murray of Bothwell. The English on the south side of the river, seeing the fate that had overtaken their countrymen, fled in wild disorder, both from castle and town, towards Dunbar. Earl Malcolm, with his Lennox men, joined in the chase. Earl Warren, guided by Corspatrick, fled on changed horses to Dunbar. The Scots pursued with what speed they could, and many of the enemy were slain in their flight. Wallace and Graham rode together, and at Haddington made great slaughter. Here they were joined by Ramsay, Boyd, Lundin, Adam Wallace, and Earl Malcolm, with a body of three thousand horsemen. The pursuit of Warren and Corspatrick was kept up till the chase became useless. This famous battle was fought on Assumption Day, 11th September 1297. Besides Cressingham, and other persons of distinction, twenty thousand English were slain on the occasion.

Such is the substance of Blind Harry's account of the battle of Stirling. The stratagem in reference

to the bridge may or may not be true. The Minstrel's authority, Blair, knew nothing of the English movements beyond what could be seen on the day of battle. The contemporary historians of England were not patent to him as they are to us, hence we now know much that he and the Minstrel were ignorant of. Still that does not invalidate their statements. The historians of our own time are consequently able to give a more ample and, perhaps, a more accurate detail. Carrick, gleaned chiefly from the English authorities, gives the following rather spirited account of this crowning triumph of the patriot :—

“Five thousand foot and a body of Welsh archers had passed the bridge before Warren had left his bed.* Whether this sluggishness on the part of the English general arose from indisposition or chagrin, is not explicitly stated. The troops, however, on finding that they were not supported by the rest of the army, returned to their station. Warren, who arose about an hour after, feeling, perhaps, reluctant to attack the Scots in their present position, and not deeming it prudent to calculate on the recurrence of the same mistake † which had given him

* Langtoft attributes the loss of this battle to the indolence of the general.

† The author alludes to the Scots having left their vantage ground, and charged the English in the belief that they had been thrown into disorder by the nature of the field. The English, however, were enabled to meet the somewhat irregular and tumultuous charge in good order and with firmness.

so easy a victory at Dunbar, despatched two friars to make a last attempt at pacification.

“The answer returned was evidently intended to exasperate the English, and bring them on headlong to the fray. After a bold declaration of independence, a taunting allusion was made to the conquerors of England. ‘We came not here,’ said the intrepid assertor of Scotland’s rights, ‘to negotiate, but to fight; and were even your masters to come and attack us, we are ready to meet them at our swords’ point, and show them that our country is free.’ Enraged at this stern and provoking defiance, the English became clamorous to be led on.

“A council of war being called, it was proposed by Cressingham that the army should instantly cross the river and attack the Scots. In this he was opposed by Sir Richard Lundin,* who pointed out the many difficulties they would have to encounter in attempting to defile along a bridge so narrow, in presence of so wary an enemy; and offered to guide them to a ford not far distant, where they could pass with less hazard. Cressingham—either displeased at being contradicted, or not placing full reliance on the fidelity of Lundin, who had but recently joined the English, told Warren, who appeared to hesitate, that, as Treasurer of the King of England, he (Cressingham) could not be answerable for squandering the money of his master in protracted warfare with

* Carrick here follows what we consider a popular error, founded on the very questionable authority of Hemingford.

a handful of enemies, who, in order to be defeated, had only to be attacked, and who would always be formidable, provided they were never brought to an engagement. Stung by the reproach conveyed in these remarks, Warren gave order for the troops to move onwards.

“Sir Marmaduke Twenge, a knight belonging to the North Riding of Yorkshire, of much experience and distinguished personal prowess, assisted Cressingham in leading the van. When nearly one-half of the English had cleared the bridge without opposition, an attempt was made to dislodge the Scots from the ground they had chosen ; and for that purpose, Sir Marmaduke rather impatiently charged up hill with a body of heavy-armed cavalry. The consequence was, however, fatal to the assailants, as the enemy, from their vantage ground, drove them headlong before them with their long spears. In the meantime, the communication between the bridge and the van of the English army was cut off by a masterly movement of a division of the Scots, who afterwards kept up such an incessant discharge of arrows, darts,* ‘gavelocks,’ and other missiles, as completely interrupted the progress of the enemy. Wallace contemplated for a moment the success of his plan, and instantly rushed down to the attack with an impetuosity which the scarcely-formed battalions of the English were ill-prepared to withstand. Giving way to the shock, they fell into irretrievable

* Langtoft.

confusion, while the repeated charges of the compact bodies of the Scottish spearmen were fast covering the ground with the splendid chivalry of England. The scene now became animating beyond measure; and many of those who had defended the bridge forsook their companions to join in the desperate mêlée. The passage being thus left comparatively open, the royal standard of England, displaying '*three gold leopards courant, set on red,*' was advanced to the cry of 'For God and St George!' attended by a strong body of knights, who, with their triangular shields, defending themselves from the missiles which still showered thick upon the bridge, rushed forward to aid their fellow-combatants. The banner of Warren next appeared,—*chequered with gold and azure*, and followed by his numerous vassals. The day, however, was too far gone to be retrieved, even by their powerful assistance. Finding no room to form, they only increased the confusion, and swelled the slaughter made by the Scottish spearmen, before whose steady and overwhelming charges thousands were either borne down or driven into the river.

"While Warren, with inexpressible anxiety, beheld from the opposite bank the destruction of the flower of his army, the Steward of Scotland and the Earl of Lennox were seen approaching with a strong body of horse; but, as might be expected, instead of joining the English, they assisted their countrymen in pursuing and killing those who were

attempting to save themselves. Sir Marmaduke Twenge gallantly cut his way to the bridge and escaped.*

“The panic now became general, and the face of the country was soon covered with a confused mass of terrified fugitives, hurrying on to avoid the swords of their conquerors, and increasing, as they fled, the disorder of their retreat, by throwing away their arms and their standards, in order to facilitate their flight.

“Wallace having crossed the ford alluded to by Lundin, the pursuit was followed up with the most destructive perseverance. The day of retribution had arrived—the butcheries of Berwick, the carnage of Dunbar, with a long list of national indignities and personal sufferings, had now to be atoned for. Conscious of the provocation which had roused to frenzy the vengeance of an infuriated people, Warren turned with dismay from the scene of havoc, leaving twenty thousand of his soldiers to manure the fields

* This man, though a brave soldier, it seems, was no swimmer. Being advised by some of his companions to throw himself into the river, he replied, “It shall never be said of me that I did voluntarily drown myself. God forbid that such a dishonour should fall upon me or any Englishman;” and, setting spurs to his horse, rushed into the thick of the battle, killing many of his opponents, and was fast making his way to the bridge, when he was called to by his nephew, who was wounded, to save him. “Get up and follow me,” was the answer. “Alas! I am weak, and cannot,” returned the other. Sir Marmaduke’s squire dismounted, and placed him behind his uncle, who brought him off in safety to Stirling Castle, where they both found refuge.

of those they had so lately oppressed. Cressingham, the most detested of all the tools of Edward, was among the number of the slain; and when Wallace came up, a party were employed in flaying the body. According to the MS. Chronicle of Lanercost, he is said to have ordered only as much of the skin to be taken off as would make a sword-belt; and his men, perhaps, imitating his example, might have appropriated the rest. This, says a respectable author,* is no doubt the origin of the tale told by Abercromby, and some other historians, of the Scots having used it as girths to their horses. An order of this kind, given in the heat of the pursuit, was perhaps never thought of afterwards; at least, we have no account of Wallace ever wearing such an appendage. The circumstance, however, shows the deep-rooted detestation with which the individual was regarded.

“Warren, who fled rapidly to Berwick, was most probably, like another English general of more modern times, the first herald of his own discomfiture. The consternation which his disaster occasioned among his countrymen in Scotland was so great, that few or none would venture to wait the approach of the enemy; but, abandoning their strongholds, they hurried southwards with the greatest precipitation, justly conceiving that the terms they were likely to obtain from one who followed up his victories with so much energy, were hardly

* P. F. Tytler, Esq.

worth staying for. The loss on the part of the Scots was comparatively small; none of note having fallen, save the brave Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwell."*

The Scots leaders, with what forces they had, remained all night at Haddington, and next day returned to Stirling. Soon after Wallace caused the barons of Scotland to make their allegiance to him for the protection of the kingdom. Those who did not do so of their free will he punished. Amongst others came Sir John Menteith, who was then lord of Arran. He bound himself by oath to Wallace and Scotland. Dundee surrendered by treaty; and in ten days afterwards, says the Minstrel, the English had not a castle in Scotland, save those of Berwick and Roxburgh, and Wallace did not despair of reducing even these. At this time Crystal of Seton, a worthy knight, lived as an outlaw in Jedburgh forest. As Herbottell fled from Jedburgh Castle towards England, at the head of eight score men, Seton met him with some forty adherents. He slew the captain and many of his band—making prize of all the valuables he was

* The burgh seal of Stirling represents a bridge of seven arches, at the south side of which stand three soldiers with bows, the national weapon of England, and on the north side as many with spears, the characteristic weapon of Scotland; and the legend—"*Hic armis Bruti Scoti stant, hic crucie tuti.*" From this circumstance it is probable that the burgesses of Stirling and the tenants of the abbey lands of Cambuskenneth had been engaged in the fight—

carrying with him. Thereafter he took the castle, and according to Wallace's appointment, left Ruthven captain of it. Seton then repaired to Lothian, where his property lay.

Wallace now began to consider how he best could rule the land—

“Captains he maid, and schirreffis that was gud,
Part off his kyn, and off trew othir blud.”

“Trew Craufurd,” his friend, he made keeper of Edinburgh Castle. Scotland was free; he himself acting as governor until the crown should be settled on the righteous heir.

Edward was in Flanders at this period, and the Council of England, who governed in his absence, despatched letters to the principal nobility of Scotland, dated the 25th September of the same year, praising them for their fidelity to the king, and, although aware that the Earl of Surrey was on his way to England, (they did not say that he was flying from Stirling), requesting them to join Brian Fitz-Alan, the governor of Scotland, with all their horse and foot, in order to put down the rebellion under Wallace, at whose success they were evidently alarmed. The only nobles not communicated with were the Earls of Caithness, Ross, Mar, Athole, Fife, and Carrick.

CHAPTER VIII.

PARLIAMENT AT PERTH—WALLACE PURSUES CORSPATRICK—BRUCE AND BEK ENTER SCOTLAND, AND WITH CORSPATRICK ARE DRIVEN OUT OF IT—WALLACE INVADES ENGLAND—THE QUEEN OF EDWARD SUES FOR PEACE—WALLACE RETURNS TO SCOTLAND—INVITED BY KING PHILIP TO VISIT FRANCE.

THE Minstrel commences "buke aucht" by saying "fywe monethis thus Scotland stud in gud rest," by which he means that the country was not harassed by the enemy for that length of time after the decisive victory of Stirling Bridge—not that Wallace was inactive during the period. A council was immediately held at Perth; clerk, baron, and burgess attended. Corspatrick,* the arch-traitor of Dunbar, refused to attend. He abode in his castle,

* Corspatrick, Earl of Dunbar, was descended from Corspatrick, or Gospatrick, governor of Northumberland. He joined the Danes in their invasion of England, in 1069, and was deprived of his office in consequence by William the Conqueror. He sought safety in Scotland, and obtained from Malcolm Caenmore the lands and castle of Dunbar. His descendants were styled Earls of March. The Earl, in the time of Wallace, had been a competitor for the crown of Scotland.

and made sport of the summons. Many in that parliament were for adopting immediate and harsh proceedings against him ; but, on the interposition of Wallace, it was agreed that a message of peace should be sent to him, promising entire forgiveness if he would only make his appearance, admit that he had trespassed, and promise fidelity in future. On receiving this, Corspatrick laughed contemptuously, and replied—

“ He had sic message seldyn seyne,
That Wallace now as governour sall ryng ;
That *King off Kyll* * I can nocht undirstand ;
Off him I held neur a fut off land.”

* That the Earl of Dunbar replied to the summons in an insolent manner, is corroborated by the Tower records (*Caledonia*). Carrick indulges in a strain of rather triumphant criticism on Dr Jamieson's interpretation of the phrase “ King off Kyll,” used by Corspatrick. The Doctor understood it to allude to the birth-place, if not of Wallace himself, at least of his family. Carrick derides this as absurd. As *Coille* in Gaelic, from which the name of the district is perhaps derived, signifies woody, or a forest, he infers the meaning to be that Wallace, like another Robin Hood, was “ King of the Forest,” or of the freebooters. Now, this is no doubt a very fine etymological fancy, but the truth is, Corspatrick did not speak Gaelic, neither was Gaelic the language of the Lowlands at that time, with the exception of particular localities. He could not, therefore, be supposed to have used “ Kyll ” in the Gaelic sense argued by Carrick. The Wallaces were a predominant people in Kyle during the thirteenth and subsequent centuries, and well might be termed Kings of Kyle, under the Great Steward, either in mockery or seriously, in allusion to their power—just as the Kennedies, who rose by marriage with the heiress of the De Carricks to be the chief proprietors in Carrick, and were popularly styled in a similar way kings of that district.

In this strain was his reply couched. He derided their authority, and said he was as free to reign—

“Lord off myn awne, as euyr was prince or king.”

The council felt indignant, and Wallace was furious. “King off Kyll!” he exclaimed, as he rushed from the council, declaring that they should not both reign in this region. With two hundred horsemen he took leave of the council, and rode to Kinghorn that night. Next day he crossed the Forth, and at Musselburgh was joined by Robert Lauder* and Crystal of Seton, whose adherents swelled the force under Wallace to four hundred men. A Squire Lyall,† with twenty men, further augmented it, as they neared Linton; and as he knew the country well, his acquisition was of much value. He said Earl Patrick was at Co’burnspeth with a large gathering. Passing east of Dunbar, Wallace learnt how the Earl had become aware of his intention, and that he had chosen a field near Innerwick, with a body of nine hundred followers. The Minstrel refrains from describing the desperate conflict which ensued. “Peté it was, and all off a natioune.” Earl Patrick was compelled to leave the field with only a few of his followers, with whom he sought a retreat at Co’burnspeth—much grieved at the loss of so many of his men.

Wallace returned to Dunbar, took the castle, and gave it in keeping to Crystal of Seton, and supplied

* Ancestor of the Lauders of the Bass, in East Lothian.

† Perhaps Sir Walter Lyle, ancestor of the Lords of Lyle.

it well with men and provisions. With three hundred followers he pursued the Earl from Co'burnspeth to Bonkill Wood, from whence he passed to Norham. He remained all night at Coldstream, and while there Corspatrick passed stealthily to Ettrick Forrest, where it was useless to pursue him with so small a force. Leaving him at Gorkholm, Wallace returned to the west, with the view of reinforcing himself.* Earl Patrick crossed immediately into England, and with Anthony or Bishop Bek, whom the patriot had driven from Glasgow, soon raised a strong power in Northumberland. They induced Bruce also to join with them, making him believe that Wallace meant to take the crown to himself. Earl Patrick besieged Dunbar with twenty thousand men, while a naval force prevented supplies from reaching the garrison by sea. Bishop Bek and Bruce remained at Norham with ten thousand of an army.

Wallace hurried to relieve Seton with five thousand men, well armed. Under Yester he lodged the first night. Hay,† who had been in Duns-Forest, came to him with a good following of fifty warriors, and urged an immediate attack. Bishop Bek, apprised by Corspatrick of his motions, marched through the Lammermuir, and lay in ambush at the Spit Muir—Wallace being ignorant of what was

* This is wholly the narrative of the Minstrel.

† Hew the Hay, descended of the Errol family, ancestor of the Hays of Tweeddale. He was designed Hay of Lochewart, county of Edinburgh.

going on. Spies, however, brought word that Earl Patrick had left the siege, and passed with his whole force to the Muir. Seton, leaving the greater portion of his men in the castle, rode with a few to join Wallace. In good array they then proceeded to Spit Muir, not a few of the Scots dreading so unequal an encounter. Jop, on observing the disparity, counselled Wallace to retire to some strength till he passed for more men; but Wallace would not consent. It was too late to act upon such advice.

The battle began, and was maintained with great fierceness. Five thousand of the enemy were down, yet Corspatrick, by his stern bearing, inspired his men with courage. Wallace knew that his handful of troops would not yield, and they continued together with determined resolution. The Minstrel mentions Graham, Ramsay, Seton, Lundin, Adam of Riccarton, Hay, Lyall, Boyd, Barclay, Baird, and Lauder as having particularly distinguished themselves in support of their leader. Upon Corspatrick, who maintained his ground resolutely, the Scots pressed strongly, and his troops began to give way. At this juncture Bishop Bek and Bruce appeared at the head of their ambush of ten thousand fresh men. Those who were in flight returned with Earl Patrick to the charge. Though thus overwhelmed by so unexpected a force, the Scots attacked the new comers with great spirit, and on both sides many a hardy warrior bit the dust. Wallace pushed onward

with the view of meeting Bruce, but such was the crowd of men between, that Corspatrick succeeded in wounding him slightly. Turning upon him, and aiming a blow, it fell with mortal effect upon one Maitland, who rushed between. Wallace, in the crowd of warriors, was separated from his men, and his horse having been slain, he had to fight on foot. Not aware of his perilous position, most of his troops had passed from the field. Corspatrick now attempted to bear down Wallace with spears, but he fought desperately, and "gud rowme he maid." Missing their chieftain, Graham, Lauder, Lyall, Hay, Ramsay, Lundin, Boyd, and Seton, at the head of five hundred men, charged into the thickest of the mêlée, bore down Bishop Bek, and carried Wallace out of the throng. Mounting a good horse, he and his party, in the face of their pursuers, whom they kept manfully at bay, rode towards the stronghold, where four thousand of his men had already assembled. Corspatrick had gained the field, with a loss of seven thousand men, and he had missed the mark upon which he had calculated, which was the death or capture of Wallace. Five hundred of the Scots were slain, but amongst them no man of mark.

Bishop Bek, afraid of a renewed attack from the Scots, retired to Lammermuir. Meanwhile the country, alarmed by what had occurred, gathered fast round the Scottish standard. Crawford came from Edinburgh with three hundred horsemen; Ruthven from Jedburgh with a number of Tweed-

dale men, and Sir William Lang from Douglas with eighty followers. Thus reinforced by two thousand men, Wallace passed on to the Lammermuir. Dividing his forces into two, he gave the one to Graham, Seton, Lauder, and Hay; and, with Lundin, Ramsay, Douglas, Barclay, and Adam of Riccarton, took the other under his own command. By sunrise in the morning they were upon the enemy, who were "nocht ready dicht," and great destruction was inflicted. Assailed on two sides at once, the troops fled precipitately, yet Bishop Bek kept his ground with dogged resolution. Skelton, a knight, kept before him, so as to defend his lord; but Lundin brought him to the ground with a stroke of his sword. At length the three leaders, Bek, Corspatrick, and Bruce, took to flight, with five thousand in a body, and made for Norham Castle. The Scots pursued as far as the Tweed. In the battle and chase the English are said to have lost twenty thousand men. Wallace then wasted Corspatrick's land—destroying all his strongholds save Dunbar.

Upon the eighteenth day consumed in this expedition Wallace returned to Perth, where the council was still sitting. They were well pleased with what he had done, and he was appointed Governor of Scotland, all the barons making allegiance to him.

Carrick, from other authorities apparently, says that Wallace was appointed Regent of Scotland in the name of King John, at a meeting held in the Forest Kirk, Selkirkshire, at which were present the

Earl of Lennox and Sir William Douglas ; yet, from an important document which he quotes in the appendix, he is himself convinced that he is wrong in point of time. But he is wrong as well in the matter of fact. He was not regent at this time. The Minstrel says—

“Wallace tuk state to govern all Scotland ;
The barnage haill maid him ane oppyn band.”

He took upon himself the office of governor merely, and in this he was associated with Sir Andrew Murray. The meeting at the Forest Kirk, at which he was appointed Guardian, took place, according to the Minstrel, before the battle of Biggar.

Amongst the first serious considerations which engaged the attention of Wallace, probably, was the condition of Scotland in a military point of view. Under the feudal system, as noticed in Chapter I. even the sovereign found much difficulty in securing anything like unanimous support. Wallace had already experienced the effects of the pride and jealousy of the great lords, and he could not, from his position, calculate upon their support, while their feudal rights gave them an immense command over all who held of them—not only their feudal vassals, but the *husbandi*, or free yeomen, from interest, and the *servi*, or men attached to the soil. It would have been highly impolitic in him to have attempted any direct innovation upon the feudal rights of the barons, but he enforced a system characteristic of his genius as a ruler, as well as a leader in war.

Carrick has well and briefly described the system :—
 “ Having divided the country into districts, he caused a muster-roll to be made out, containing the names of all who were capable of bearing arms, between the ages of sixteen and sixty. These he divided and subdivided in a manner peculiarly his own. Over every four men he appointed a fifth ; over every nine a tenth ; over every nineteen a twentieth ; and thus continued the gradation of rank till it reached the chiliarch, or commander of a thousand.* In the different parishes gibbets were also erected to enforce obedience to these regulations ; and whoever refused to appear for the defence of his country, when summoned, was hung up as an example to others. Those barons who interposed their authority to prevent their vassals from joining the ranks of the patriots were either punished with imprisonment or confiscation of property.”

Having in this way provided for the defence of the country, there being no standing armies in those days, Wallace and his coadjutor Murray seem to have turned their thoughts to commerce. Carrick, in the appendix to his work, was enabled to publish a remarkable illustration of this in the shape of a letter from the Guardian of Scotland to the free towns of Hamburg and Lubeck. For this he was indebted to Dr Lappenberg of Hamburg, who, in searching the ancient records of that city for a literary purpose, discovered the precious document, and

* Fordun à Goodall, vol. ii. p. 170.

kindly forwarded a copy. The following is the translation :—

“Andrew Murray and William Wallace, commanders of the army of the kingdom of Scotland, and the community of the same kingdom—To the prudent and discreet men, and well-beloved friends, the Mayors and Commonwealths of Lubeck and of Hamburg, greeting, and perpetual increase of sincere friendship.

“To us it has been intimated by trustworthy merchants of the said kingdom of Scotland, that, as a mark of your regard, you have been favourable to, counselling and assisting in all matters and transactions relating to us and said merchants, though [such good offices] may not have been preceded by our deserts, and on that account we are the more bound to tender you our thanks, and a suitable return. This we have willingly engaged ourselves to [perform towards] you, requesting, that in so far you would cause your merchants to be informed that they will now have safe access to all the ports of the kingdom of Scotland with their merchandise, as the kingdom of Scotland, thanks to God, has during the war been recovered from the power of the English. Farewell.—Given at Haddington, in Scotland, this eleventh day of October, in the year of grace, one thousand two hundred and ninety-seven.—We have, moreover, to request that you would condescend to forward the interests of our merchants, John Burnet and John Frere, in their

business, in like manner as you may wish us to act towards your merchants in their commercial transactions. Farewell.—[Dated as above.]*

Carrick justly remarks that from this "interesting muniment, various important points in our history may be established," and it tends to confirm the general accuracy of the Minstrel in a gratifying manner. It proves that, on the 11th October 1297, Wallace was not Regent, but that he and Murray acted only as "duces exercitus regni Scotiae," in behalf of the *community of said kingdom*, or, in other words, they were the Guardians of the kingdom. But it scarcely proves, as Carrick argues, that "the commission from King John Baliol, authorising them to act under his sanction, must have been received by them on their march to England, or during the time the devastation of that country was going forward. Indeed, there is no evidence that this commission ever was given, as Hailes remarks,

* This is the oldest "document existing," Dr Lappenberg remarks, "relative to the intercourse of Hamburg and Lubeck, or other Hanseatic cities, with Scotland." Carrick is inclined to think, from the name of Murray being placed before that of Wallace, that the letter was either written by the latter, or to his dictation, and considers it quite in keeping with the amiableness and modesty of his character. Had it been written or dictated by Murray, he would probably have exercised the same courtesy, by placing the name of Wallace first. Wallace may be presumed, from his early history, to have had an excellent education. It is as probable, however, that he placed Murray's name first, as he also did in the protection granted to the convent of Hexham, to show that he was not actuated by motives of ambition.

although circumstances would lead to the inference that Wallace subsequently assumed the regency, apart from Murray, by some special authority.

As supreme in power, Wallace rewarded his followers with gifts of land and offices ; but to his own relations he gave nothing—that all might see that, in what he did, he sought not his own aggrandisement. Indeed, the Minstrel carefully shows that he never entertained the idea of usurping the throne himself, and it grieved him much to find Bruce acting upon the belief that this was his intention :—

“ Of all he dyd, he thought to bid the law
Be for his king, master quhen he him saw.
Scotland was blyth, in dolour had beyne lang ;
In ilke part to gud laubour thai gang.”

In October, * (1297,) tidings came that, counselled by Corspatrick, Edward contemplated another invasion of Scotland. Wallace accordingly called a meeting of the barons and their retainers. Forty thousand assembled on Roslyn Muir. He then addressed the lords, and intimated his determination to resist to the utmost. The barons cordially assured him of their support. Out of the forty thousand, he selected twenty thousand, all well-armed and good men ; the remainder he ordered to remain for the labour of the country, which, owing to the war, had been neglected. What need, he said, was there for more ?—

* The accuracy of the Minstrel is proved by the letter to the Hanseatic authorities.

“All off a will, as I trow, set ar we,
 In playne battail can nocht weill scumfit be.
 Our rewne is pur, waistit be Southeroun blud; *
 Go wyn on thaim tresour and othir gud.”

In this contemplated invasion of England he discouraged any of the great lords from joining, for, he said—

“Our purpos is othir to wyn or de;
 Quha yeildis him, sall neuir ransomed be.”

No man of rule would he permit to join the expedition. † Amongst those who rode with him of any distinction, were Earl Malcolm, Campbell of Lochow, Ramsay, Graham, Adam of Riccarton, Boyd, Auchinleck, Lundin, Lauder, Hay, and Seton. To “Browis feild,” in Teviotdale, the host proceeded, and abode there for some time. Taking forty men with him, Wallace rode to the gates of Roxburgh Castle, and sought presence of Sir Ralph Gray, whom he informed of his purpose to invade England, and warned him to be prepared to give up the keys of

* The country was suffering from famine, the lands having lain untilled, in consequence of the inroads of the English; and it was assuredly wise policy to carry the war home to their oppressors. By the plunder gathered in England, they were enabled to supply the wants of their starving countrymen.

† The command, however, was divided between himself and Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwell, the son of Sir Andrew who fell at Stirling. In this curious statement, so illustrative of the disinterested policy of Wallace, the Minstrel stands alone, yet the fact cannot be doubted, for none of the English or Scotch chroniclers who mention the invasion notice a single person of note beyond the parties he himself speaks of.

the castle on his return, otherwise he should hang him over the wall. The same command he sent by Ramsay to Berwick.*

Without further preliminary, Wallace and his army passed the Tweed,† and wasted all Northumberland and Cumberland. Durham they destroyed by fire.‡ Abbeys and kirks, however, they spared.§ In Yorkshire they did the same thing—

“Fortrace thai wan, and small castellis kest down,”

carrying fire and sword wherever they went. At the end of fifteen days, Edward || sent a messenger, soliciting a cessation of hostilities for forty days, at the end of which he would meet Wallace in battle. The Scottish Governor agreed to these terms, and after tarrying another day at York, he led his army to an encampment near Northallerton, and proclaimed

* It is probable that it was during this period that Wallace, learning that some of the burgesses of Aberdeen had disobeyed the proclamation to appear on Roslin Muir, hurried back to the north, where, apprehending the parties, he ordered for immediate execution all who could not give a proper excuse.

† According to Fordun, this occurred on All-Saints' Day, the 31st October 1297.

‡ In this work of spoliation the Scots were joined by Robert de Ros of Werk, a great north of England baron, who had deserted the standard of Edward at Dunbar, in 1295.

§ The English chroniclers do not support the Minstrel in this statement.

|| Edward was in Flanders at this time. Langtoft says—

“To Flandres tille Edward tithinges men him sent.”

The Minstrel possibly means the council appointed to rule the country in his absence.

peace for forty days,* inviting all to come to market with what they had to dispose of.

With characteristic want of faith, Sir Ralph Raymond, captain of Malton, was ordered, with a large force, to surprise Wallace. Some Scotsmen, however, who lived near by, carried intelligence of what was intended to the Scottish camp. Wallace sent a force of three thousand, under Richard of Lundin and Hew Hay, to lie in wait. Sir Ralph Raymond came on with seven thousand in his train, and was so resolutely set upon by the Scots, that three out of the seven thousand were speedily brought down, while the remainder fled. Sir Ralph was himself slain. Wallace immediately followed with his army, and mixing with the flying English, entered the town of Malton, where they killed many of their enemies, and found great riches and other spoil, which they brought away in carriages. Wallace remained two days in Malton, after which, having broken down the fortifications, he returned to his former encampment, which he caused to be entrenched, so as to protect them from sudden peril.

This evident intention of Wallace to remain in England for a time, disturbed the enemy much. Edward † called a parliament at Pomfrait; but the lords would not consent to give battle unless Wallace

* This seems rather too lengthy a truce, considering that Wallace was not much more than two months in England altogether. There must be a mistake here.

† This must be understood as the proceeding of his council.

assumed the crown. A message was sent to the Scottish camp with this resolution. In order to bring matters to an issue, the Scots, especially Campbell, insisted that he should accept the gift of royalty, which they were ready to bestow. He resisted the proposal, however, with steadfast resolution; but, on the suggestion of Earl Malcolm, allowed himself to be called King of Scotland for a single day, that Edward's lords might have no excuse.* The English were afraid to hazard a battle, and resolved rather to hold their strengths as the best policy.† Meanwhile they cried down the markets, and thought to get rid of Wallace through want of supplies. He contrived, notwithstanding, to remain inactive for five days more than the stipulated period, without seeing any appearance of an enemy. He then displayed his banner, and denouncing Edward as a false king, burned Northallerton, passed through Yorkshire, destroying the lands as before. As the Minstrel says—

“Thai sparyt nocht bot wemen and the kyrk.”

York city itself was stongly fortified and defended.

* If there is any truth in this, and the Minstrel elsewhere refers to his having corrected his statement on the subject, in consequence of misinformation, the English council must have had recourse to the stratagem with the view of damaging Wallace in the estimation of the Scottish barons, who were jealous of his aspiring to the crown.

† Something like this incident, of the English declining battle, is said by other authorities to have occurred at a subsequent period.

The Scots, dividing their forces, assaulted it at four points. Amongst these a thousand archers were portioned. Within the city there were four thousand English bowmen, and twelve thousand warriors altogether. They made a strong defence—

“Fagaldys of fyr amang the ost thai cast;
Wp pyk and ter on feyll sowys thai lent;
Mony was hurt or thai fra wallys went.”

The Scots, however, put the town in great fear. They—

“Thar bulwark brynt rycht brymly off the toun:
Thar barmkyn wan, and gret gerrettis kest down.”

Night approaching, the Scots withdrew to the outskirts to encamp for the night, setting watches on the motions of the enemy. Though many of them were wounded, none had been slain, and they were in high spirits. Next morning, by sunrise, the assault was renewed in the same order as on the previous day, and much damage done by casting fire into the city, and otherwise. Another night arrived, however, and still they were outside the walls. After they had retired to their former ground, Sir John Norton and Sir William Leis led five thousand men against them, thinking to take them by surprise. Wallace himself, riding out to see that the guards had been properly placed, was the first to discover the approach of this body. He immediately caused his horn to be blown, and his ready troopers were soon arrayed. Earl Malcolm bore the first brunt of the enemy, as they issued out of the

gate; but Wallace, knowing the Earl to be hasty, pressed on to the throng of the fight, and together they did great execution:—

“Quhen Wallace and he was togidder set,
Thayr lestyit nayn agayn thaim that thai met.”

At length, Sir John Norton having been slain, and twelve hundred of his company, the English fled to the town. The Scots retired to their ground, and rested till the morning, when the siege was renewed. After several days spent in this way, the city of York proposed a ransom in gold, which Wallace at length consented to, on condition that they should plant the Scottish standard on the wall. This honour was conceded by the city, and carried into effect. Having obtained five thousand pounds as a ransom, and ample supplies of bread and wine, and other provisions, the Scots took their departure, after twenty days spent before the walls.

April* still found Wallace and his army in England. Victual was scarce, which compelled them to greater acts of pillage than they probably would otherwise have resorted to:—

“All Mydlame † land thai brynt up in a fyr,
Brak parkis doun, distroyit all the schyr;
Wyld der thai slew, for othir bestis was nane.”

Turning southward at last, the Scots proceeded on—

* This is no doubt a mistake on the part of the Minstrel—according to our best authorities the army returned towards the close of December.

† Middleham, in Yorkshire.

ward, ravaging the land as they went, the English not daring to hazard a battle, and retiring upon London. Provision being scanty, Wallace took the advice of his standard-bearer, Jop, alias Grymesby,* who advised a sojourn at Richmond,† where there was still plenty. While here, Wallace was joined by nearly nine thousand of his countrymen, who had been prisoners or labourers south of the Tweed.

The army found great abundance at Richmond, and they passed throughout the land in good array. Coming to Ramsworth, of which Fehew ‡ was lord, whose brother Wallace is said to have put to death at Tinto Hill, the Scots intended to pass it by unmolested, but the hundred men placed in it for

* Grymesby, who acted as Wallace's standard-bearer and guide in this expedition, was long in the service of England, as formerly noticed. Carrick supposes that he may have been one of the 30,000 men whom Alexander III. sent to assist Henry III., when opposed by his barons. He had attended Edward I., if not to the Holy Land, at least in his various expeditions to France, and he knew the localities of England well. He was of great use to Wallace, both in marshalling his troops, and particularly as a guide in this instance. He was of large stature, and a stern countenance. His real name was Gilbert de Grymesby, an ecclesiastic, and had carried the banner of St John of Beverley to Edward.

† In Yorkshire.

‡ If the whole of the story about Fehew and his brother, which Hailes derides with some show of reason, is pure fiction, it seems a very curious and unmeaning invention, hardly worth narrating on the part of the Minstrel. We feel inclined to believe that it has some foundation in fact, although we cannot explain its true character, or the reality of the circumstances connected with it.

defence behaved so rudely that they were induced to set fire to the building, as the speediest way of reaching the inmates. Fehew himself was killed in attempting to escape, and all save the women and children perished. The Scots continued all night at Ramsworth, and next day took from the castle whatever was of value. Along with the head of Fehew, Wallace sent a message to Edward (or his council) saying that unless he gave him battle, according to promise, he would march direct upon the gates of London. A council was held, at which, after much debate, it was resolved to purchase peace, if possible, with Wallace, but no one was willing to undertake the task of messenger. The Queen herself at length insisted upon repairing to the Scots. The Minstrel says some were of opinion that the Queen was in love with Wallace for his brave deeds; but he does not pretend to divine her sentiments in this way. The Scots meanwhile had reached St Albans in Hertfordshire, to which place they did no harm, the prior having refreshed the host with wine and venison in great abundance. Here they had tents and pavilions erected, and formed a regular encampment for some time.

The Minstrel gives a glowing description of the visit of the Queen. In the joyous morning, after hearing mass performed by "Maister John Blar," Wallace arrayed himself

"In his armour, quhilk gudly was and gay,
His schenand schoys, that burnyst was full beyn,

His legharnes he clappyt on so clene;
 Pullane greis he braissit on full fast;
 A closs byrny, with mony sekyr clasp;
 Breyst plait, brasaris, that worthy was in wer;
 Besid him furth Jop couth his basnet ber;
 His glytterand glowis grawin on athir sid.
 He semyt weill in battaill till abid;
 His gud gyrdyll, and syne his burly brand;
 A staff off steyll he gryppyt in his hand."

The Queen came on horseback, with fifty ladies and seven aged priests in her company. They proceeded at once to the pavilion "quhar thai the lyoun* saw," and the Queen would have knelt but for the gallantry of Earl Malcolm, who prevented her. Wallace caught her in his arms, and kissed "the queyn with croun ;"

"Sa dyd he neur to na Southeron befor."

Much conversation ensued on public affairs between the Queen and Wallace; but at the council held after dinner she failed, with all her art, to cajole him out of his purpose. Gold, too, was offered in vain to bring the treaty more amicably to a conclusion, and the embassy broke up without obtaining anything beyond an assurance that heralds from Edward on the subject of a peace would meet with the utmost protection. According to the Minstrel, he would not treat with women, lest Edward should make it an excuse for acting a treacherous part. If he did so,

"Than had we nayn bot ladyis to repruff.
 That sall *he nocht*, be God that is abuff.
 Vpon wemen I will na wer begyn."

* The arms of Scotland.

Carrick omits the episode of Queen Margaret's interview with Wallace, on the ground that it is not mentioned by any other author. No doubt it does look something like a "minstrel's tale;" but when we consider the position in which Edward's council were placed in his absence, and the imminent danger to which the country was exposed by the threatened advance of the Scots upon London, while he himself could not leave Flanders with his army for want of money, it is not at all surprising that the Queen should have volunteered to meet the Scottish Guardian, none of the council being willing to undertake the hazard, in consequence of the well-known severity of the Guardian. And she was successful so far, in obtaining an assurance of safety for those whom Edward might intrust with the terms of negotiation. That the circumstance has not been mentioned by any other historian save the Minstrel is perhaps not wonderful. The Queen certainly would not wish it to be known beyond the council, and it was an event not likely to be current among the English, with whom it is to be supposed the Scots had but little gossiping intercourse. When we find the Minstrel confirmed in other matters which have been regarded as equally "a minstrel's tale," we would be slow to throw aside a portion of his narrative by no means improbable.

At length a treaty was concluded at St Alban's, where the Scots lay, by which the castles of Roxburgh and Berwick were to be delivered up to Scot-

land, as well as the Scots of rank then in prison or otherwise in England. Amongst these were the young Randolph, the Lord of Lorn, Earl of Buchan, Cumyn and Soulis (afterwards traitors to Bruce.) Sir Aymer de Valence Wallace would fain have secured, but he had fled to Picardy. The Bruce he also wanted, but he had gone to Calais, and Edward's council showed that they could not get hold of him, his uncle of Glo'ster having him entirely in keeping. Corspatrick was also given up, Edward resigning his allegiance. He was gladly received by Wallace. A hundred horse, with young lords of renown, are said to have come to Wallace, free from their prison, upon this occasion. The truce, which was to last for five years, was signed at Northallerton, whither the Scots marched according to appointment. When they arrived at Bamburgh their power had increased to sixty thousand. On Lammas-day this large and triumphant force came to "Caram Muir," where the keys of Berwick and Roxburgh were delivered up to Wallace.

The Minstrel must be entirely wrong as to the sojourn of the Scots in England. Fordun says the expedition retired northwards on the 25th December—in which statement Wyntoun also agrees:—

“ And syne fra the alhalowmes
In Yngland till Yhull he bydand wea.
All Allyrdayle as man of were
That tyme he brynt wyth his powere ;
And wyth gret prayis owt of that land,
Come eftyr the Yhule in til Scotland.”

Langtoft and Hemingford speak in doleful language of this expedition. The former says—

“ In Northumberland ther first thei bigan,
& alle that com tille hande, they slou and ouer ran.
To Flanders tille Edward tithinges men him sent,
That Scottis com in hard, the north is nere all brent,
& more sall zit be lorn, bot if we haf socoure.
Nouht standes tham biforn, toun, castelle ne toure.”

Hemingford describes the devastation and flight of the people to have been such that “the praise of God was not heard in any church or monastery through the whole country, from Newcastle-upon-Tyne to the gates of Carlisle.”

It was the intention of the leaders of the Scots to have captured Carlisle, where great riches had been stored, and for this purpose the plundering parties were recalled, and the army concentrated on that city; but it was found to be strongly fortified, and they had no battering train. In these circumstances their summons to surrender was disregarded, and the army passed on, laying waste Cumberland and Allerdale on their return. Newcastle they also found prepared to make a stout resistance, and the winter setting in with much severity, in so much that numbers died with cold, they found it necessary to return to Scotland, loaded, however, with spoil.

Hemingford mentions a curious circumstance which occurred at the convent of Hexhildesham, (now Hexham.) This priory had been plundered by the Scots on their advance into Durham and Yorkshire; and, thinking that all danger was over, three

monks—who remained—had emerged from their hiding-places, and were busily engaged in “setting their house in order” when they descried the enemy on their return. Flying to the oratory for safety they were pursued by a party of the Scots with their long spears, and ordered to yield up their treasures. “Alas!” said one of the monks, “it is but a short time since you yourselves have seized our whole property, and you know best where it now is.” Wallace entered the chapel at this juncture, and ordering his men to be silent, requested the monks to perform mass, which one of the ecclesiastics obeyed, and to which the chief listened with becoming reverence. As the host was about to be elevated he retired to lay aside his helmet and arms. During his brief absence the avaricious soldiers snatched the cup from the high altar, tore away the ornaments and sacred vestments, appropriating even the very book which contained the ceremony. On his return, Wallace found the monks in fear and horror at the sacrilege; and, incensed at such conduct, he gave orders that the offenders should be searched for and put to death.

Meanwhile he took the monks under his own care, and, as some atonement, gave them a charter of protection, of which the following is a translation. It is preserved by Hemingford:—

“Andrew Murray and William Wallace, commanders of the army of Scotland, in the name of the excellent prince, Lord John, by the grace of God, the illustrious King of Scotland,

with the consent of the community of the same kingdom, to all men of the said kingdom, greeting. Know ye, that we, in the name of the said King, have taken the Prior and Convent of Hexhildesham, in Northumberland, their lands, men, possessions, and all their goods, movable and immovable, under the firm peace and protection of the said Lord the King and ours. Wherefore we strictly forbid you to do any hurt, mischief, or injury whatsoever, to them, in persons, lands, or goods, under penalty of forfeiture of your own goods and estates to the said Lord the King, or to kill them, or any of them, under pain of death. These presents to remain in force for one year, and no longer. Given at Hexhildesham, the 7th day of November.

From this document it would appear that Wallace and Murray were now, on the 7th November 1297, acting on the authority of Baliol as well as of the community of Scotland, and that the army was then at Hexham.

During the absence of Wallace in England Robert de Clifford, at the head of a hundred men-at-arms and twenty thousand foot, entered Scotland by Carlisle, with the view of plundering and wasting the country. The damage, however, was confined to the burning of two villages and the slaughter of one hundred and eight Scots. He took a few prisoners, with whom he returned home about Christmas, just as Wallace was retiring from England.

As Guardian of Scotland Wallace appointed Crystal of Seton governor of Berwick, and Sir John Ramsay keeper of Roxburgh. With Earl Patrick he rode to Dunbar, and restored him to all his lands, privileges, and honours; afterwards he went over Scotland thrice, from Ross to Solway, making laws

and settling the land. In the Lennox he sojourned for some time with Sir John Menteith, who was captain of Dumbarton. The Minstrel adds, and his words are worthy of note—

“ Twyss befor he had his gossep beyn ;
But na frendschip betwix thaim syn was seyn.”

He remained in Dumbarton for two months, where he founded a house upon the rock, and left men to build it to the proper height. Proceeding from thence to the Border, a tower was built for him at Roxburgh. And here again we may quote the words of Blind Harry—

“ The Kynrik stud in gud worschip and ess ;
 Was nayn so gret durst his nychtbour displess,
 The abill ground gert laubour thryftely ;
 Wittail and froyte thar grew aboundandly.
 Was neurir befor, sen this was callyt Scotland,
 Sic welth and pess at anyss in the land.”

Twice, the Minstrel adds, he sent Jop to Bruce in Huntinglon,* soliciting him to come and take his crown. But he was guided by the advice of the false Saxon.

Meanwhile Philip,† King of France, sent a herald to Scotland, congratulating Wallace on his successful career, and inviting him to visit France. The Guardian returned a courteous answer, stating that he probably would do so in the course of the year.

The Minstrel passes over several circumstances, not

* This must have been the father of Robert the Bruce, not Robert himself.

† Erroneously called Christian by the Minstrel.

well authenticated, which are said to have occurred after the return of Wallace from his English expedition. During the absence of Edward abroad the spirit of disaffection had grown up among his own barons, in consequence chiefly of the heavy exactions to which they were subjected, and they insisted on certain concessions, which were—The ratification of the Great Charter and the charter of the forests, together with an additional clause prohibiting the exaction of tallage without the consent of the prelates, nobles, knights, and other freemen. Edward, who was still abroad, found it necessary to comply with their demands if he meant to calculate on their aid in the reduction of Scotland. This having been done, the barons collected an army and approached the Border. The king himself, concluding a hasty truce with Philip, in which their disputes were to be left to the decision of the Pope, landed at Sandwich on the 14th March, (1298,) and immediately summoned the Scottish barons to a parliament at York. Abercrombie, author of the "Military Achievements of the Scots"—who is not the most reliable of writers—tells us that Edward, in his letters to the Guardian, upbraided him for his audacity in disturbing the peace of Scotland and invading England—a course which he would not have ventured to pursue had he been in the country—at the same time commanding him to immediate submission. The Guardian is said to have replied with characteristic spirit. In availing himself of the

absence of Edward he had only sought to regain the liberty of his country, which was no more than his duty, and he threw back the taunt of baseness upon the party who sought to take advantage of the disunion of a free people to enslave them. He had invaded England by way of indemnification to Scotland for the spoliation she had sustained ; and as to submission, he intended to be in England soon, and would give his answer in person.

Wallace, he continues, was as good as his word. On the 20th March he had crossed the Border as far as Stanmore, when he came in sight of the English army, which far outnumbered his own. From whatever cause, the enemy made a rapid retreat, and Wallace, afraid of an ambush, restrained his troops, who were eager to pursue. The English historians say that Edward was not present with his army, having been detained at London with matters of importance, and that the troops* were raw and undisciplined, having been newly raised. Whatever the cause, Wallace gave thanks for his bloodless victory, and marched back within his own boundaries.

If this is correct, he must have made a rapid march back into Scotland, for we find him at Torphichen, then a place of some note as the seat of the Knights of St John, on the 29th March. That

* This is apparently the statement of the Minstrel in a different form. We cannot see any good authority for this second invasion of England by Wallace.

there was an assemblage of the barons on that occasion, and that the meeting was held in the preceptory of the church belonging to the order, is extremely probable. It was here that Wallace, then sole Guardian of Scotland, granted the well-known charter to Alexander Scrymgeour, bearer of the royal standard of Scotland, dated 29th March, 1298. The charter is preserved in Anderson's "*Diplomata et Numismata Scotiæ*,"* and is to the effect, that "We, Sir William Wallace, *Guardian of Scotland, in the name of King John Baliol, with the seal of the same John* . . . in the name of our foresaid Lord the King of Scotland, *by the consent and approbation of the grandees of said kingdom* . . . give and concede . . . to Alexander, named Skirmischur, six merks of land in the territory of Dundee, namely, that land which is called the Upper Field, near the town of Dundee, . . . also the constabulary of the Castle of Dundee, with the rights, liberties, and privileges belonging thereto, without any reservation whatsoever, on performing homage to the foresaid Lord and King, and his heirs and successors; and for the faithful service and assistance rendered to his foresaid kingdom, in bearing the royal standard in the army of Scotland, at the time the present writing has been drawn up. . . . In testimony of which, the common seal of the foresaid kingdom of Scotland has been affixed to the present writing.—Given at Torphichen, on the

* Edinburgh, 1739.

29th day of March, in the year of grace, 1298." It is thus apparent, from the words of the charter, that there had been a meeting, or parliament, of the grandees at Torphichen when Scrymgeour obtained this grant.

How Wallace came to be sole Guardian is a matter of some dubiety. Lord Hailes says he *assumed* the title after the expedition into England. This, however, is by no means characteristic of him. We have seen, from the previous documents quoted, that Sir Andrew Murray was not only his colleague in the government, but that he gave him the honour of *precedence*. Abercrombie, on the contrary, says that he held a commission of regency, under the seal of Baliol, privately executed during the captivity of the latter in the Tower of London; and not only so, but that Wallace held a bond* from the principal barons in Scotland, authorising whatever measures he might have recourse to in endeavouring to establish the independence of the country. There could be no great difficulty in the way of Baliol giving such a commission, considering the comparative freedom he enjoyed, although under the wardship of Edward. The possession of Baliol's seal, attached to Scrymgeour's charter, is a proof that he acted in his capacity of sole Guardian, or Regent, on the best authority. The elevation of Wallace to this position seems to have given much offence to certain of the great barons, and led to

* The Minstrel also alludes to this bond.

much mischief. Sir Andrew Murray himself does not seem to have been actuated by any unworthy motives. He was young, and as his father had been a stanch supporter of the national cause, along with Wallace, there can be little doubt, from his subsequent co-operation with Bruce, that he was not actuated by feelings of jealousy. But his mother was the sister of Cumyn, and this powerful chief seems to have viewed the matter in a different light. Along with Wallace, John Comyn of Badenoch, the younger, Sir John Stewart of Bonkill, Sir John Graham of Abercorn, and Macduff, the granduncle of the Earl of Fife, consented to take part in the government of Scotland. Bruce appears to have been undecided what course to pursue. The jealousy entertained towards Wallace ran high.

CHAPTER IX.

WALLACE SAILS FOR FRANCE—CAPTURE OF THE RED REIVER—GOES TO PARIS, WHERE HE OBTAINS LONGUEVILLE'S PARDON—PASSES INTO GUIENNE—ENGLISH INVADE SCOTLAND DURING HIS ABSENCE—ON HIS RETURN TAKES ST JOHNSTON—BATTLE OF BLACKIRONSIDE—SIR JOHN SIWARD KILLED—LOCHLEVEN CASTLE TAKEN—ALSO THAT OF AIRTH—WALLACE DELIVERS HIS UNCLE FROM PRISON—ENGLISHMEN BURNT IN DUMBARTON—THE CASTLE KEPT BY MENTEITH—DEATH OF THE MOTHER OF WALLACE—DOUGLAS TAKES THE CASTLE OF SANQUHAR—THE ENGLISH BESIEGE IT, AND DOUGLAS IS RESCUED BY WALLACE—SIEGE OF DUNDEE.

IN the spring of 1298, (April 20,) when

“Gentill Jupiter, with his myld ordinance,
 Bath erb and tre reuertis in plesance;
 And fresch Flora hir floury mantill spreid,
 In euery waill, bath hop, hycht, hill, and meide;
 This sammyn tym, for thus myn auctor sayis,
 Wallace to pass off Scotland tuk his wayis.”

Resolved to visit France, the Guardian sailed from Kirkeudbright, in

“A fair new barge rycht worthi wrocht for wer.”

He had fifty of a company, besides Crawford and Kneland, his intimate friends. He asked not the consent of parliament, as he knew his intention

would be opposed, through unwillingness that he should be absent from the kingdom, and he kept the design as secret as possible from the English, fearing they might attempt his capture. Fortune favoured them with a fair wind, and having sailed a day and night, the master, from his look-out on the top, discovered sixteen sail, recognisable as those of the Red Reiver, at the sight of which he was sorely troubled, lest Wallace should be taken by him. Having ascertained from the master his usual mode of attack,—that he generally led in the advance ship, was the first to board, and that the signs to know him by were—

“ A bar off blew intil his schenand schield,
 A band of greyn desyren ay the field.
 The rede betakynnys blud and hardyment,
 The greyn, curage, encressand his entent ;
 The blew he beris, because he is a Crystyn man.”

Calling his company on deck, and placing the ship under the charge of Kneland and Crawford, the one to steer and the other to stand by the mainsail, to let go or haul tight as he should direct, Wallace awaited the assault of the Reiver. Drawing the barge close to the ship of the pirate, he called to them, “Stryk, doggis, ye sall de !” The Reiver sprang into the barge, and was instantly collared by Wallace, who threw him back with such force that blood flowed from both nose and mouth. The pirate fleet gathered round, but “Craufurd drew sail, skewyt by, and off thaim past.” The Reiver prayed for mercy, which Wallace granted, disarming

him at the same time of sword and knife, and making him swear never to attempt to injure him. He further commanded him to order his men to desist their shot, and come to peace. Longueville, for that was the Reiver's name, not only did so, but at once agreed that his ships should escort Wallace to Rochell, in case of attack from the English. On inquiry he learned the pirate's story. He was a native of France—banished from the court for slaying a nobleman—and had been at sea for sixteen years, committing all kinds of ravages. Until that morning he did not believe that he could have “so lightly [been] born” by any man. He found himself completely over-matched, however, and he was resolved to give up robbery—never to wear arms unless “in honest oyss to wer.” He believed no man could have taken him save Wallace, who had redeemed Scotland. On learning who his captor was, Thomas of Longueville bent down on his knees, and proffered his future services in behalf of Wallace and Scotland, our hero offering, at the same time, to solicit pardon for him from the French King.

On reaching Rochell roads the inhabitants were greatly alarmed at the sight of the Reiver's fleet; trumpets sounded, and every preparation for flight or resistance was made. On seeing this Wallace ordered that no vessel should enter the port save his own. The Red Lion of Scotland was well understood at Rochell, and although the quality of the visitor

was unknown, yet he and his crew were warmly received. Taking the Reiver with him after four days' sojourn, and having given his crew strict injunctions to live at peace and on their own charges, he proceeded with him to visit the King. At Paris he and his company were received in the most welcome manner by the King and Queen, every one being more anxious than another to see the champion of Scotland. After some repast the King and his courtiers retired to commune with Wallace, and amongst other things the conversation fell upon the Red Reiver, the King being surprised that he had escaped his piratical fleet. Wallace, of course, had no difficulty in procuring Longueville's pardon ; his men became true Frenchmen, and through gratitude to the Scottish chief, the King knighted the Reiver on the spot.

Thirty days having elapsed, Wallace began to tire of inactivity, and aware that the English were in Guienne, he took leave of the court to pass thither. About nine hundred Scotsmen assembled under his banner, Sir Thomas Longueville being the only Frenchman in his company. With this force he did good execution amongst the English, taking several important fortresses and wasting their power, in so much that, encouraged by his success, a fresh army of twenty thousand men had taken the field under the Duke of Orleans, and was hurrying through Guienne to reinforce Wallace.

The Earl of Glo'ster, then captain of Calais, passed

over to England, with intelligence of the Guardian's proceedings, and it was resolved, notwithstanding the treaty of peace, to invade Scotland during his absence. Glo'ster led the vanguard of the land force, and Longcastle the middle ward. The navy was under the command of Sir John Siward, who well knew the north of Scotland. Sir Aymer de Vallence rode before the army as a traitor guide; and before the Scots knew that it "was wer in playn," many castles had yielded to their superior power, and he was restored to Bothwell again. In the north, Dundee and St Johnston were captured by the English; Fife was not free of their control; and all south, from Cheviot to the sea, was entirely under them. Nor in the west was there any succour. The Stewart, lord of the district, was dead, and his son, Walter, then a child, had been carried for safety to Arran. Adam of Riccarton and Lindsay of Craigie fled to Rawchlé (Rauchlin); Robert Boyd took to self-defence; Sir John the Graham sought safety in Clyde Forest. Sir Aymer Brian having been made Sheriff of Fife by Siward, Richard of Lundin felt himself in difficulty. He liked not to come to their peace, and to cross the Tay at that time he could not—Englishmen so ruled there.

With eighteen followers and his young son, he passed Stirling Bridge at night, notwithstanding the sentinels, and sought Sir John the Graham in Dundaff Muir. Learning Sir John's retreat, he drew himself to a stronghold; but as Lanark had been

taken by "young Thomas of Thorn," he could not remain in it. Proceeding to Tinto, he lodged his small band there, and had the pleasure of being speedily joined by Sir John the Graham.

Sir Aymer de Vallence had, by carriage, filled Bothwell well with wine and victual. This coming to the ears of Lundin and Graham, they led their small band of fifty men to the assault:—

"Ane Skelton than kept the careage,
All Brankstewat* that was his heretage."

He had four score under his command, sixty of whom the Scots slew, and carried away all the stores and money. Five only of their party were slain. Thinking it no longer safe to remain at "Lundeis luge," they passed during the night to Earl Malcolm, who, with their assistance, kept the Lennox. Seton and Lyall retired to the Bass, and "gud Hew the Hay," with others, was sent prisoner to Edinburgh. The northland lords, seeing the helpless position to which they were reduced, caused one "Squire Guthrie" † to seek out Wallace. He sailed from Arbroath, and landing in Flanders, hurried to Guienne to acquaint him with the state of affairs at home.

Much irritated at this new instance of want of faith on the part of the English, Wallace sought the presence of the French King, who would not con-

* Perhaps Branthwaite, as Dr Jamieson suggests. The Skeltons were a considerable family in Cumberland.

† An ancestor of the Guthries of that ilk.

sent to his leaving, unless he promised to return, if he ever thought of quitting Scotland, and accept of whatever lordship he might choose for himself. Taking no one with him but his own men and Sir Thomas Longueville, Wallace made his return voyage in Guthrie's barge, which lay at the Sluis, and landing at Munro's Haven, the tidings of his arrival soon spread. Sir John Ramsay hastened to join him with his retainers, so did Ruthven, and with this small force, he encamped in Birname Wood.* Here he was soon joined by Barclay, with three hundred followers.

This happened, says the Minstrel, in the month of August.† The first undertaking contemplated was the capture of St Johnston. During the night they marched towards Tay, under Kinnoull, and there lay in ambush. Observing six carts, with the English servants, pass for hay, Guthrie, with ten of a company, seized the carts, slew the servants, and, assuming their garbs, proceeded to fill the carts with hay, while underneath were concealed fifteen good men-of-arms. Wallace and Ruthven, with Guthrie, were of those who assumed the guise of the servants. Returning with their carts, they were admitted without suspicion, and then rushing upon the sentries, they were in full command of the entrance. Sir John Ramsay, with the rest of the Scots, rushed in

* So celebrated in "Macbeth."

† This could not be the true date, from what we will show afterwards.

to the aid of the pretended carters, and speedily the whole of the English were either killed or put to flight. Some fled to the Tay, many being drowned, and Sir John Siward, the governor, narrowly escaped to Methven Wood. A number took refuge in the kirk, but it proved no "gyrth" to them. The Minstrel says four hundred were slain in the town, and seven score escaped. Rich stores were found in St Johnston, where the Scots lay for some time. From Methven Sir John Siward fled to Gask, and gathered together a strong force, which he drew privily to Ardangan,* with the intention of retaking St Johnston. Appointing Sir John Ramsay captain and Ruthven sheriff, Wallace withdrew with a hundred men, enjoining those he left to send him word instantly if assailed.

Wallace passed into Fife to see what was going on there. Sir John Siward, understanding this, followed from the Ochils with all despatch. With fifteen hundred men he approached towards the Scots, who lay at Blackironside.† The disparity in the numbers was so great that the Scots were alarmed at their position. Nor could they apprise their friends in St Johnston, so thoroughly were the roads guarded by the English. Calling a council, they debated what should be done in such an emergency, but no remedy could be found save that suggested by Wallace, which was to fight bravely for their

* Supposed to be *Ardargie*, in the Ochil hills.

† Earnside Wood lay around the monastery of Lindores.

lives. Encouraged by his hardy bearing, the men gave every demonstration of their resolution; going into the wood, he caused a four-fronted enclosure of cut trees to be formed at the one side, so interwoven with the growing timber as to make it very strong. By the time it was finished, Siward was upon them, intending, as led by his guides, to pass that way. With a thousand men under himself, and five hundred under Sir Aymer de Vallence, whom he appointed to guard the wood on the outside, he attempted to storm the barricade; but, after losing a great many men, he found it necessary to withdraw. Consulting Vallence as to what ought to be done, the latter recommended that they should cease from fighting, but remain until want of supplies compelled the Scots to abandon their position. The English commander, however, would not listen to this lest assistance might come to Wallace. Eight hundred he took with himself, on foot, to range the wood, leaving Vallence with the remainder to press upon the barrier. To encourage the latter, he promised that, if Wallace were taken, Edward would make him Earl of Fife.

Perceiving their device, Wallace left Crawford and Longueville with forty men to keep the barrier, while he with sixty proceeded to meet Siward. Taking advantage of a manor dyke of cross coarse grass, they boldly awaited his advance. On came the English, by a "downwith wail," and many were slain in the first assault—so many that they were afraid to break

their array in advancing, the foremost meeting a certain fate. At the barrier Crawford and Longueville fought with equal hardihood and success. Guthrie, Bisset, and Richard Wallace are mentioned as having helped well upon this occasion. Siward was astonished that so few should withstand him in battle. Pressing into the wall, he thought himself to end the strife by killing one of the heroic little band. This, however, only made matters worse. Roused by the incident, the Scots so pressed upon the crowd of English by whom he was surrounded that the latter thought it best to retire from the wood, leaving four score dead, and fifty at the barrier. Wallace joined Crawford and Longueville at this latter place, and the men sought that rest of which they were so much in need. Siward ordered Vallence to remain with five hundred men, as a guard, while he would hie to Cupar, and return next morning with a fresh body. By this means he intended to starve Wallace and his party into surrender. Sir Aymer showed some reluctance in obeying this order, which was repeated again, with a threat that, if disobeyed, he would be hung high to-morrow. Wallace, when Siward was gone, sought Vallence, whom he induced to desert the cause of Edward, and join with him in that of his country.*

* There is some unaccountable mystery about Sir Aymer de Vallence. The probability is, that the Minstrel, not being able to read the Latin narrative of Blair and his friend Gray, has confounded the two Vallences—the Vallence of Bothwell, and young Vallence, third son of the Earl of Pembroke, who is

By this time intelligence had reached Ramsay and Ruthven of the peril their leader was in, and with three hundred men they proceeded to Blackironside. Siward having seen their advance, made choice of a fair field, whereon he drew up his force, which consisted of eleven hundred and four score men; Wallace, passing from the barrier, with the view of giving battle to Siward, was agreeably surprised when he heard the cry of Ramsay and Ruthven, their united forces making up a complement of five hundred and sixty. Siward, who was a true knight, seeing that his force was so greatly superior, divided it into two, and then the battle commenced on the plain. It lasted for a considerable time. Ramsay and Ruthven, with their fresh men, did amazing execution:—

“ Sloppis thai maid throw out the Inglissmen ;
 Beseueryt thaim be twenty and by ten,
 Quhen speris was gayn, with suerdys of metall clcr,
 Till Inglissmen thar cummyng was sauld full der.
 Wallace and his, be worthiness off hand,
 Feyll Sotheroun blud gart [licht] wpon the land.”

known to have fought the battle of Blackironside. It was a very natural mistake for the Blind Bard to fall into. Indeed he seems himself, from the manner in which he disposes, or rather forgets to dispose of the Bothwell Vallence at all, to have been in a difficulty about the identity of the two Vallences. Vallence, who fought at the battle of Blackironside, is said to have been born in 1280, consequently he was too young to have been in Scotland when Wallace began his career. “James de Walence” is attached, as one of the witnesses, to a charter by the Regent Albany to William de Ramesey of Culuthy, dated at “*manerium nostrum de Fawkland*, 14th November 1398.”

Seeing how matters were going, Sir John Siward rallied the two fields into one, and with three hundred around him, when all the rest had fled or were killed, gallantly fought on. Ramsay could have wished the knight were held to ransom, but that was not good policy for the Scots under their present circumstances, and he met his death at Wallace's hand. None of the English escaped. Amongst the Scots who were slain the "gud Besat" * was much lamented.

Ruthven returned to St Johnston, and Ramsay rode to Cupar Castle, which he took, for no defence was made. Wallace, Crawford, Guthrie, Richard Wallace, and Longueville, who had long been engaged, and much in want of refreshment, went to Lindores, where Vallence became their steward, and provided meat and drink abundantly:—

"The priour fled, and durst na reknyng bid;
He was befor upon the tother syd."

Next morning the Scots proceeded to St Andrews, where they turned out the English bishop, with whom a few fled and got away by sea. Sir John Ramsay spoiled Cupar, and cast down the castle.

The battle of Blackironside is known to have been fought on the 12th June 1298; and it is admitted that the invaders lost 1580 men. The leaders on the English side were Sir Aldomer or Aymer de Vallence, third son of the Earl of Pembroke, who had distinguished himself with Edward in Flanders,

* Probably William Bisset, ancestor of the Bissets of that ilk.

and Sir John Siward, son of Siward who traitorously delivered up the castle of Dunbar.

The Minstrel's narrative of events about this period is different from other authorities. Indeed, the visit of Wallace to France, either at this time or subsequently, is recorded by no other authority except Fordun, who says that he went to France after the battle of Roslin; that "he acquired great fame there from the dangers to which he had been exposed, not only from pirates while at sea, but afterwards from the English in France; and that this is attested by certain songs in France as well as in Scotland." The author also says that Philip applied to Edward for a truce between him and the Scots, that he might retain him longer in France. Major doubted the fact of Wallace ever having been in France, and this doubt was generally entertained, even by Dr Jamieson, until the discovery of a document in the Tower of London, which attests that Wallace was at least once at the French court. But the nature of the document in question, though without date, inferentially fixes that visit to have occurred some time after the battle of Falkirk, which was not fought till the 12th of July 1298. That he was in France after that event is unquestionable. But the Minstrel very circumstantially describes *two visits*—one when he was Governor or Regent of Scotland, and the other after he had formally resigned all official connexion with his country. When we find the one visit confirmed by undeniable evidence, we can-

not, in common fairness, deny the other, simply because it has not been borne out in a similar manner. If, then, Wallace made two voyages to France, the first could not have occurred at any other period than in the spring of 1298. The statement of Fordun is incorrect, in so far as he says the second visit of Wallace was not paid till after the battle of Roslin, yet the passage otherwise refers to a more auspicious period in the history of our hero—when his fame was high, and his prestige unbroken—and in reality bears out the narrative of the Minstrel. The latter says he sailed from Scotland on the 20th of April, and we see that he must have returned before the 12th of June. He had thus at least full six weeks to accomplish his purpose. He may indeed have sailed some days earlier, for we have no trace of him in Scotland after the 29th of March, when he was at Torphichen—so that from that period till he is found at Blackironside, there is no circumstance or document to show that he was in Scotland.

It was politic of Wallace to embrace the invitation of Philip, and quite natural as well as politic to do so as soon as possible after his triumphant return from the invasion of England—when a truce had been agreed upon—and the nation free, under its own laws and government. It was the best time for him to press his country's interests with a doubtful ally; for it is a long time since it became an adage not to "put your faith in France;" and

it is evident, from his sailing in a barge built for the purpose, and with fifty in his company, that he meant the visit as in some respects a matter of state. It may be objected that he was Regent at the time, and could not well be absent. But it must not be forgotten that there were others practically conjoined with him in the government, and that the only enemy they had to fear had been beaten and driven home almost to the walls of the capital, Edward himself and his troops being locked up in Flanders. The visit of Wallace to France in the spring of 1298 was thus not only practicable, but highly probable and politic, and we have no hesitation in admitting it as an authentic incident in his biography.

There can be no doubt that a family in Scotland held themselves as descendants of Longueville, who accompanied Wallace to Scotland. The "Statistical Account of the Parish of Kinfauns" says:—"In the castle of Kinfauns is kept a large old sword, probably made about five hundred years ago, and to be used by both hands. It is shaped like a broadsword, and is five feet nine inches long, two and a half inches broad at the hilt, and of a proportionable thickness, with a round knob at the upper end, near eight inches in circumference. This terrible weapon bears the name of *Charteris's sword*, and probably belonged to Sir Thomas Charteris, commonly called Thomas de Longueville, once proprietor of the estate of Kinfauns. Sir Thomas Charteris,

alias Longueville, was a native of France, and of an ancient family in that country." Longueville fought with Bruce, and at the taking of Perth, January 3, 1313, was the first to follow his royal master into the water. Wyntoun says—

"That tyme wes in his company
A knycht off France, wycht and hardy;

With that word to the dik he ran;
And our eftre the king he wan."

Adamson, in his "Muses' Threnodie," alludes to

"*Kinfauns*, which famous *Longoveil*
Some time did hold; whose auncient sword of steele
Remaines unto this day, and of that land
Is chiefest evident."

The editor of the Perth edition of the Minstrel says—"About thirty years ago, when the burying vault of the parish church of Kinfauns happened to be opened, I was showed a helmet made of thick leather, or of some such stuff, painted over with broad stripes of blue and white, which I was told was part of the fictitious armour in which the body of Thomas of Longueville had been deposited. Henry says he was of large stature, and the helmet indeed was a very large one."*

The Scots of any note slain at the battle of Blackenside were Sir Duncan Balfour, Sheriff of Fife,

* The family of Charteris of Amisfield existed in Scotland before the time of Longueville, at least "Andrew de Charteris," supposed to have been ancestor of this family, swore fealty to Edward in 1296. It is supposed that Longueville assumed the name of Charteris on marrying the heiress of Kinfauns.

and Sir Christopher Seton, the second of that name.* Sir John the Graham was wounded. Sir John Ramsay of Auchterhouse, and Squires Guthrie and Bisset particularly distinguished themselves. It was a protracted forest fight.

After the death of Siward all Fife was speedily cleared of the English. In Lochleven alone there lay a small garrison, or rather house, for there was no castle then: the waters of the Loch were deemed sufficient protection. The Scots were assembled at Carrail, their object being to take Kinghorn, which its captain abandoned. Without loss of time, they passed over the muir, lodging at "Scotland's Well." After supper, Wallace stole away from the camp, with eighteen men, towards Lochleven, the importance of capturing which he made sufficiently plain to his followers. Bidding them remain at the port till he should bring the boat, he stripped his harness to the shirt, bound his sword to his neck, and leaped into the flood. No guard was in the boat, so that, swimming to the island, he brought it back with him. Arraying himself again in his weeds, he and his men rowed to the Inch, and took the Southrons thoroughly by surprise. Having put the garrison to the sword, they made themselves free with whatever was in the place. Sending a messenger to warn his followers at Scotland's Well, to

* There were three Christopher Setons—grandfather, father, and son. The elder died in the reign of Alexander III., and the third, who took part with Bruce, was executed by Edward at Dumfries.

assemble next morning at Lochleven for the purpose of securing the stores, and drawing up the boat, the party went to sleep. Early next day the whole of the little army were on the Inch of Lochleven, and for eight days lodged very comfortably and happily.

From Lochleven, after having spoiled it of everything valuable, and burned the boat, Wallace repaired to St Johnston, where he was joined by Bishop Sinclair, who advised him to sojourn in Dunkeld during the winter. But Wallace could not think of this. At all events Sinclair insisted that he should not venture north himself, because of the enmity of Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, but rather despatch a messenger for men. Upon this errand Jop was sent immediately, while "Maister Blair" undertook a similar message to the west. Adam of Riccarton and Lindsay of Craigie had found their way from Rawchlé to Earl Malcolm in the Lennox. Graham was there, and Richard of Lundin; also Robert Boyd, who had been in Bute. But the difficulty was to join the national standard, the country being so overrun with the enemy. The Earl of Buchan prevented all supply from reaching Wallace—

"For Erlr Patrik a playn feild kepyt he."*

Yet numbers of poor men came to his aid. The "gud Randell," still in tender age, sent men out of Murray. After the return of Jop and Blair, the

* It was the son of this Earl Patrick who fought, or rather did not fight, at Falkirk.

intelligence of the latter greatly delighting him, Wallace proceeded to St Johnston, taking fifty men with him, including Jop, Stephen, and Karlé. From thence he took through the Ochils, but dared not attempt a passage at Stirling Bridge, which was well guarded by the English. Crossing Erth ferry privily, they concealed themselves in "a dern sted tharby." Here a tyrannical captain, called Tom Lyn of Wayr, was in command of a hundred men. By means of a Scots fisher, compelled to serve this person against his will, the party were privately ferried across the river, the fisherman joining them. From thence they passed with good speed through the moss to the Torwood, where Wallace's old acquaintance, the widow, brought him tidings of his uncle, who lived at Dunipace. Tom Lyn had thrown him into prison, for the purpose of extorting more money. Wallace said—

"Deym, he sall weill lowsyt be,
Be none to morn, or ma tharfor sall de."

The good widow having supplied them with food, they remained quietly till night, when they quickly drew towards Erth Castle.* The fisherman knew the stronghold well; of the draw-dykes full of water he wisely warned the party, and led them to a small bridge at the rear where he used to pass himself. Wallace was the first to enter the hall,

* Erth, or Airth Castle, was built, says the "Statistic Account of Scotland," "before Sir William Wallace's time. This tower is in good repair; it makes part of the house of Airth, and bears the name of *Wallace's Tower*."

and, as the inmates were about to rise from supper, his men having followed him hard, he saluted them "apon ane awfull wyss :"—

"With scherand suerdis scharply about thaim dang."

Tom Lyn himself was struck down by a blow from Wallace, nor did the slaughter cease till the whole were despatched. Wallace then searched for his uncle, whom he found in irons, in a dark cave, where water stood. Bursting up the brasses by which the door was bound, the old man was overjoyed to find that he had been rescued by his nephew. Making good cheer, the party slept till near day, when they had light to spoil the place of everything valuable. All day they remained, giving such Englishmen as came a reception which prevented them from returning. Stephen and Karlé kept the post the second night, and before morning they sought the Torwood, where they remained till night—

"Syn bownyt thaim in quiet throuh the land."

Wallace, acting himself as guide that night, led the way to Dumbarton, where they arrived before daylight, and entered a house he had formerly known, belonging to a widow who was friendly to the Scottish cause. She lodged the whole party in a close barn, and amply supplied them with meat and drink. She had nine sons, all "lykly men and wicht," whom she caused to swear allegiance to the Guardian. The widow dwelt in peace, paying tribute to the English.

"Schir Jhon Menteth the castell had in hand ;

Bot sum men said thar wus a prewa band

Till Southeroun maid,* be menys of that knycht,
In thar supplé to be in all his mycht."

At night, Wallace caused the widow to mark the doors where the English lodged; then he and his party proceeded to the street, well harnessed and armed. They came first to a large hostelry, where an English captain and a large party were enjoying themselves somewhat late:—

"Nyn men was thar, now set in huge curage;
Sum wald haiff had gud Wallace in that rage;
Sum wald haiff bound Schyr Jhone the Grayme throucht
streth,
Sum wald haiff had Boyd at the suerdis lenth;
Sum wyst Lundy, that chapyt was off Fyff;
Sum wychtar was na Cetoun in to stryff.
Quhen Wallace hard the Sotheroun maid sic dyn,
He gart all byd, and hym allayn went in."

A few words sufficed to bring the parties to blows. Wallace wielded his sword with his usual dexterity; his friends rushed in, and a short time sufficed to silence the pot-valiant Southrons. The landlord could not hide his delight at what had occurred; and supplying them with bread and ale, became their guide through the town in the work of vengeance. Three hundred men, who had been stationed in Dumbarton, to keep the country down, were thus made away with in one night. Before morning, Wallace and his party retired to the cave of Dumbarton, where they remained all day, supplied plentifully with meat and drink by the landlord of the

* It was even then the popular belief that Menteith was bound by a private band to the English.

inn. At night they took the way for Roseneth, in which castle there was a strong English force. On the Gairloch, between it and the kirk, they remained for a short time, then drew stealthily under a hill towards the castle. It happened that a marriage was to be celebrated at the castle next day, to attend which the inmates turned out, all save a few servants. The Scots entered the stronghold, and when the English returned from the kirk, to the number of fourscore and upwards, though not fully armed, and about to enter the castle, they were assailed with great fury by the Scots, who slew the whole of them. They afterwards remained seven days in this strength, then spoiled it of its stores and valuables, and burned it to the ground.

The Scots then passed to Falsan,* where Earl Malcolm abode in his defence. Wallace was heartily greeted by the company there, among whom were Graham, Boyd, Richard of Lundin, Adam Wallace, and Barclay. Here he remained till Christmas,† and during his stay intelligence was brought of the death of his mother. She had been driven from Ellerslie by the English, and had sought an asylum at Dunfermline Abbey, where she expired. Wallace was much affected; but not daring to appear himself, he sent Jop and Blair to see her remains interred with all due honour.

* Supposed to have been near the head of the Gairloch.

† This of course is an error, for the battle of Falkirk was fought on the 12th of July 1298.

Sir William Douglas of Douglasdale, learning that Wallace was again in the field, resolved, though he had been compelled to take band with Edward when a young man, and had married an English lady for his second wife,* to take part of new in the national cause. Beauford, a friend of his wife, then held the castle of Sanquhar, and had laid waste all the country between that and Douglasdale. With thirty followers he proceeded to Dumfries, on pretence of having a meeting with the English, and at night drew up in a hollow on the water of Craw.† Sending forward a trustworthy retainer, Tom Dickson, to the vicinity of Sanquhar, he there met an old acquaintance, of the name of Anderson, who agreed to lend him his horse, and his clothes as a disguise, to lead a draught of wood into the castle in the morning. He also made him aware of the strength of the garrison, there being forty good soldiers in it. Anderson, acting as guide to Douglas, led him privately to a wood near the castle. Dickson, aided by Anderson, appeared at the gate with the wood early in the morning, and was admitted, with a scolding from the porter for disturbing him so soon. With a knife he cut some of the fastenings, and the wood fell, blocking up the gate so that it could not be closed again. With his dagger he immediately despatched the porter, and beckoning Douglas, the

* She was of the English family of *Ferrar* or *Ferrais*.

† Now called the Crawick, which runs into the Nith. Sanquhar Castle was a well-known stronghold.

latter, with his party, were quickly at hand. Douglas himself slew the captain, the house was taken, and all of Southron blood perished save one, who, flying to Durisdeer, and carrying the tidings with him, an English force was speedily assembled on Tiber's Muir, with the view of besieging Douglas. Sir William despatched his man Dickson to inform Wallace of his predicament. The champion was then at Leven House, which he had taken with three hundred men. Kilsyth Castle, held by one Ravensdale, he intended to assail next. He learned that Ravensdale was in Cumberland, and that Lord Cumyn lived in it, paying tribute. Wallace caused Earl Malcolm to lie in waiting with two hundred followers. He took the remainder himself, and sent a spy to the neighbouring wood to give notice when he observed anything particular. Ravensdale came unexpectedly with fifty men, and between the two forces, Wallace broke cover and followed upon them fast. The Englishmen fled in dismay. They were thoroughly barred from the castle, however, by Earl Malcolm, and wholly cut to pieces. Not remaining to spoil the castle, Wallace hurried on:—

“Then out the land in awfull feyr thai ryd.”

Linlithgow Peel he took, and burned the town. Next day he visited Dalkeith in a similar manner, and afterwards took up his position in Newbottle wood. Lauder and Seton, coming from the Bass, burned Northallerton, that it might no longer be a rallying point for the English. Then they hurried, with a

hundred men under their banner, to join Wallace. At this happy juncture, Wallace and Earl Malcolm were accosted by Douglas's man, Tom Dickson, and it was at once resolved to rescue his master. Hew the Hay now joined the Scots with fifty men. At Peebles Wallace made proclamation that all who came to his peace should have reward. "Gud Ruthirfurd," who had been living in Ettrick Forest, now came forward with sixty men, which swelled up the small force of Wallace to six hundred. With this little army he marched into Clydesdale. The English by this time were besieging Douglas in Sanquhar; but on learning that Wallace was approaching, they fled with precipitation into England. Wallace then lay in Crawford Muir, and on learning the flight of the enemy, he selected three hundred of his men, well mounted, and in light harness, leaving Earl Malcolm in command of the remainder. Not far from Closeburn, they came upon the enemy, and attacked an "out part" of them, bringing seven score to the ground in a short time. The main body returned, with the view of rescuing them, but Earl Malcolm coming up with the remainder of the Scots, the English fled, hotly pursued by Wallace and the Earl. Before they passed Dalswinton five hundred were slain. The horses became tired, Wallace and Graham dismounted, and pursued on foot. The Scots, however, were opportunely joined by a new force of

seven score, under Adam Corré,* Johnston of Housdale,† Kirkpatrick, and Halliday. Mounting a fresh horse himself, he joined the new comers in the pursuit, ordering Graham to remain, and come on with the main body. The three Captains of Durrisder, Enoch, and Tiber Muir‡ were slain. Lord Clifford's nephew away to Clifford fled with all speed. Maxwell of Caerlaverock now joined Wallace in pursuit. Beside Cockpool great slaughter was made, and many were drowned in attempting to gain the English side. Remaining at Caerlaverock all night, the Scots rode next day into Dumfries, making public proclamation to all to come to their peace. The English fled to Scotland by sea and land in all directions; all save one, Morton, who commanded Dundee, and Wallace ruled the country as before. Douglas he appointed keeper of all the district between Drumlanrig and Ayr.

Wallace resolved that Dundee should be taken, and marching thither, invested the town. Morton offered to surrender on condition that their lives should be spared. This Wallace would not consent to. Edward, who was with his army in France at this time, hurried home on hearing the state of affairs, resolving to enter Scotland with an overwhelming force. Meanwhile the French, hoping to get Wal-

* Probably Currie. † Ewsdall, watered by the river *Ewes*.

‡ The ruins of Tiber Castle stand on the banks of the Nith. The name is supposed to be from *Tiberius*. Roman encampments exist in the neighbourhood.

lace to their aid, despatched a herald, who waited on him at Dundee. Thinking to "commend Wallace," the French king sent part of a deed or grant, with a description of the hero, drawn up by learned men who had seen him there. This description, or portrait, is thus given by the Minstrel:—

" Nyne quartaris large he was in lenth indeid ;
 Thryd part lenth in schuldrys braid was he,
 Rycht sembly, strang, and lusty for to se ;
 Hys lymmys gret, with stalwart paiss and sound,
 Hys browys hard, his armes gret and round ;
 His handis maid rycht lik till a pawmer,
 Off manlik mak, with naless gret and cler ;
 Proportionyt lang and fayr was his wesage ;
 Rycht sad off spech, and abil in curage ;
 Braid breyst and heych, with sturdy crag and gret,
 Hys lypmys round, his noyss was squar and tret ;
 Bowand bron haryt, on browis and breis lycht,
 Cler aspre eyn, lik dyamondis brycht.
 Wndyr the chyn, on the left syd, was seyn,
 Be hurt, a wain ; his colour was sangweyn.
 Woundis he had, in mony diuerss place,
 Bot fayr and weill kepyt was his face.
 Off ryches he kepyt no propry thing ;
 Gaiff as he wan, lik Alexander the King.
 In tym off pes, mek as a maid was he ;
 Quhar wer approchyt the rycht Ector was he."

While Wallace continued the siege of Dundee, Jop brought intelligence of Edward's invasion at the head of a large army, consisting of a hundred thousand men. Leaving Scrymgeour, with two thousand, to maintain the siege, he advanced to St Johnston, at the head of eight thousand men. Here he lay for a few days. Meanwhile "yong Wodstock,

a lord off mekill mycht," had come as far as Stirling Bridge at the head of ten thousand English.

Most of the incidents in this chapter are recorded by the Minstrel only, and some of them are mentioned by others as having occurred at other times and under different circumstances. Amongst these is the taking of Sanquhar Castle by Douglas. The Minstrel, in the character of his hero's biographer, sometimes follows his steps with an apparent indifference to public events, and he is no doubt wrong occasionally as to the precise date; but, taking his narrative as a whole, there is a connected link, and a truthfulness runs throughout, which challenges objection. From the lapse of time, and the loose manner in which the events of the period are so sparingly recorded, even by the most trustworthy of our chroniclers, it is extremely dangerous to rely upon the judgment of any writer in the transposition or arrangement of facts in accordance with what he may deem the best authority. We have not found the Minstrel tripping in any material point.

CHAPTER X.

BATTLE OF SHERIFF MUIR—BATTLE OF FALKIRK—DEATH OF SIR JOHN THE GRAHAM—CONFERENCE BETWEEN WALLACE AND BRUCE—THE ENGLISH SURPRISED AT LINLITHGOW—DUNDEE TAKEN—WALLACE RESIGNS HIS OFFICE—SAILS FOR FRANCE—JOHN OF LYN KILLED—MENTEITH—EDWARD INVADES SCOTLAND—CUMYN ENTERS INTO A COMPACT WITH BRUCE.

THE intention of Wodstock was to relieve Dundee. Ships were also sent to the Tay for this purpose. He had little dread of the Scots, and his guides intended to lead him and his army by St Johnston. They kept the heights, so as to avoid Wallace; but when he saw that the Scots were but a small company, he resolved to give them battle. When the English were first descried by Sir John Ramsay, he was at a loss to guess whether they were enemies or Earl Malcolm's men. Wallace, however, soon discovered their true character, and drew up his army, amounting to eight thousand, on Sheriff Muir. The Southrons were not slow to attack, and the battle which ensued was brief but sanguinary. Wodstock was slain, and all his army, considerable valuable plunder falling into the hands of the Scots. Wal-

lace then marched directly for Stirling Bridge, which, after passing to Stirling, he entirely removed, and caused the ford to be set with sharp spikes of wood, so as to render it impassable. He also caused Lauder, who then held the Bass, to destroy all the vessels belonging to strangers, and also to take a plank or two out of those belonging to the Scottish harbours, to prevent their being of use in case of the flight of the enemy. Lauder and Seton then joined Wallace. Earl Malcolm held Stirling Castle at this time, and brought three hundred Lennox men to the national standard. Sir John the Graham also arrived from Dundaff, "with a gud chewalry."

Word at length came that Edward and his army had reached Torphichen, wasting the country around—not sparing the property even of the knights of St John. The "gud Stewart of But" advanced with twelve thousand men, and being joined by Cumyn, then at Cumbernauld, they led between them twenty thousand to Falkirk, where they resolved to abide the issue of events. Wallace then moved from Stirling with ten thousand men, his principal leaders, besides himself, being Earl Malcolm, Sir John the Graham, Ramsay, Seton, Lauder, Lundin, and Adam Wallace. Edward removed from Torphichen to Slamannan Muir, and, estimated by Jop, he had a hundred thousand men under his banners.

According to Blind Harry, a fatal misunderstanding occurred amongst the Scots while preparing to meet the enemy:—

“Poyson sen syn at the Fawkyrk is cald,
Unon treson and corruption off ald.”

This was the work of the archtraitor Cumyn, who was envious of Wallace. His sister, besides, was Countess of March, and there was, from what had occurred with her husband, Earl Patrick, no good feeling towards the “King of Kyle,” as he sneeringly designated the Knight of Ellerslie. He insinuated that Wallace had no right to lead the battle so long as Stewart was there, and therefore that the latter ought not to submit to such a thing. As Cumyn expected, Wallace refused to give up his position. In ordinary circumstances, Stewart certainly had a superior right; but the struggle for national independence in which Wallace had been so long engaged, entirely reversed the natural order of their positions. Wallace was incensed at the proposal, and he answered—

“Sa God me saiff,
That sall ye nocht, as lang as I may ryng;
Nor no man ellis, quhill I see my rycht king.
Gyff he will cum, and tak on him the crown,
At his command I sall be reddy boun.
Throw Goddis grace I reskewed Scotland twyss;
I war to mad to leyff [it] on sic wyss,
To tyn for best that I haiff governed lang.”

Wallace had been regularly appointed Governor by a Scottish Parliament, and to call upon him, on the eve of battle, to resign that appointment in deference to the claims of one who had hitherto done nothing for the country, was certainly insulting in the ex-

treme. Stewart added to the insult by comparing Wallace to the owl, decked out in other bird's feathers :—

“This makis it, thow art cled with our men,
Had we our awn, thin war bot few to ken.”

At these words Wallace “byrnt as fyr :”—

“ ‘Thow leid,’ he said, ‘the suth full oft has ben,
Thar haiff I baid, quhar thow durst nocht be seyn
Contrar enemys, na mar, for Scotland’s rycht,
Than dar the howlat quhen that the day is brycht.
That taill full meit thow has tauld be thi sell;
To thi desyr thow sall me nocht compell.
Comyn it is has gyffyn this consaill;
Will God, ye sall off your fyrst purpos fail.
That falss traytour, that I off danger brocht,
Is wonder lyk till bring this realm till nocht.
For thi ogart* ethir thow sall de,
Or in presoun byd, or cowart lik to fle.
Reskew off me thow sall get nane this day.’
Tharwith he turned, and fra thaim raid his way.”

Wallace carried with him ten thousand good warriors, the number he had brought from Stirling. He proceeded eastward of Falkirk towards a wood. Stewart is said to have been much grieved for the part he had acted at the instigation of Cumyn, and the rest of the army were much discouraged. Seeing what had taken place in the Scottish camp, Edward caused the Earl of Hertford to advance at the head of thirty thousand men, so as instantly to give battle. Stewart prepared for the onset, and after a keen contest for some time, the English fled to the main body, leaving twenty thousand on the

* Pride, arrogance.

field. Wallace held up his hands in admiration of the valour of the Stewart; and when he saw forty thousand fresh troops advancing under Bruce and Bishop Bek to renew the battle, he had great debate with himself, whether he should not forget what had occurred and march to the aid of Bute; but he adhered to his first resolution. Cumyn fled on the approach of Bruce and Bek, but the Stewart men stood by their lord till he was slain and themselves cut to pieces. Only one course was now open to Wallace and his troops. They must seek shelter in the Torwood; but between them and it was the army of Bruce and Bek. There was, however, no time to deliberate. Wallace led on, and cut his way through the English, leaving eight thousand of them dead on the field. This was done so speedily, that Edward, amid the clouds of dust sent up during the *mêlée*, did not see the attack until Wallace had passed through, and the main body of his men were on their way to the Torwood. Wallace, Graham, and Lauder, with three hundred "westland men," kept up a deadly combat with the English, by way of checking their pursuit. Bruce, perceiving this, rallied twenty thousand of the English, and pressed on his retreating countrymen. Wallace ordered his followers to join the main body, he himself, with Graham and Lauder, keeping the rear, and cutting off the more forward of his pursuers. At length Bruce himself, with a spear, succeeded in giving Wallace a rather severe wound in the throat, and

pressed on with his force so stoutly that the latter and his friends had some difficulty in reaching the Torwood. While stanching his wound, Graham and Lauder maintained the unequal combat gallantly. Wallace, taking three hundred of his men, broke in upon the English, to save his friends, but they were borne back by the force under Bishop Bek, yet he succeeded in rescuing both Graham and Lauder. Bruce again sought Wallace with his spear, but missed his aim, upon which our hero brought him to the ground with a stroke of his sword. He was soon re-horsed, however, by his attendants. Wallace was now alone in the thickest of the fight. Graham pressed on to the aid of Wallace, and struck down a knight who stood before Bruce, upon which another English knight,* observing that his "byrny was to narow sum deill," followed Graham, and pierced him with a spear in the back. Sir John, turning round, slew the knight by a stroke on the head, but this was his last effort in battle. Feeling the mortal nature of his wound, he rode for the main body of the Scots, but his horse was slain, and he himself died almost instantly. The Minstrel describes the grief of Wallace, when he saw that Sir John was dead, as beyond description. His wit was lost in rage, and he rode through the enemy "lik a

* Langtoft states that the only person of any note slain on the English side was Sir Brian le Jay, whom he claims as an Englishman. Having pressed hard upon the retreating Scots, he was slain in Calander Wood.

wyld best that war fra reason rent," slaying all whom he encountered—

"All hym about was reddyt a gret rowm."

Bruce, perceiving the state he was in, ordered his men with long spears to slay his horse, so that he could not escape. Their aim they accomplished so far, that they wounded the noble animal severely; but Wallace saw the design of his enemies, and while there yet remained sufficient strength, he fled towards his men, who were at the side of the Carron. Ordering them to keep together, and boldly take the flood, he remained guarding the passage himself, then swam the river, his exhausted steed falling down dead on the opposite bank. Karlé soon brought him another charger, which he mounted, and speedily joined his small army. In this battle he lost Sir John the Graham, and fifteen other "wicht" men of his company. Thirty thousand of the English, says the Minstrel, were slain.

The Torwood having been gained by the main body of the division, Wallace and Karlé, for some reason unexplained by the Minstrel, lingered on the banks of the Carron, and were hailed by Bruce from the other side. The Minstrel relates with great precision the conversation which ensued between Wallace and Bruce on this occasion—the one upbraiding the other. Wallace denied all intention of assuming the supreme power, declaring that he fought only for the independence of his country, ready to acknowledge his lawful sovereign, and de-

nouncing Bruce for his treasonable conduct in fighting against his own subjects. Moved by what Wallace said, Bruce desired a meeting at the chapel of Dunipace, next morning, to which Wallace agreed, if at three o'clock, as Bruce's proposal of nine was too late—Bruce bringing twelve Scotsmen with him, and Wallace ten. Bruce then hurried to Linlithgow, where Edward's camp was, and hastened to supper, without washing. Some of the English said, "Behold, yon Scot ettis his awn blud." Bruce pondered deeply on his position. They would have him to wash, but he declined, saying, "This blud is myn, that hurtis most my thoct," and from that day he never fought against Scotland.

Wallace joined his men in the Torwood, where they made fires, and refreshed themselves with "nolt and schein thair tuk at sufficiens." Having gone to sleep for a short time, he rose, and with Earl Malcolm, Lundin, Ramsay, Lauder, Seton, and Adam of Riccarton, with five thousand men, in battle array, passed to the field where "the chass had ben," seeking the worthiest among the dead. When the body of Graham was found, Wallace alighted, and took the corpse in his arms. But the Minstrel has described this scene so well that we shall not mar his picture by words of our own :—

"Quhen thair him fand, and gud Wallace him saw,
 He lychtyt doun, and hynt him fra thaim aw
 In armyss vp ; behaldand his pail face,
 He kyssyt him, and cryt full oft.—'Allace !
 My best brothir in warld that euir I had !

My afeld freynd quhen I was hardest stad !
 My hop, my heill, thow was in maist honour !
 My faith, my help, my strenthiast in stour !
 In the was wyt, fredom, and hardines ;
 In the was treuth, manheid, and nobilnes ;
 In the was rewl, in the was gouernans ;
 In the was wertu withoutyn warians ;
 In the lawte, in the was gret largnas ;
 In the gentrice, in the was stedfastnes.
 Thow was gret causs off wynnynng off Scotland,
 Thocht I began, and tuk the wer on hand,
 I wow to God, that has the world in wauld,
 Thi dede sall be to Sotheroun full der sauld.
 Martyr thow art to for Scotlandis rycht and me ;
 I sall the wenge, or ellis tharfor de. ”

All around were weeping at the words of Wallace, and they carried the body of Graham to Falkirk churchyard, where they interred it.*

The obsequies of his friend over, Wallace took ten of his men with him to keep tryst with Bruce at Dunipace chapel, ordering his small force to remain on the field. Bruce was true to the hour. Wal-

* There is an antique sword in the possession of the Montrose family, with this inscription—

“ Sir johne ye Grame, verry wicht and wyse,
 One of ye chiefes relievit Scotland thryse,
 Foyght with ys svord, and ner thout schame,
 Commandit nane to beir it bot his name.”

Dundaff property, with the old castle, belongs to the Dukedom of Montrose. The gravestone in Falkirk churchyard bears the following inscription—

“ *Mente manūque potens, et Vallæ fidvs Achates ;
 Conditvr hic Gramvs, bello interfectvs ab Anglis.
 xii. Jvlii anno 1298.* ”

lace was not in good humour, thinking of Graham, and he spoke somewhat roughly. Bruce, however, showed deep contrition—

“Wallace, [he said,] rabut me now na mar;
Myn awin dedis has bet me wondyr sar.”

This admission on the part of Bruce instantly wrought a change on Wallace. In the enthusiasm of the moment, he fell on his knees, and Bruce took him in his arms. The Minstrel says they went from their friends, to take counsel by themselves, and he in consequence cannot relate what they said, but those who were there assert that Bruce agreed never to take arms against his countrymen, and as soon as the period of his fealty to Edward had expired, he would come to Wallace. Breaking up the conference, Bruce repaired to Edward, and Wallace to his men. The battle of Falkirk was fought on the 12th July 1298.

Dividing his small army into two, the one division of which he gave to Earl Malcolm, guided by Crawford along the low road to “Enrawyn,” [Inveravon,] the other he took himself south of “Manwell.” The object was to surprise Edward at Linlithgow. Malcolm entered the town, and began the attack precipitately, Wallace being scarcely in time to second him. The English were not in a condition to receive them, and they suffered dreadfully in consequence. Bruce, with his army, kept out of the mêlée. Edward fought with great resolution. His bannerman was slain by Wallace. The banner



“ In the enthusiasm of the moment Wallace fell on his knees, and Bruce took him in his arms.”—WALLACE, Page 238.

down, the English began to fly, and Edward himself was reluctantly compelled to join in the flight. Eleven thousand, the Minstrel says, perished on that occasion. The Scots pursued. Edward crossed the Solway into England, having lost fifty thousand in the expedition.

Wallace and his army returned by Annan to Edinburgh, and made Crawford governor of it as he was before. Having placed all the survivors in the offices they held formerly, and seen the country once more in peace, he went to St Johnston, and there called a Parliament. Scrymgeour attended, having previously taken Dundee. Wallace hanged the captain, Morton, in defiance of Edward, and caused the castle to be demolished. At the parliament, Wallace resigned his position as Governor. He plainly assigned the reason to be the jealousy of the nobles. "At the Fawkyrk," he says, "thai ordand me reward." The country was now free, and he resolved to go to France, "to wyn [his] leffyng thar." In vain the parliament urged him to forbear his resolution. He was resolved. No doubt he saw the impossibility of making head against the growing jealousy of the baronage, and of permanently freeing the country so long as it was open to competition for the crown,—until, in short, Bruce should declare himself. Eighteen passed with Wallace to France, among whom was Longueville, the Baron of Brechin's son, Symon and Richard Wallace, nephews of the Guardian, Sir Thomas Gray, Edward Litill, Jop.

and Mr Blair. The party sailed from Dundee in company with some merchants.

The vessels kept in by the coast of England, opposite Humber mouth. Here a large red sail with "leopardis standand hye," hove in sight. The merchants well knew the sail to be "Jhon off Lyn,"* a desperate English pirate, who considered it no sin to slay Scotsmen. On learning who he was, Wallace prepared his men to give him a proper reception. John of Lyn, on approaching, called out for the Scots to "strike," but the only reply vouchsafed was three arrows from a bow by Mr Blair, bringing down one of Lyn's men at each shot. The pirates then "bykerit wonder fast" with their arrows and guns for nearly an hour. It came to close quarters at last, and then the Scots had the advantage so thoroughly that John of Lyn could have wished himself anywhere save where he was. Sixty of his crew were down, and he would fain have made for flight, but Crawford had set fire to his mainsail, and he was boarded by Wallace, Longueville, and Blair. The Minstrel says that Blair recorded nothing of his own actings; but Gray, who was priest to Wallace at the time, added various statements to those of Blair. The fight was speedily brought to a close by the death of John of Lyn, who fell by the hands of Wal-

* In 1293, according to Ayloff's "Calendar," when preparing for his invasion of Wales, Edward commissioned John Bishop, burgess of Lynne, to purchase merchandise for him in Scotland. This is probably the same John of Lyn, known to the Scots as an English pirate.

lace. The crew were slain, and the ship taken, with all its spoils of money and goods. Arrived at the Sluis, he took part of the gold, and gave the ship to the merchants. He then passed through Flanders into France, and took his way for Paris.

Wallace was warmly welcomed by the King of France. The whole district of Guienne was conferred upon him, then in the possession of the English, and the King would have created him a duke, but he declined, and was simply knighted, with the command of the French army. He was to make choice of any coat armorial he chose; but Wallace preferred adhering to the "red lion," which he had always worn as his device. He quickly bound him to the seat of war. Scotsmen flocked to his standard from all quarters, and Longueville raised many men for him, so that ten thousand warriors soon rallied under his standard. "Schynnoun" he soon took, and made it his residence. The Duke of Orleans came with twelve thousand men to his assistance, and everything promised fair.

Scotland meanwhile suffered much injury during the absence of our hero. The Minstrel relates that Sir Aymer de Vallence and Sir John Menteith made a private agreement between them, by which, if the latter became bound to Edward, he was to have the Leynhouse. Edward then led a large army into Scotland, and there being no one to oppose him, he soon became possessed of all the castles and other strengths. Many who would not bow to the Eng-

lish King, fled into the Isles. Bishop Sinclair again repaired to Bute. Determined to blot out, if possible, the very remembrance of independence in Scotland, he caused all the "Roman bukis" then in the country, as well as the records, to be destroyed.* Those who would not brook to hold lands of him he sent to prison in England. Sir William Douglas died in confinement there. Thomas Randolph, Lord Fraser, and Hew the Hay, were sent under charge of Vallenge to England. Scarcely a person of note was left in Scotland who had not become bound to him. Seton, Lauder, and Lundin fled to the Bass, Malcolm and Campbell passed to Bishop Sinclair in Bute. Ramsay and Ruthven fled north to their cousin of Fyllorth, and, meeting with one Climace,† who long disputed Edward's supremacy, built a strong defence at Stockford in Ross-shire. Adam Wallace, Lindsay of Craigie, and Robert Boyd, took shelter in Arran. Corspatrick of Dunbar, having made allegiance again to Edward, remained in his own castle. Abernethy, Soullis, Cumyn, John of Lorn, Lord Brechin, and many others remained on their lands, having made peace with Edward.

* Bellenden says:—"He brint all the Cronikles of Scotland, with all maner of bukis als weill of deuyne seruyce as of othir materis; to that fyne that the memorye of Scottis suld peris. He gart the Scottis wryte bukis efter the vse of Sarum, and con-stranit thaim to say efter that vse." Boeth says, "*Libros sacros Anglico ritu conscribi jussit.*"

† Clement. He is supposed to have been a brother of the Earl of Ross, then a prisoner in England.

In this state of bondage the patriotic party in Bute fitted up a *ballingar*,* in which they despatched a messenger to Wallace, telling him the misery they were in, and praying him to return and "tak the crown" rather than they should live and brook false Edward for ever. Wallace, however, still remembered the unkindness shown him at Falkirk, and made no answer—

—————"bot in his wer furth rang.

Off King Edward yeit mar furth will I meill,
In to quhat wyss that he couth Scotland deill."

The Earl of York in St Johnston was made Captain of all the lands between Tay and Dee, and under him Butler, whose grandfather and father had both been killed at Kincleven. The Lord Bowmond was also sent on command in the north. To Lord Clifford he gave Douglasdale, and appointed him ruler of the South of Scotland. All Galloway he gave to Cumyn. The Bishop of Lammerton, who owed some kindness to the Douglasses, went with young James Douglas to Edward at St Johnston, and proffered his services for his fathers' lands, but Edward refused with an oath, and ordered him to prison. To the Lord Soulis he gave the whole of the Merse, and made him Captain of Berwick. Oliphant, whom he found in Stirling Castle, he deceived by breaking his promise, and sent him into England to prison. Having thus settled Scotland, as he imagined, Edward returned to England.

* A kind of ship.

It was immediately after this, according to the Minstrel, that the arrangement of mutual support, in attaining the crown, was made between Cumyn and Bruce, that the former should get what lands he desired in return for his aid in assisting Bruce to obtain the crown;* and that, traitor as he was, he divulged the same to Edward. Some, adds the Minstrel, defend the Cumyn, but

“Nayn may say weill Cumyn was saklasing,
Becauss his wiff was Edward’s ner cusing.”

The battle of Falkirk, which is the main event in this chapter, is somewhat differently related by the English historians. All of them admit that Edward led an overwhelming army into Scotland. He had 3000 horsemen armed at all points, 4000 called *hobelars*, from the French *hobille*, a coat of quilted stuff, and 80,000 foot. This enormous force was swelled by a reinforcement to upwards of 100,000 men, many of them veterans, who had been in the wars with France. The departure of this formidable array is described with much enthusiasm by the English historians, and certainly the chivalric display must have been very imposing. A fleet was

* This agreement proceeded upon the principle that Bruce had the best right to the crown. Lord Hailes gives the transaction the benefit of his doubts, but it is attested by other authorities than the Minstrel. Wyntoun and Barbour entirely agree in their statement that Cumyn and Bruce were riding together to Stirling, when the conversation turned upon the state of the country—and the bond of mutual support was drawn up and sealed the same night in Stirling. Bonds of mutual aid were by no means uncommon in later times.

sent with provisions by sea, but it was detained by contrary winds, and Edward was compelled to encamp a short distance west of Edinburgh. He fixed his head-quarters at Torphichen, while part of his army lay at Templeliston, now Kirkliston, so as to keep open his communication with the Forth.* In their march through Scotland thus far the army of Edward had met with little opposition, except from one or two of the castles in the rear, whose garrisons, issuing forth, had cut off several foraging parties. Bishop Bek was ordered to reduce these, an order which cost him some trouble, having been repulsed in his first attack on Dirleton.

The conduct of Wallace, in the face of such an invading power, was all that could be expected of a consummate general. The south country had been nearly swept of cattle, and everything that might be available for the support of the enemy, while the whereabouts of his own force was kept entirely hid from the English. Lying inactive at Torphichen, Edward is said to have knighted a number of young squires; and a few ships with wine having opportunely arrived in the Forth, a quantity was distributed among the troops in celebration of the event. The usual effects of intoxication ensued. The Welsh, of whom 40,000 are said to have been present, quarrelled with the English, and during the

* This fact was questioned by Lord Hailes upon grounds which showed that he had little knowledge of the military art, or the space which so large an army would occupy.

night slew eighteen ecclesiastics. In return for this onslaught, the English cavalry rode in amongst the disorderly assailants, and slew about eighty of their number. The Welsh, enraged at this retaliation, withdrew in a body from the army, and Edward had great difficulty in effecting a reconciliation. Meanwhile the scarcity of provisions grew so alarming, from the non-arrival of the fleet, that Edward felt compelled to order a retreat. Up to this time the movements of Wallace and his army were wholly unknown; and his strategy was likely to have been crowned with success by the retreat of the enemy, when two Scottish renegades—said to have been Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, and Gilbert, Earl of Angus, sought communication with Bishop Bek, to whom they divulged, not only where the Scots were, but that it was their intention to engage the English in a night attack, and afterwards hang upon and harass them in their retreat. Edward is said to have been delighted with this intelligence, at once countermanding the retreat, and resolving to move forward to meet the Scots. A whole summer's day, it appears, was expended in getting the mighty host into motion, and at night the English rested in their armour on an extensive heath east of Linlithgow. At daybreak the army resumed its forward movement, passing through Linlithgow in apparently a never-ending line of procession—perhaps the most brilliant display of the kind ever witnessed in Scotland—save, perhaps, in a few subsequent years, the

army of Edward II. on its way to the field of Bannockburn. The first division was under the leadership of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, and Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, constable of England. The second division was under the charge of Bishop Bek, who was attended by thirty-nine banners, such was the princely display of this proud ecclesiastic. Edward himself commanded the third division. Under the royal banner there followed Brian Fitz-Allen,* recent Governor of Scotland, with such of the Scots as were opposed to the independence of their country—amongst whom was Brian le Jay, preceptor of the Scottish Templars, who probably joined Edward at Torphichen. There were, no doubt, many of the other knights with him, but none of their names occur except that of *John de Sautre*, or Soultre, an hospital of that designation. He is described as master of the chivalry of the Scottish Templars. The Welsh, who were chiefly archers, were apportioned amongst the different divisions.

The English army came in sight of the Scottish outposts early in the day. The army of the Scots did not exceed 30,000. They occupied the ridge of an eminence in front of the Torwood; and when the mist had cleared away which enveloped them for a time, they were observed taking up their position, and preparing for battle. They were disposed in four schiltrons, or circular divisions—the best

* Brian Fitz-Allen was Lord of Bedale in Yorkshire.

disposition they could make under the circumstances—for their army consisted chiefly of spearmen. The manner in which the Scottish spearmen were wont to form square or circle has been often described. There were at least three ranks necessary to this formation. The front rank, kneeling, presented their weapon with a firm and unyielding grasp, while the second and third ranks so adjusted their spears as to exhibit to the enemy a breastwork which has been compared to the bristling of a hedgehog. Within this circle other spearmen stood, with their arms perpendicular, ready to fill up any vacancy in the front ranks. When Edward saw the order in which they were arranged, it is said he hesitated to order the attack, and proposed that the army should pitch their tents, and rest and refresh themselves for a time. This was opposed by his principal officers as unsafe, and he consented that the attack should be instantly made. The Earls of Lincoln and Hereford led the first squadron to the charge, but a morass in front of the Scots compelled them to make a detour. Bek, with his strong second division, managed meanwhile to get in front—where he seemed desirous of remaining until supported by the division of the King. Taunted by Ralph Basset of Drayton, however, he moved rapidly forward, and came into contact with the first schiltrons almost simultaneously with the division under Lincoln and Hereford on the opposite side. At this juncture, the Scottish cavalry, under Cumyn, with almost all the

vassals he had brought into the field, fled without striking a blow. Notwithstanding this discouragement the schiltrons stood firm, and repulsed their assailants with loss. Again and again they recoiled from their wall of spears, which Langtoft thus describes :—

“ Ther foremast courey, ther bakkis togidere sette,
 Ther speres poynt ouer poynt, so sare and so thikke
 & fast togidere joynt, to see it was ferlike.
 Als a castelle thei stode, that were walled with stone ;
 Thei wende no man of blode thorgh tham suld haf gone.
 Ther folk was so mykelle, so stalworth & so clene,
 Ther foyntes forward prikelle, nonhut wild thei wene,
 That if alle Inglond fro Berwik vnto Kent,
 The folk therin men fond had bien thider sent,
 Strength suld non haf had, to perte thaim thorgh oute,
 So wer thei set sad with poyntes rounde aboute.”

Baffled in their attempts to pierce the schiltrons, part of the cavalry of Edward charged the Scottish archers, who had no means of defending themselves against mailed warriors. They, of course, gave way, and, in the attempt to rally his vassals, the bowmen of Selkirk, Sir John Stewart of Bonkill, brother to the Stewart, was killed, together with many of his gallant adherents. Meanwhile the assaults on the schiltrons were so repeatedly repulsed that Edward ordered a cessation of the attack, and bringing up his archers and artillery, the Scots were assailed with such a storm of missiles that their ranks were encumbered with the slain. They were at the same time helpless, from the retreat of their cavalry, and the dispersion of their archers. At length, becoming

unsteady, the cavalry, who had been waiting the opportunity, burst in amongst them, and completed the confusion. Upwards of 15,000 of the Scots fell on the field. Amongst the more distinguished of these were Sir John the Graham of Dundaff, Sir John Stewart of Bonkill, brother of the Lord of Bute, who, besides his own vassals, headed those of his absent brother, and Macduff, grand-uncle to the Earl of Fife. The remains of the Scots army drew off towards Stirling, which they burnt, to prevent it falling into the hands of the English. Langtoft says,—apparently that the English might have all the glory of the action to themselves—that the Welsh, amounting to 40,000, withdrew to a hill—

“Ther thei stode that while, till the bataile was dun.”

But this is inconsistent with the statement that they were dispersed as archers amongst the three divisions, and is altogether improbable.

There is thus considerable disparity between the narrative of Blind Harry and that of the English chroniclers, but no more, perhaps, than might be fairly expected between historians describing an event from opposite points of view—the one, describing what he saw, and the other not only that, but what he *knew* to be the *cause* of what the other saw. Lord Hailes was amongst the first of our Scottish writers to deride the national story, especially in reference to the alleged disagreement amongst the leaders, and he rested his belief chiefly on the

authority of Hemingford and Trivet, two monks, who are said to have written from the information of eye-witnesses. In this respect, making due allowance for their fabulous statements as to the number slain, and otherwise, they scarcely stood in the same position as the Minstrel, who wrote from the written narrative of Blair, the private chaplain of Wallace. But the thing, as Lord Hailes is compelled to admit, was extremely probable in itself. Nay, Hemingford states distinctly that the Scots cavalry fled without a blow,—“*Fugerunt Scottorum equestres absque ullo gladii ictu ;*” and even Trivet says—“*Nolebant majores Scotiae post praelium de Fawkirke Willelmo Walays tanquam duci et capitanes obedire.*” Fordun positively states that the Cumyn was the chief instigator of this treason. The correspondence between Edward and Cumyn, still preserved, sufficiently attests the nature of his intentions.*

It is obvious that there was much envy and jealousy of Wallace amongst the Scottish barons. This was early shown by Corspatrick, who would not acknowledge the “King off Kyll” in any shape—and the same feeling broke up the army at Irvine, when the Scots were numerous enough to have met the English in open battle. Was it, therefore, at all unlikely that the same thing should have occurred at Falkirk, where the three leaders met, each at the head of ten thousand men? The statement as to dissension does not rest wholly with the Minstrel—

* Wallace Papers.

Fordun asserts it, and so does Wyntoun, admitted to be worthy of all credit:—

“For dyspyt and gret inwy
 The Comyns kyn all halyly
 Fyrst left the feld; and, as behowyd,
 Syne Willame Walayis hym remowyd;
 For he persawyd gret malys
 Agayne hym schapyd mony wys.”

We quite agree with Carrick in thinking that Wallace was too good a general to intend meeting the English in a fair field. The odds in numbers—both in cavalry and foot, as well, perhaps, as in equipment—was too great to risk an issue on an open field; and no doubt his intention was to do precisely as the two traitors informed Bishop Bek, to surprise the English under cloud of night, and hang upon their rear in returning to England. The state of Edward's army, from the want of provisions, was no doubt well known to the Scots—and the consequent necessity he was under of speedily retreating. The treason of the parties, whoever they were, and none are so likely to have been the men as Corspatrick and Cumyn, completely upset the plan of the Guardian, and in adopting the resolution to fight, it must have appeared to him, under the change of circumstances, the only course which could be pursued in the face of such a force, whose cavalry would either have cut them up, or forced them to fight under greater disadvantages. The dispute about the leadership was evidently put forward for the purpose of creating a division, and Wallace very quickly saw at

whose instigation it had been made. In fact, the whole circumstances go so thoroughly together that it is impossible to doubt our Scottish writers in reference to this historical point. Cumyn was no coward, and would not have withdrawn from the field had he not been actuated by other motives than fear. His plan seems to have been, by betraying the plan of Wallace, to bring on a battle—to create dissension between Stewart and the Guardian—and withdraw himself, with all his followers, from the contest. By this means he exposed Wallace and Stewart to the most imminent hazard, while he preserved his own strength, ready for subsequent movements, in support of his own selfish motives, and at the same time recommended himself to the good graces of Edward, from whom he was ready to accept the crown on the same terms with Baliol, and to whom he had so far allied himself by a marriage with the sister of Adomer de Vallence, a cousin and favourite of the English king. Taking the whole history of the times, from Falkirk down to the death of Cumyn by the hands of Bruce, it is impossible to doubt that he played a deep game, with the view of acquiring supreme power in Scotland. But the fact of dissensions having broken out at Falkirk is more than confirmed by the subsequent course pursued by Wallace, in resigning the regency of Scotland. Had Falkirk been a defeat sustained by a fair course of arms—had no misunderstanding occurred—there was nothing in the

defeat itself to have led Wallace to the adoption of this step—there was no disgrace in having been overpowered by such overwhelming odds. But what he had experienced there convinced him wholly of the hopeless position he was in from the jealousy of the barons; and he nobly made a sacrifice of his well-earned title of Guardian, in the patriotic hope that thereby a bone of contention might be removed, and that greater concord would be the result. It is quite probable that, in holding out against the English, as Sir John Stewart did, he was actuated by a feeling of pride. It would have been awkward for a person who insisted upon leading the army, to turn and fly, as Cumyn did—especially as Wallace had told him, in the dispute of the morning, that he had held his own where he durst not show his face. It certainly was highly creditable to the military talent of Wallace, that he was enabled to save so large a portion of the Scottish troops as he did in the face of such a well-equipped army. He has been blamed, however, for withdrawing his division to a distance, and not interfering at an earlier period to assist the division under Stewart. We quite agree with Carrick, however, in thinking that he acted most wisely under the very peculiar circumstances in which he was placed. If the Scottish account of the battle is correct, and we think it bears internal evidence that it is so, Stewart seems to have acted foolhardily in giving battle. Wallace evidently moved his division so that he could

retire unbroken before the enemy, drawing Edward further into the country; but by the determination of Stewart to give battle, he was induced so far to depart from his resolution as to abide the issue. To Wallace the conduct of Stewart must have appeared foolish in the extreme—a mere handful of men, without cavalry, in opposition to such a host as that of Edward, was, in fact, madness. The schiltrons must have been almost entirely composed of Stewart's followers.* His archers, in place of being enclosed within the circles, where they could have discharged their arms in safety, formed separate bodies, disposed of between the schiltrons, and were thus open to attack by the English cavalry. It was in rallying the broken ranks of his bowmen that Stewart was killed. The flank movement attributed to Bruce and Bek cut off Wallace from the Torwood, and compelled him to fight his way through the English under these leaders. Had Wallace joined in the battle, all would have been lost—just as Cumyn had designed—but by keeping his own men together he was enabled to hold the English in check, and secure a retreat for the wreck of Stewart's schiltrons. The generalship of Wallace, so critically situated as he

* The absurd saying, attributed to Wallace in addressing the army, "I have brought you to the ring, hop gif ye can," which Lord Hailes was at so much trouble to explain, is no doubt of English fabrication. It thus appears in their chronicles: "Hij hane pult ou into a gamen, hoppet gif ye kunnet," quasi dicot, "Jam introduxi vos in foveam et periculi discrimen, resilitis et potentis, ut Salvernini."

was, never appeared to greater advantage than at Falkirk. He seems to have possessed the military qualities in a remarkable degree, quickness of perception, decisiveness of judgment, and firmness of purpose.

Another statement of the Minstrel as to the meeting of Bruce and Wallace on Carron river, immediately after the battle, is held to be a fiction by Lord Hailes—but it is by no means doubtful. Bruce, then twenty-six years of age, must have frequently met Wallace before. The Minstrel says he joined his army for a short time previously. He was with the Scots at the treaty of Irvine, and though misled by a jealousy of Wallace's motives, he no doubt always had a strong desire to unite with the Scottish party. That he was amongst the Scots under Briar Fitz-Allen is not improbable. Indeed, he must either have been there, or in the Scottish army. There was hardly any middle course for him to pursue after Wallace became Regent. He was not then, however, of so much note as to have his presence or absence particularly noticed by those who supplied the English chroniclers with their information. The fact, at the same time, does not rest wholly with the Minstrel—Wyntoun not only attests his presence at Falkirk, but attributes to him and Bishop Bek the manœuvre by which the Scots were taken in flank :—

“ Bot Robert the Brows than with a slycht,
(He thare wes wyth this King Edwart,

Set he oure Kyng wes eftyrward)
 With Schyre Anton the Bek, a wyly man,
 Of Durame Byschape he was than,
 A-bowt ane hill a well fere way
 Owt of that stowre than prikyd thay:
 Behynd bakkis alsa fast
 Thare thai come on, and layid on fast;
 Swa made thai the dyscumfytowre."*

Lord Hailes attributes the absence of Bruce from the ranks of the patriots to the fact of his being employed in guarding the castle of Ayr. It is probably true enough that Bruce, subsequent to his interview with Wallace, had resolved upon an entire change in his policy, and burnt the castle of Ayr on his way home to Carrick after the battle, but to suppose that he was idly holding the castle for the national party, while his services were so much wanted at Falkirk, is absurd in the extreme. Hailes rests chiefly upon Hemingford, who veraciously tells us that "fifty thousand Scots were slain in the battle, many drowned, three hundred thousand foot taken prisoners, besides a thousand horse"!!

Wallace was by no means put *hors de combat* by the battle of Falkirk. He was enabled to assail the English by incessant night attacks, so annoying to the enemy that Edward resolved to pursue him with his whole army. For this purpose he proceeded to

* The Bruce family held considerable property at Hartlepool, within the palatinate of Durham, and, if on the field at all, Bruce was bound to appear under the banner of Bishop Bek as one of his vassals. Fordun distinctly states that Bruce was present at Falkirk.

Stirling, where he arrived four days after the battle of Falkirk, and where he was on the 26th of the same month. Here he set to repair the castle, which had been so far spoiled by the Scots; altogether he remained fifteen days at this stronghold, that he might recover from a wound inflicted by his horse during night, while the army rested near Linlithgow. Here also he deposited the heavy battering engines which he had brought from England. The disinterested course pursued by Wallace, in resigning the Guardianship, deprived Cumyn of all excuse for being in opposition to the national cause. He had been appointed one of the Regency, after the resignation of Wallace, along with Lord Soulis, and William Lamberton, Bishop of St Andrews,* and he probably felt for the time really desirous of serving the country. He was on the fair way to that elevation which was his ambition; and possibly, by deserving well of the people, the crown might adorn his brows. The unanimity thus created strengthened the hands of the Scots, and Wallace was enabled to harass the enemy with much success. At the Tay, by breaking down the bridge, he contrived to separate the English force, defeating it in three engagements with great loss. The scarcity of provisions and the boldness of the enemy at length warned Edward that it was time to take leave. Accordingly, after wasting

* Lamberton, his predecessor, prior to Frazer, was the secret emissary of Edward. He died at Paris in 1297, and sent his heart to Scotland to be laid in hallowed ground.

the most fruitful portion of the country, destroying St Andrews, and taking the castle of Cupar,* which surrendered towards the end of July, he led his army homeward, through Ayrshire and Annandale, gathering what spoil he could as he passed onward. On arriving at London he was hailed with great rejoicing as the conqueror of Wallace. At the same time some of his vassals were not so well affected. At Carlisle the Earls of Norfolk and Hereford withdrew with their followers, on the pretence of fatigue, but in reality from displeasure with Edward, for having disposed of the Island of Arran to Thomas Bisset, a Scottish adventurer, without consulting his Council, which he had promised to do in making grants of land.

* In the inventory of Edward's jewels, in the Wardrobe Account, taken in 1300, eighteen silver cups and a silk girdle are mentioned as having been taken from the monastery of Cupar.

CHAPTER XI

REVIEW OF EVENTS SUBSEQUENT TO THE BATTLE OF FALKIRK—
VICTORIES OF ROSLIN—WALLACE IN FRANCE—HIS RETURN
TO SCOTLAND—YOUNG BUTLER SLAIN IN ELCHO PARK—WANT
OF FOOD—FIVE MEN KILLED WHO WISHED TO SEIZE HIM WHEN
ASLEEP—ST JOHNSTON TAKEN—ENGLISH DRIVEN OUT OF
SCOTLAND—VISITS EDWARD BRUCE—PLOT BY VALLENCE AND
MENTEITH—WALLACE INVITES ROBERT THE BRUCE TO TAKE
THE CROWN—HISTORICAL REVIEW.

THE campaign of Edward, at the head of such a force as he brought to the field of Falkirk, was by no means so successful as he had calculated upon. Most of the strengths were in the hands of the Scots, with the exception of Stirling, which Edward made all haste to supply with victual, lest it should have to undergo a siege. Supplies were also forwarded to Lochmaben, and other places possessed by the English. Dumbarton was held by Menteith, whom Wallace had appointed governor some time previously.

During the winter of 1298 the Scots still maintained hostilities against the English garrisons, and several strengths were captured. These hostilities

were continued in 1299, in which year a negotiation between Edward and the Pope for the release of Baliol was entered into, when he was handed over to the Papal Nuncio, to be dealt with as the Pontiff might think proper. In thus transferring his prisoner, Edward is said to have remarked—"I send him to the Pope as a perjured man, and a seducer of the people."

Contrary, perhaps, to Edward's expectations, he found that the Regents of Scotland acted with unanimity, and that they had commenced the siege of Stirling with great vigour. Aware of the importance of the stronghold, he resolved to relieve it. In November, accordingly, he assembled an army at Berwick for this purpose, but the barons were not disposed to follow him. Their grievances had not been fully adjusted, and they considered the season too far advanced to undertake such a campaign. They accordingly retired in displeasure, and Edward, equally unyielding, marched forward, with the remains of his army, towards Stirling. He soon discovered, however, that the Scots were in considerable strength, and he judged it prudent to retrace his steps. Stirling, in consequence, had to negotiate a surrender, by which it was given up to Lord Soulis,* one of the Regents. From the Wardrobe Account it appears that Edward paid 6s. 8d. to Ralph de Kyrkby,

* Lord Soulis had extensive possessions in Dumfriesshire. His political career was a devious one, more frequently in favour of than against Edward.

the messenger who brought him the conditions of the surrender. Stirling was now placed by the Scottish Regents under the command of Sir William Olifant.

Cumyn, by his activity and success against the English, rose to considerable popularity, insomuch that he was called the "gude Scottisman." He had unbounded possessions—the largest of any nobleman in Scotland—and was enabled to act in a bountiful manner from his own resources. The supplies of grain and wine forwarded by France, in lieu of more active aid, as had been negotiated, probably by Wallace, as already stated, he caused to be sold to the people at half the current value—a boon which was sure to enlist popular favour. And it certainly was his policy at this time to stand well with the patriotic party—especially as Wallace was ready to act when called upon by any dereliction of duty on the part of the Regents. The conduct of France, in not implementing the treaty defensive and offensive, was so unsatisfactory that commissioners were sent to Philip on the subject; and if they were unsuccessful, they were to proceed to Rome, to lay the grievances of the country before the Pope.

Meanwhile Edward, having come to terms with his barons, the writs complying with their demands bearing date 29th December 1299, he again led a powerful army into Scotland, with the view to an entire and final conquest of that kingdom. Walter of Exeter, who records this expedition in Norman-

French, states that the host was ready to move on the day appointed, the 1st July 1300. The Wardrobe Account also bears evidence of this campaign. Eighty-seven of the most illustrious vassals of the Crown, with their retainers, took part in it. Amongst these were Knights of Bretagne, Lorraine, Alexander de Baliol, brother to the King of Scots, Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, and his son, Sir Simon Frazer, Henry de Graham, and Richard Siward. This immense assemblage was divided into four squadrons—the first under Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln; the second, under John, Earl of Warren; the third, under Edward himself; and the fourth commanded by Prince Edward, a youth of seventeen—John de St John, an experienced warrior, being in attendance on the Prince.

Edward halted about nine miles south of Dumfries, to undertake the siege of Caerlaverock, a stronghold belonging to Herbert Maxwell, who refused obedience to the summons of surrender forwarded by the English monarch. Walter gives an interesting account of this siege, describing how the various knights behaved, and what they did in the reduction of the castle. The author does not say how long it lasted, but although all the warlike engines used for such purposes, which accompanied the English army, were brought to bear upon the structure, and parties of assailants were renewed time after time, the work was found so difficult that the garrison were allowed to capitulate. When passed in review before Edward, to the asto-

nishment of all, they were found to consist only of *sixty men!* Notwithstanding that Walter of Exeter says the lives of this heroic band were spared, the Chronicle of Lanercost states that many of them were hung. Sir John Segrave, Earl of Hereford, was appointed Governor, and the army of Edward moved on. Not successful with Philip, who urged the precarious state of his own affairs, in procuring that assistance of which they were in want, the Scottish Commissioners proceeded to Rome, and the result of their conference with the Pope was a letter to Edward, exhorting him to desist from any further attempts on the liberty of the Scots. In this letter the Pontiff showed considerable knowledge of the state of affairs between England and Scotland. It concluded, however, with a rather ridiculous claim of superiority on the part of the Pontiff, founded in remote antiquity. This letter or bull was read before Edward by the Bishop of Winchelsea, while the army was at Caerlaverock. Edward was furious at first, but on calmer thoughts he promised to lay the matter before Parliament, and forward the result to Rome. This Parliament was afterwards held at Lincoln—the old claim of superiority over Scotland was repeated in a long document to the Pope, to which the seals of one hundred and four barons were appended.

On leaving Caerlaverock Edward advanced through Galloway, taking several strongholds on his way. From the Wardrobe Account, his footsteps can be traced with some accuracy. He was at "Loch-

roieton" on the 17th July, and at Kirkcudbright on the 22d. He returned to Caerlaverock on the 29th August, was at Dumfries on the 29th October, and again at Caerlaverock on the 1st November. Detachments of the army were sent in different directions, and several guerilla conflicts took place with the Scots. Carrick associates Wallace with these conflicts—but nowhere does he quote authority for his statements. According to the Minstrel the ex-Guardian was on his second visit to France at that time, and we have certain evidence of the fact that he was there.

The Earl of Warren, with a strong division, pushed on as far as Irvine, where he came in contact with the Scots under the Regents, and a well-contested battle was fought, the Scots, however, falling back before the repeated charges of their more numerous opponents. Clydesdale was laid waste by another division—Bothwell destroyed, together with the Abbey of Lesmahago, wherein a great many Scots had taken shelter, all of whom perished in the flames.

Edward seemed resolved to attach the south of Scotland permanently to his Crown. He repaired and fortified the different strongholds, with a view to this design, and the Wardrobe Account shows that he brought labourers from England for this purpose. Whether the natives refused to be employed in aiding the subjection of their country may be questioned, although Carrick assumes it as a fact.

A large portion of the provisions for the army were brought from Ireland, the Scots having destroyed the mills in the vicinity of the army.

Finding at last that the result of his labour was by no means equal to the expense incurred, Edward began to listen to the terms of a treaty negotiated at Paris, and which was finally ratified by Edward at Dumfries, on the 30th October 1300. This truce lay chiefly between Edward and Philip, but Scotland was included. It was to last, according to Wyntoun, from Hallowmas till Whitsunday. It was subsequent to this date that Wallace is supposed to have gone on his first visit to France, but we have shown that it is decidedly opposed to the narrative of the Minstrel, and to probability.

No sooner had the truce expired than Edward resumed the war with Scotland. An English army advanced as far as Linlithgow, where, fixing his head-quarters, operations were commenced to construct a fortress. Meanwhile, the treaty with Philip of France had not been completed, and the Earl of Buchan, James the Steward of Scotland, John Soulis, one of the Regents, and Ingelram de Umfraville, were sent over to watch the interests of Scotland at the French Court. Both Edward and Philip were anxious for peace: Edward, that he might have leisure to follow out his views against Scotland, and Philip, because he did not feel strong enough to carry on the war. France was desirous of including Scotland in this treaty, but Edward objected, and

France agreed to abandon Scotland if Edward gave up his allies the Flemings. This was a great sacrifice on the part of England, thereby losing the Flemish trade, but Edward complied for the sake of his desire to annex Scotland to his crown.*

About this time Sir Simon Frazer† deserted the standard of Edward, and joined that of his own country. He was a talented and brave man: and his accession was more than a counterbalance for the defection of the Bishop of Glasgow, who, on the 7th of October 1300, renewed his fealty to Edward, making his oath upon the *Black Rood* of Scotland, a relic supposed to contain a portion of the real cross, and which had been carried off by Edward. The Bishop had been induced to adopt this course, it is supposed, at the instigation of Pope Boniface, who now thought proper to take part with Edward.

The expiry of the truce on St Andrew's Day, 30th November 1302, brought another English army of twenty thousand men into Scotland, under John de Segrave.‡ He advanced to the neighbour-

* This peace, called the treaty of Amiens, was subsequently confirmed at Paris.

† Ancestor of the Frazers of Saltoun and Lovat. He was taken prisoner on the surrender of Dunbar Castle in 1296. He joined the standard of Bruce in 1306, but was unfortunately taken prisoner soon afterwards by the English—carried to London, and ordered for execution by Edward. He suffered in a similar manner to Wallace. A song, which has been published by Ritson, was made on his death a few years afterwards.

‡ John, Lord Segrave.

hood of Roslin, where he was induced to divide his forces into three divisions, for the greater facility of obtaining forage. The Scots, under John Cumyn, one of the Governors, and Simon Frazer, amounting to about eight thousand men, having been watching the movements of the enemy, suddenly fell upon the first division, early in the morning of the 24th February 1303, and wholly defeated it. The second and third divisions experienced a similar fate—giving to the Scots a triple victory in one day. The English historians scarcely admit this, but Langtoft says that Sir John de Segrave, with his son and brother, were surprised in bed, and that sixteen knights were captured, amongst whom were Sir Thomas Neville and Sir Ralf de Cofferer, treasurer to Edward. It has been said that Wallace fought privately at the battles of Roslin, but this rests on no other authority than the "Scotochronicon," which says that after the victory, he again sailed for France with a few companions.

Infuriated at the defeat of Segrave, and mortified that his army should be so baffled by mere handfuls of men, whose fame had travelled over Europe to the disparagement of his own, Edward resolved upon another crushing effort to make fast the chains he had forged for Scotland. For this purpose all his vassals, abroad and at home, were summoned to attend his standard, and a powerful fleet was equipped to supply the army with provisions. This occurred in 1303. The conduct of Philip at this

period was deceitful in the extreme. He artfully detained the Scottish deputies in Paris, upon the pretence of his negotiating with Edward a separate treaty for Scotland, which he knew to be hopeless, thus detaining some of the most influential and warlike of the Scots, at a time when their presence was much needed at home. It is said that the noise of Edward's expedition created such apprehensions amongst the lukewarm of the Scottish barons, that many of them anticipated the coming of the army, by meeting the invader on the Border. Among them was Sir John Menteith, who hurried to Annan, and there, through the medium of Sir Aymer de Valence, obtained such favour from Edward, as to have not only his governorship of Dumbarton confirmed, but his authority extended over the whole of the Lennox.

Meanwhile let us follow the Minstrel in his account of Wallace. The lands of Guienne, which the French King had bestowed upon him, entailed much labour and anxiety ere he succeeded in bringing them to his peace. Still the English held Bordeaux, where Glo'ster commanded, and being well supplied with provisions, and all the munitions of war, by sea, it was to little purpose that he spent nearly sixty days in assailing it. By the advice of the Duke of Orleans the siege was abandoned, and they

“Past wp in France with honour to the King,”

who received them with much gladness—

“Franch men befor that hundreth yer nocht haid
Off Gyan half sa mekill in to thair hand.”

By this time letters had come from Scotland to Philip—

“Fra part off lordis and byschop gud Synclar,”* beseeching him to counsel the return of Wallace, and offering the latter the crown of Scotland. The King, however, unwilling to part with him at the time, kept this communication secret, and our hero continued to reside “in Schynnoun,” and possessed the extensive lands around. A captain who had claimed it in heritage, conspired to slay Wallace, and for a long time had sought an opportunity of doing so. Having fifty men in ambush, he obtained a meeting with him, each to have sixteen followers. Not dreading any mischief, our hero and his men were armed only with sword and knife. The captain upbraided him with holding his lands without right, to which he answered soberly,

“‘I haiff no land but quhilk the King gaiff me;
My lyff tharfor has beyne in jeperte.’
The knycht answerd—‘Thi lyff thou sall forlorn,
Or ellis that land, the contrar quha had suorn.’”

So saying, he leaped back and drew his sword, upon which signal the men in ambush rushed from their place of concealment. Wallace, seeing the danger of his position, at once unsheathed his brand, and slew the knight. The brother of the latter, however, at the head of their followers, continued the fight, which, notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, was going rapidly against them. Nine countrymen, servants

* From some of the lords and Bishop Sinclair.

of the knight, who were mowing in a neighbouring meadow, rushed with their scythes towards the scene of action. Having been perceived by our hero, he advanced to meet them, and by dint of extraordinary strength and activity slew four of them, the rest taking to flight. Wallace followed, and struck down another. Then returning to his men, who by this time had slain the knight's brother, only seven of the enemy were allowed to escape. Several of his own party were wounded, but none of them killed. The French King, hearing of this attack, desired Wallace to become one of his household, that he might be safe from those "wrechys and schrewis," who, as the Minstrel says, "ay had him at inwy." The court, it appears, was then held at Amiens. Fordun tells us that he had numerous adventures in France, and that he was the subject of many a *chanson* by the troubadours. Carrick expected to have been enabled to enrich his volumes with a specimen, but he did not succeed. Nor were his hopes altogether groundless. In Normandy, ballads exist in celebration of William the Conqueror. In the north of Scotland some fragments of ballads, founded upon incidents in the career of Wallace, are yet familiar to old people. One of these, entitled "Wallace in the hie Highlands" is given in Peter Buchan's collection, but it is so modernised as to be deprived of all value.

Amongst these adventures, the Minstrel relates that two champions at court had Wallace at great

envy, and repeatedly spoke despitefully of Scotland. Upon one occasion the two Frenchmen and our hero happened to be alone "in till a hous of stayne." They used to wear no weapons in that hall, and consequently no fear was entertained of any outrage occurring. The conversation referred to Scotland, of which the champions spoke scornfully. Wallace then said—

"Ye wrang ws owtragely,
Sen ye ar bownd in frendschip to your kyng;
And he off ws is plessed in all thing,
Als Scottis men has helpyt this realme off dreid,
Me think ye suld geyff gud word for gud deid.
Quhat may ye spek off your enemys bot ill!"

The reply of the champions, that the Scots had "evir yeit beyne fals," so provoked Wallace that he immediately felled one of them with his clenched hand, and, the other attacking him, quickly finished the career of both. Flinging their dead bodies out at the door, he exclaimed—

"Quhat dewyll mowyt yon churlyys at me!
Lang tyme in France I wald haiff lattyn thaim be."

Wallace, according to the Minstrel, was a favourite with the King, and possessed too much prowess to be challenged by any one. He goes on, however, to relate how two squires of the court, cousins of the dead champions, contrived to deceive both the King and Wallace as to fighting a lion which was kept in the royal menagerie. They represented to the former that the latter desired permission to exercise his prowess against this fierce animal, while our hero

was led to believe that Philip had signified his royal pleasure to that effect. The object of the squires, of course, was the destruction of Wallace. On the day appointed the King desired that the Scottish champion should be well harnessed, but he declined, saying—

—“Nay, God schield me fra sic cass,
I wald tak weid, suld I fecht with a man;
Bot [for] a dog, that nocht off armes can,
I will haiff nayn, bot synglar as I ga.”

With a mantle rolled about his left hand, and his sword in the other, he entered the “barrace,” which was immediately closed upon him. The lion attacked him with great fury, but he so managed his mantle as to foil the teeth and claws of the animal, and with a fearful stroke of his sword cut him in two. Then, as the Minstrel says,—

—“To the King he raykyt in gret ire,
And said on lowd, ‘Was this all your desyr,
To wayr a Scot thus lychtly in to wayn?
Is thar ma doggis at ye wald yeit haiff slayne?
Go, bryng thaim furth, sen I mon doggis qwell,
To do bydding, quhill that I with yow dwell.
It gaynd full weill I graithit me to Scotland;
For grettar deidis thair men has apon hand,
Than with a dog in battail to escheiff.
At you in France for euir I tak my leiff.”

The King saw that there had been some mistake, and obtaining an explanation from our naturally excited hero, the two squires were brought to confession and executed.* Notwithstanding the promp-

* This feat of Wallace is generally regarded as fabulous, yet,

titude of the King in punishing the squires, Wallace saw enough of the envy and despite of the French court to warrant him in resolving upon a speedy departure. He thought of his own country, and determined again to attempt her deliverance from bondage. When Philip understood how his mind was set, he showed him the writings he had received, inviting him home. Wallace immediately took leave—

“Quhar to suld I heroff lang process mak?
Wallace off France a gudly leiff can tak.”

The Minstrel represents the King as much grieved at his departure—

“Gret langour tuk quhen Wallace can remuff;
That King till him kept kyndnes and luff.
Jewallis and gold, his worschip for to saiff,
He bad thaim geyff, als mekill as he wald haiff.”

He took no one with him save his trusty friend Longueville. They sailed from the Sluis, and landed

when we consider the character of the times, and that the exercise of personal prowess was looked upon as one of the highest proofs of knighthood, it is not at all wonderful that such a trick should have been resorted to, or that Wallace should have become its dupe. Nor is it at all beyond belief that he succeeded in slaying the animal. In this, as in everything else, Wallace showed a judgment in the mode of defence and assault, which, exercised by a person of his coolness and strength, could hardly fail of success. There is reason also to believe that, for political reasons, Philip, with all his show of kindness to the Scottish patriot, could have wished himself rid of him at the moment, as he stood in the way of a treaty with Edward. Richard Cœur de Lion is said to have obtained that appellation by a 'eonine victory, and no one doubts it.

at Erne mouth. The Minstrel says he passed upwards of two years in France at this time; so that if he had left Scotland at the end of the year 1298 after the battle of Falkirk, his return must have been some time in the course of the year 1301.

It is not to be supposed that the Minstrel, or his author, knew anything of the policy of Philip, whose circumstances, perhaps, more than his inclination, compelled him to act a double part towards Wallace and the Scots. His desire to conclude a treaty with Edward—and the wish was mutual—led him to write to the English king that he had Wallace in custody, and was not unwilling to deliver him up upon certain conditions:—“*Tunc rex Franciæ misit epistolam regi Angliæ, dicens, si acceptaret, ut mitteret ei Willelmum le Waleis, conquæstorem Scotiæ; qui rescripsit ei multipliciter regratiando, et instantissime postulando ut permitteret eum cum suis apud Amiens sub custodia possessiones suas expenderet, quod factum est.*” * According to this statement, he was under custody at Amiens, the capital of the Somme. It may be questioned, however, whether Wallace was actually a prisoner in the ordinary sense of the word. The Minstrel says that, in consequence of the envious feelings entertained against the patriot, the King caused him to live under his protection at court. Possibly this was the species of custody alluded to by Philip, and certainly it was quite enough for his

* Cottonian MS.—“Wallace Papers.”

purpose, since he could have laid hands upon him at pleasure. In this way the conduct of Philip may have wholly escaped suspicion on the part of Wallace or his friends. But whatever his intentions may have been as to delivering the patriot up to Edward, it is certain no further attempt was ever made to carry them into effect. On the contrary, he furnished him with the following letter of introduction to his agents at Rome, where Wallace evidently purposed to proceed, with the view of enlisting the sympathies of the Pope:—

Pñ dei gr̃a franc̃ Rex diličs ⁊ fidelibz. . .
 Gentibz ñris ad Romañ Cuř destinatis s̃t ⁊
 diř. mandam̃ uob̃ quař. . Sūmum Pontificem
 requiratis ut dilectum ñm Guill'm le Walois
 de Scocia Militem recōmendatum ħeat in hijs
 q̃ ař eum habuit expedire. Dař ař Petra-
 fontem die luñ post festum oĩm Sanctoꝝ.

[Endorsed.]

Quarta ĩra Rø ffranc̃.

This interesting document, dated the day after the feast of All Saints, in substance requests the agents of Philip to intercede with the Pope to interest himself in the accomplishment of those matters which would be brought before the notice of his Holiness by his beloved "Sir William le Walois of Scotland, Knight."

The original is in the Tower of London, and the author of the "Wallace Papers" says it is undoubt-

edly written in a French hand, and genuine. It is not known how it came to the Tower; but it proves the fact of Wallace having been in France, and that he intended visiting Rome. That he did so cannot be shown, and it is probable that he did not proceed thither, although it is certain that a commission from Scotland, after the battle of Falkirk, waited upon the Pope; hence his knowledge of Scottish affairs, and his bull, which was read to Edward at Caerlaverock by the Archbishop of Winchelsea.* According to the Minstrel's narrative, Wallace sailed direct from France back to Scotland. Not having made use of Philip's letter in consequence, it is possible that he still retained it about his person, and that it fell into the hands of Edward when he was carried captive from Scotland. The possession of such a document by Edward can hardly be accounted for otherwise.

If Wallace returned from France in 1301, he would have been quite in time to participate in the battles of Roslin, which is generally supposed to have been the case; but the Minstrel gives no countenance to this. After landing at Erne mouth, he proceeded to Elcho, where he found shelter in the barn of one Crawford, a cousin of his own—

“A mow off corn he bygit them about,”

so closed that no one could perceive him. A small

* According to the “*Fœdra*,” Edward replied that he had been deceived by certain “enemies of peace and sons of rebellion,” then resident at his court.

aperture admitted supplies of food, and "a dern holl," on the north side, gave access to the river. Here Wallace and Longueville remained in rest for four or five days. Crawford had to procure the extra provisions required from St Johnston, and thinking that he was taking more abundantly than usual, the English became suspicious, and put him in prison. On being questioned, he said the supply was "bot till a kyrkyn fest." Having probably some knowledge of the landing of Wallace, they were resolved to discover his whereabouts. They accordingly allowed Crawford to proceed homeward with the provisions he had purchased, then harnessing themselves in haste, Butler followed on his track at the head of eight hundred men. Wallace, on seeing the approaching enemy, upbraided Crawford with having sold him to the English; but the latter satisfactorily explained the circumstance, and urged them to fly to some other place of safety, lest they should have set watches on him. With Wallace there were only nineteen in all, and Crawford made twenty, too few to meet Butler in a plain field. Having "graitheit thaim in gud weid," they resolved to abide the onset of the English in Elcho Park. Perceiving a clump

"Off gret holyns, that grew bathe heych and greyn,"

he there, with trees placed cross-ways, made a species of strength, which he thought they might hold for some time. Meanwhile Butler came to the barn, and found the hiding-place of the Scots. Laying

hands upon Crawford's wife, and certain that they had discovered the lair of Wallace, they demanded of her where the party had gone; but she resolutely refused to tell, and in wrath Butler caused "byg a bailfull braid brym fyr," whereon to immolate her if she persisted in keeping the secret. Seeing what was going on, Wallace left the strength, and on plain field cried—

———"Schaym for to turment a wyff,
Cum fyrst to me, and mak end off our stryff."

Butler swelled with rage, from old malice, upon being thus challenged, and in all haste he and his troopers made for the challenger. Wallace, of course, entered the stronghold again, and immediately "a fell bykkyr" began, which continued till fifteen of the English were slain. Butler then retired, as Wallace guessed, with the view of dividing his men, and assailing the strength at different points. He accordingly arranged his own little party into three—giving Longueville six, William, his nephew, as many more, and leaving himself five. Butler having formed his men into similar divisions—as Wallace had divined—he assailed the strength at as many points. Our hero defended that quarter against which Butler led, and fought so stoutly, as did his whole company, that the English were glad to withdraw. By this time the stars were beginning to appear, and after setting a strong guard upon the Scots, Butler and his soldiers went to supper. The Scots had no provisions, and were fain to content

themselves with a drink of cold water "that ran threw out a strand."

The Earl of York, as the Minstrel calls him, was in St Johnston at the time, and he despatched a messenger to Butler, telling him that he might remain as long as he found it necessary, and that he would himself come to his aid with additional power. Butler was anxious to capture Wallace before the arrival of his superior in command, and seeking a parley, endeavoured to persuade the patriot to surrender himself to him in preference to any one else, if not immediately at least when he found that he could not longer hold out,—reminding him at the same time that he had slain his father and grandfather. Wallace laughed at his cruel desire, and said—

—“I sall, thocht thow war wod as fyr,
 And all Ingland contrar tharoff had suorn,
 I sall cum out at that ilk place to morn,
 Or ellys to nycht; traist weill quhat I the say;
 I byd nocht her quhill nyne houris off the day.”

Finding that Wallace was fully prepared to abide the issue of the contest, Butler planted a strong guard all round. Towards morning a thick mist gathered over them, and watching the movements of the enemy as narrowly as possible, they observed that Butler himself was left with comparatively few men. Wallace and his small band quickly made for his position, and having slain a good many, "sone past throucht that mellé." Crawford having been rather severely wounded, Wallace turned again,

struck Butler down, and carried his friend along with him in his arms. The death of Butler and the fog so favoured the flight of the Scots, that they pushed on in safety for Methven Wood, where, from the plentifulness of bestial, they were not likely to be in want of food.

When the sun had broken through the dense atmosphere, they discovered a company of four-and-twenty men, who, on approaching, proved to be that of "a nobill knycht" called "Elyss of Dundass,"* and "Schyr Jhon Scot,† ek a worthi knycht," who was, according to the Minstrel,

"In to Straithern a man off mekill mycht,
For thar he had gret part of heretage;
Dundass syster he had in mariage.
Passand thai war, and mycht na langar lest,
Till Inglissmen, thair fewte for to fest."

The Lord of Brechin had made up matters with Edward for them, so that they might be allowed to possess their lands; but on meeting so unexpectedly with Wallace, they held up their hands and thanked God. To Methven Wood with one assent the patriots essayed. There they rested a day, and then proceeded to Birname Wood, where they found Squire Ruthven, who had long lived as an outlaw. Without delay, they advanced to Athole, where "mete was scant," and from thence passed into Lorn, where there was as little:—

* Elias Dundas, ancestor of the Dundas family, as already stated.

† Probably of the Scots of Balweary in Fifa.

“ Off wyld and taym that contre was maid bair.
 Bot in strenthis, thar fud was lewynt nayn ;
 The worthi Scottis than maid a petouss mayn.”

Yet Sir John Scot declared he would rather die in good name, and leave his heirs free, than live in subjection. When Wallace saw his followers reduced to such distress, as to be on the verge of starvation, he sighed deeply and said—

——“ Gud men, I am the causs off this ;
 At your desyr I sall amend this myss,
 Or leyff you fre sum chewysans for to ma.”

Then praying them to remain until he should return, he bounded over the hill into a plain. The Minstrel's description of the mental distress of Wallace at this crisis is highly poetical :—

“ Out off thair sycht, in till a forest syd,
 He sat him doun wndyr ane ayk to bid ;
 His bow and suerd he lenyt till a tre,
 In angwyss greiff, on grouff so turned he.
 His petows mynd was for his men so wrocht,
 That off him self litill as than he roucht.
 ‘ O wrech ! ’ he said, ‘ that neuir couth be content
 Off our gret mycht that the gret God the lent ;
 Bot thi fers mynd, wylfull and variable,
 With gret lordschip thow coud nocht so byd stable ;
 And wylfull witt, for to mak Scotland fre ;
 God likis nocht that I haiff tane on me.
 Fer worthyar off byrth than I was born,
 Throuch my desyr wyth hungyr ar forlorn.
 I ask at God thaim to restor agayn ;
 I am the causs, I suld haiff all the payn.’ ”

While thus musing and reproaching himself, he fell into slumber. For three days previously, the Min-

strel says, five men had followed him, who had been promised great guerdon by the Earl of York, if they succeeded in putting Wallace down. Three of them were Englishmen, and two Scots. Of the latter the third brother betrayed "Kyldrome eft," for whom great sorrow was raised. The five men had a boy with them, who helped to carry provisions. Wallace had been seen leaving his company, and they lay under cover of the wood, watching his movements. When he was perceived to be asleep, one of them counselled, for the éclat of taking him alive, that they should bind him, and lead him prisoner along the back of the hill, unseen by his company, to St Johnston. The Minstrel derides the idea of these five holding him down—

"The manlyast man, the starkest off persoun,
Leyffand he was."

They made the attempt, however, and laid hold of him. Roused from his sleep, he exclaimed "Quhat menys this?" and springing to his feet, he grasped the strongest of the party in his arms, and dashed his head against a tree. Then seizing a sword he attacked the four, two of whom he killed, and the other two fled; but, as the Minstrel says,

—————"it was na but,
Was nane leyffand mycht pass fra him on fut,"

so they were speedily overtaken and slain. The boy then he sought, and with sadness inquired—"Quhat did thow her?" The boy, pale and trembling, fell on his knees, and begged grace. He had been with

the men, but knew nothing of their purpose. Finding that the boy carried provisions, Wallace said joyfully—

“Do, turss it up, and pass with me away,
Meit in this tym is fer bettyr then gold.”

Then the Minstrel exclaims—

“Quha brocht Wallace fra his enemyss bauld?
Quha, bot gret God, that has the warld in wauld?
He was his help in mony felloun thrang,
With glaid cheyr thus on till his men can gang.
Bathe rostyt flesche thar was, als breid, and cheis,
To succour thaim that was in poynt to leiss,
Than he it dealt to four men and fyfte,
Quhilk had befor fastyt our dayis thre;
Syn tuk his part, he had fastyt als lang.”

To the question “How com this meit?” put by Wallace’s company, one and all, he replied not, but led them to where the five dead men were lying. They were displeased that their chieftain should have so walked alone, to which Wallace soberly observed, “heroff is nothing cummyn bot gud.”

In answer to their queries, the boy described the country as without provisions, until they went down to the Rannoch,—

“That lord has stuff, breid, aill, and gud warnage:
Off King Eduuard he taks full mekill wage.”

Wallace himself undertook to be the guide, as he knew the place well. The Rannoch they reached that night, and from one of the sentinels, who was a Scotsman, they learned all about the stronghold. Although the owner was lord of Rannoch, yet of

—————"castell was thar nayn,
Bot mudwall werk withoutyn lym or stayn."*

The *yett* was easily won, and striking up the chamber door with his foot, Wallace soon awakened the sleeping inmates. The lord of Rannoch got up, and craving mercy, was glad to find himself in the hands of the patriots. He thanked God, and explained that he was won to Edward against his will. They were all Scots that were in the place, and to the command of Wallace would gladly bow. Besides three stalwart sons, Rannoch had twenty men of his own kin in the household, all of whom he placed under his leadership. Next day they made good cheer, and the following morning Wallace proposed that they should take the field, and up their banner raise, that they might know their power, and stand forward in the defence of their country. Horses having been procured for the best harnessed of their men, the small army of patriots took the way for Dunkeld, the Bishop of which, on their approach, fled to St Johnston. All the English in Dunkeld were slain, and much rich plunder belonging to them fell to the Scots. After five days spent here they moved, by Wallace's advice, into Ross, where he expected to be joined by Bishop Sinclair from Bute, and many good westland men from Arran and Rauchlin. The English meanwhile fled from all their strengths, and as the Scots rode

* There were few castles or houses of stone in the Western Highlands in Wallace's days. Even the chiefs of clans lived in houses that our cottars would not inhabit now-a-days.

throughout the land, none durst oppose them. In battle array, with an army augmented to seven thousand, Wallace proceeded to Aberdeen, which the enemy had left waste. Lord Bowmond took the sea at Buchanness. The "Knycht Climes off Ross"* came suddenly into Murray with his good chivalry, took the strong house of Nairn, and slew the captain, with many good men. Then they went to Buchan, to seek Bowmond, but he had fled; after which they joined Wallace, whose courage was greatly animated by the sight of Ruthven and others, from whom he had been so long separated. To St Johnston they rode without rest.

Everywhere they planted strong sentries—

"Fermyt a sege, and stedfastly abaid."

From Bute came Bishop Sinclair, and from the isles of Rauchlin and Arran, Lindsay, Boyd, and Adam Wallace, Baron of Riccarton, with many good men. Seton, Lauder, and Richard of Lundin came by sea, capturing two English vessels on their way. The one they destroyed, and the other, filled with artillery and armed men, they placed as a guard on the port of St Johnston, so that victual or assistance might not approach in that quarter. South and north, the English made their escape in all directions. The Bishop of Dunkeld fled from St Johnston to London, carrying tidings to Edward of what had occurred. Then Sir Aymer de Valence was sent for, that

* Clement, supposed to have been a son or brother of the Earl of Ross, then a prisoner in England.

counsel might be had of him. He recommended the use of gold in the promotion of treason, and the putting down of Wallace. He was accordingly despatched to Scotland, with ample powers to carry the work of corruption into effect; Edward agreeing to support him in any band he might find it necessary to enter into. Vallence returned to his old place of Bothwell, and for a time cast his thoughts about as to who "mycht best Wallace begyll." He was not long in fixing on Sir John Menteith, who "his [Wallace's] gossip was." By a messenger despatched for the purpose, a meeting was arranged between Vallence and Menteith at Ruglen Kirk. On the day appointed both parties were present, and after considerable parlance, Vallence undertaking that no harm should come to Wallace beyond being detained in England, Menteith agreed to deliver him to the English. The bribe, according to the Minstrel, was to be three thousand pounds, and the lordship of all the Lennox. After relating the terms of this foul bargain, the Minstrel breaks out into an impassioned apostrophe on the evils of covetousness:—

"Thar cowatyss was our gret maystir seyn;
 Nane sampill takis, how ane othir has beyn
 For cowatice put in gret paynys fell;
 For cowatice, the serpent is off hell.
 Throuch cowatice, gud Ector tuk the ded;
 For cowatice thar can be no ramed.
 Throuch cowatice gud Alexander was lost;
 And Julius als, for all his reiff and bost.
 Throuch cowatice deit Arthour off Bretane.
 For cowatice thar has deit mony ane.

For cowatice, the traytour Ganleyon
 The flour off France he put till confusion.
 For cowatice thai poyound gud Godfra
 In Antioche, as the autor will sa.
 For cowatice, Menteth, upon falss wyss,
 Betraysyt Wallace, that was his gossop twysss."

Having completed the contract, Vallence hurried to London, to lay the deed before Edward, whom it delighted much.

Wallace was still at the siege of St Johnston, which the English defended with great courage. One morning they made a sally with five hundred men, against Scot and Dundas at the south port. They were ultimately beaten back, however, with considerable loss. Dundas, who had advanced beyond his supports, was taken prisoner, and carried before the Earl of York, who courteously returned him to Wallace, for which the latter sent a messenger, thanking him largely. It was the purpose of the Earl to win Wallace over to the cause of Edward, but in the words of the Minstrel—

"For gold na gud, he wad no trewbut tak."

The Earl of Fife had dwelt long under trewage to Edward, but after some hesitation—arising out of old jealousy of the motives of Wallace—he joined the national standard with his retainers. John Wallance or Vallence, sheriff of Fife, also tendered his assistance. A strong assault was then made, when a thousand Englishmen were slain, and the walls carried. Amidst the general slaughter which

ensued, Wallace sent his herald to save the Earl of York, in return for his humanity to Dundas. Jop, who knew the Earl, was the bearer of this intelligence. A hackney was provided for him with money to defray his expenses, and a cloak, or gown, having the red lion stamped upon it in wax, as his passport. All the women and children were at the same time set free.

This victory restored the balance of affairs in favour of the Scots in the north. Wallace called all true Scotsmen to their own, and

“Plenyst the land, quhilk lang had been ourthrawn.”

He then passed to the Southland. Edward Bruce, brother of King Robert, had been in Ireland the year before, and brought over with him fifty men of “his modrys kin,” with whom he had defeated nine score of the Southron, and taken Wigton Castle. Wallace and he met “reverently,” with a considerable display of chivalry, at Lochmaben. Edward was made lord and leader there; and Wallace promised further, that, if Robert did not come into the kingdom to reign, Edward should have the crown. Wallace then proceeded to Cumnock, to the Black Rock, his usual residence. Of course the King of England was soon apprised how matters stood in Scotland, which had been thrice cleared of the overwhelming forces of the invader; and, according to the Minstrel, Menteith was speedily reminded of the contract entered into for the betrayal of the champion. Thus urged, he is said to have contrived

to introduce "his syster son" into the private service of Wallace, pledged to betray him. The latter little dreamed of treason, his "laubourous mynd" being on other matters bent—the pacification and independence of his country:—

"Than he desyrt in lestand peiss to be—
For as off wer he was in sumpart yrk,
He purpost than to serve God and the kyrk,
And for to leyff undyr hys rychtwyss king;
That he desyryt atour all erdly thing."

He is said to have despatched Jop with a letter to Bruce in England, inviting him to come and take his crown; and assuring him that none, neither clerk, burgess, nor baron, would oppose him. Bruce was much delighted with the message, and wrote him thankfully in reply, at the same time asking counsel, as he would require to steal cautiously out of England:—

"For lang befor was kepyt the ragment,
Quhilk Cumyn had, to byd the gret parlement
In London; and gyff thai him accuss,
To cum fra thaim he suld mak sum excuss,
He prayit Wallace in Glaskow mur to walk
The *fyrst nycht off Juli* for his salk;
And bad he suld bot in to quiet be,
For he with him mycht bryng few chewalré."

Thus we have the Minstrel's narrative of Wallace brought nearly to a close. After the battles of Roslin, which must have been fought in 1303, the country was no doubt once more cleared of the English; but in these engagements Wallace does

not appear to have been concerned. They are not even alluded to by the Minstrel. On the contrary, he seems to have been wholly occupied beyond the Forth. We are chiefly indebted to the English chronicler, Langtoft, for our knowledge of Sir John de Segrave's defeats at Roslin, and if Wallace was there he is as likely to have mentioned his name as those of Frazer and Cumyn. The fact seems to be that Wallace co-operated with Frazer and Cumyn by driving the English out of the north, while their efforts were directed against the south, and it formed no part of the Minstrel's plan to notice events in which his hero was not directly engaged. But for Langtoft the glorious achievements of Roslin would have been lost—and as we have no other authority than the Minstrel for the proceedings of Wallace in the north, after his return from France, they are not credited! We are, nevertheless, convinced that his account is substantially true. When he states that Wallace agreed to meet Bruce on Glasgow Muir, the *first night of July*, we know that he must mean in the year 1305—and we know, also, that, in representing the country as free of English domination at the time, he takes a minstrel's licence with facts, as must be evident to any one acquainted with Scottish history; but we should regard such liberties as venial, where we have so much reason to depend upon the accuracy of the main facts. No doubt the Minstrel must have heard of the battles of Roslin—in his time they would be patent traditional achievements;

but he was too honest, or knew he could not do so without detection, to claim a share of them for his champion. At the same time, it must be evident that the English were not driven out of the north without a struggle—and of that struggle, or by whom it was conducted, we have no account in history, no more than we would, but for the honesty of Langtoft, have had of the discomfiture of Segrave in the south—hence we argue that the Minstrel's narrative, by inference, and its own consistency—for he never once brings Wallace to the Lowlands, after his landing at the mouth of the Erne, till the taking of St Johnston—must be true.

It will now be necessary, perhaps, for the sake of the general reader, to continue our hurried glance at what history records of the inroads of Edward. Barbour, in "The Bruce," describes the situation of Scotland as wretched in the extreme—

"Fra Weik anent Orkenay,
To Mullyrs Nwk in Galloway;
And stuffyt all with Inglismen,"

who committed unheard-of acts of cruelty and injustice upon the inhabitants. In the campaign of 1303, Edward penetrated as far north as the castle of Lochendorb, and is understood to have adopted, with greater vigour than before, the barbarous policy of destroying the public records—a fact which, notwithstanding the dubiety of Lord Hailes, seems to be altogether beyond question. In reducing the castles northward, that of Brechin, under

Sir Thomas Maule, made a stout resistance. The death of Sir Thomas alone compelled a surrender.

Retiring from the north, Edward determined to remain over the winter in Scotland, by way of securing the conquests he had made. With this view he took up his quarters in Dunfermline. If we are to credit Langtoft, Cumyn, Frazer, and Wallace were lurking in the vicinity, in the woods and mountains, at this time. To promote the settlement of Scotland, and its entire assimilation with England, Edward proceeded to remodel the laws, in accordance with those of the south. In the prosecution of this design, he called a parliament at St Andrews, which was attended by most Scotsmen of any note, save Sir William Wallace, Sir Simon Frazer, and Sir William Oliphant, governor of Stirling Castle. This fortress was now the only one which remained in the hands of the Scots, and the governor refused to appear or to give it up, unless to those by whom it had been committed to his charge.

It is said that about this time Edward was so anxious to secure Wallace in his interest, that he offered him the crown on condition of his acknowledging England as his feudal superior. Wallace, according to Fordun, disdainfully refused the proffered gift, and resolved to stand for the liberty of the kingdom. In this resolution he was followed by Sir Simon Frazer, against whom sentence of banishment and outlawry was passed. He had incurred the highest indignation of Edward in conse-

quence of the victories of Roslin, for to him he chiefly attributed the success of the Scots.

It is probable that it is to the circumstance related by Fordun that Langtoft alludes, and which Tytler is surprised that neither Hailes nor any other of our historians have noticed, when he says that certain terms were proposed by the friends of Wallace, with the view of his surrendering himself; but these terms partook so much of a demand, rather than a supplication, that, on being made known to Edward, he is said to have broken out into a violent rage, and cursed him by the fiend as a traitor, offering, at the same time, a reward of three hundred merks for his capture. The lines of Langtoft are:—

“Turn we now other weyes, unto our owen geste,
 And speke of the Waleys that lies in the foreste;
 In the forest he lendes of Dounfermelyn,
 He praised all his frendes, and other of his kyn,
 After that Yole, thei wilde besehe Edward,
 That he might yelde till him, in a forward
 That were honorable to kepe wod or beste,
 And with his scribe full stable, and seled at the least,
 To him and all his to haf in heritage;
 And none otherwise, als terme tyme and stage
 Bot als a propre thing that were conquest till him.
 Whan thei brouht that tetteing Edward was fulle grim,
 And bilauht him the fende, als his traytoure in Lond,
 And ever-ilkon his frende that him susteyn'd or fond.
 Three hundreth marke he hette unto his warisoun,
 That with him so mette, or bring his hede to toun.
 Now flies William Waleis, of pres nouht he spedis,
 In mores and marcis with robberie him fedis.”

We cannot accept this story of Langtoft, as a historical fact, with the same credulity that Tytler has done. It is obviously a perversion of the truth. That the immediate friends of Wallace may have applied to Edward—by way of ascertaining his feeling on the subject—in some such manner as described by Langtoft, is possible enough; but that it was made at his suggestion, or even concurrence, is opposed to the whole course of his career, and the known firmness of purpose by which he was distinguished. However much, as Tytler remarks, the proposal may have partaken of the “bold character of the mind which had never bowed to Edward,” it is not consistent with the testimony of those who knew him best, that he would have accepted terms at the hands of Edward, much less that he should himself have suggested these terms.

Early in the spring of 1304, a small body of troops, collected by Cumyn, assembled in the vicinity of Stirling. Edward thought it advisable to take the field instantly before it should become formidable, and fording the river, was enabled speedily to disperse the Scots. Cumyn afterwards entered into a negotiation of surrender with Edward, and he and others submitted themselves to the English commissioners at a place called Strathorde,* in Fifeshire, on the 9th of February 1304. From this negotiation were excluded Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, James, the Steward of Scotland, Sir John Soulis, (the late

* The precise locality is not now known.

associate of Cumyn in the government,) David de Graham, Alexander de Lindsay, Simon Frazer, Thomas Bois, and William Wallace. To all, except the last, certain terms, more or less rigorous, were offered. "As for William Wallace," says the deed, "it is agreed that he shall surrender himself up at the will and mercy of our sovereign Lord the King, if it shall seem good to him." In other words, he was to have no mercy. It is worthy of notice that one of the parties to this contract of surrender was Cumyn, scarcely less the enemy of Wallace than Edward.

An English parliament was soon afterwards summoned at St Andrews, to which the Scottish barons were also required to repair. This summons was obeyed by all, save Wallace and Frazer, who, together with the garrison of Stirling, were declared outlaws.* At length even Frazer, despairing of rousing the nation to resistance, accepted the hard terms of fine and banishment, and Wallace stood alone in his unbending defiance to Edward.

Meanwhile the English commenced the siege of Stirling in earnest. It began on the 21st of April, and was not brought to a close till the 24th of July, a period of three months. Edward himself superintended the operations, and every artifice then known in military engineering was brought into requisition, but the stubbornness of the governor seemed to increase with the vigour of the assault, and the defence

* Trivet.

was so skilfully managed that great numbers of the besiegers perished. In riding near the walls Edward had several narrow escapes; still his anxiety was so great that a sense of danger could not restrain him.

Almost despairing of capturing the place, thirteen engines of the largest calibre were brought from England, with fresh supplies of missiles of every kind. The "Lurdare* of Strivelyn," as Langtoft calls the largest of these pieces of mechanism, was a "hideous engyn." With these breaches were at length effected in the walls, while by means of the "Greek fire," then first introduced, the roof was set in flames. Unable to repair the breaches, and their provisions running short, the garrison was at last compelled to surrender. According to Langtoft, they consisted of Sir William Oliphant, Sir William Duplin, twenty gentlemen of inferior degree, a preaching friar, a monk, and thirteen "maydens and ladies." The common soldiers numbered about one hundred and forty. These brave men were treated most ignominiously by Edward. They were compelled to go in procession in their shirts, bareheaded and barefooted, and to beg clemency of the tyrant on bended knee. Their lives were spared, to be sent prisoners to England.†

* Corrupted from *Loup de guerre*, the War-wolf.

† According to Fordun and Wyntoun, a written agreement of indemnity for the garrison was signed, which he perfidiously disregarded.

At length, having fully broken down all resistance in Scotland, as Edward imagined, he took his departure for the south, leaving Sir John de Segrave as temporary governor of the kingdom. While Wallace lived, however, he never felt secure of his conquest, and he had not long returned to London before he became thoroughly impressed with the necessity of securing the patriot. His captains and governors in Scotland had strict injunctions to discover his retreats, and large rewards were offered for his apprehension, dead or alive. One Ralph Hali-burton, presumed to have been one of the defenders of Stirling Castle, whom he had brought prisoner from Scotland, undertook, through promise of a large reward, to attempt his capture; but not much is known respecting his proceedings. Under Sir John Mowbray, a Scottish knight in great favour with Edward, he was to co-operate with the other parties engaged to betray Wallace.

CHAPTER XII.

THE BETRAYAL OF WALLACE—CARRIED TO LONDON—HIS TRIAL
AND EXECUTION.

THE statement of the Minstrel is that Wallace, and no doubt those who acted with him, made offer of the crown to Bruce, and that he was to meet the latter, in a private manner, on Glasgow Muir, the first night of July (1305). With this view he hovered about in the neighbourhood of that city, having no one in his company save Karlé and the young man, nephew of Sir John Menteith, whom he had recently taken into his service, and who, the Minstrel avers, was purposely set to betray him. Menteith had a company of sixty men, "off hys awn kyn," fully armed, whom he despatched from Dumbarton, and lodged secretly "ner Glaskow kyrk." Wallace used to lodge in a house which stood by itself, called "Robrastoun," or Robroyston, as it is still named. It was about midnight, on the occasion of his capture, when Wallace and his friend Karlé repaired to their lodging. He and Karlé went to sleep, the young man keeping watch, that no one

should approach. While thus reposing in confidence, "this tratour" deprived them of their arms—

"Bathe knyff and suerd, his bow and arrowis all—"

which he disposed of outside the house, then informed his uncle, Menteith, of the defenceless state of their victim. The house was immediately surrounded, and Karlé dragged to the door and killed. The party thought to bind Wallace with cords, but he got to his feet, and vainly groped about for his weapons. Two of his opponents, notwithstanding, he struck down dead, but he was speedily laid hold of by as many as could get round him, who attempted to drag him away. It was impossible, however, to remove him by force, and Sir John Menteith, seeing that he would rather lose his life than allow himself to be taken, had recourse to what the Minstrel calls "a rycht sutell fals cace," and addressed him to the effect that the English had known of his retreat for some time, and had surrounded the house in great numbers. He had spoken to Lord Clifford, he said, and came as a friend to save him. The English, he repeated—

—"ask no mar but to be quyt off your stryff.
To Dumbertane ye sall furth pass with me;
At your awn house ye may in saifte be."

Menteith held such communication with the Southron, that Wallace believed there might be truth in his statement; and as he had been his gossip on two former occasions, he could not think it possible that he would deceive him. He nevertheless exacted an

oath from Menteith of his sincerity; which was readily given. Menteith then got him to consent to appear as his prisoner, lest the English should take him from him—

“A couch with slycht apon his handys thai laid,”
and bound him with cords :—

“Allace, the Bruce mycht sayr that bynding rew,
Quhilk maid Scotland sone brokyn apon cace,
For Cumeinis ded, and loss of gud Wallace!”

The champion was then led forth, and missing Karlé, while “na Sotheroun he saw,” he at once conceived that he had been betrayed. Then, as they held toward the south, his captors still endeavoured to persuade him that Edward had no design on his life, but to such statements he could give no credence—he felt that he was doomed. The Minstrel speaks of the various reasons assigned for the conduct of Menteith, but they were all a “fals record.” He says—

“At the Fawkyrk the gud Stewart was slayn,
Our corniclis reheress that in [to] playn,
On Madelan day,* that auchtand yer befor;
Cumyn’s ded tharoff it wytness mor.”

He thus attributes the betrayal of Wallace to the mischief fomented by Cumyn at Falkirk, which resulted in the death of the “gud Stewart,” and which, it is said, Menteith never could forgive. It is quite possible that Menteith may have been influenced on this account, but of his having been bribed for the task is beyond doubt. The friends of Wallace were

* The battle of Falkirk was fought on the 12th July 1298.

totally ignorant of what had occurred until he was beyond their help. Menteith's party seem to have hurried him away to the south, "ay, haldand the west land," before daybreak. They crossed the Solway Sand, where they delivered him to Lord Clifford and Vallence, who carried him immediately to Carlisle prison. The house where he was confined was afterwards called "Wallace Tower." "Alas!" says the Minstrel, "who shall defend Scotland now!"

The capture of Wallace is differently related by the English chroniclers, but the Minstrel seems to be, in the main, the most correct. In the Arundel MS., printed in the "Illustrations of Scottish History," he is said to have been captured in the house of one Ralph Raa, or Ray; and Langtoft says—

"Sir Jon of Menetest sewed William so nehi,
 He tok him whan he wend lest, on nyght his leman bi.
 That was thocht treson of Jak Schort, his man,
 He was the on cheson, that Sir Jon so him nam,
 Jak brother had he slayn, the Waleiss that is said,
 The more Jak was fayn to do William that braid."

Langtoft could hardly be so well informed in such a matter as the Scots writers. Wyntoun, supposed to have been born only fifty years after the death of Wallace, says—

"A thousand thre hundred and the fyft yhere,
 Eftyr the byrth of oure Lord dere,
 Schyre Jhon of Menteth in tha days
 Tuk in Glasgw Willame Walays,
 And send hym in-till Ingland swne,
 There wes he quartaryd and wndwne
 Be dyspyte and hat inwy:
 Thare he tholyd this martyry."

Robroyston is so near Glasgow that it is no inaccuracy to say that Wallace was betrayed there. The Minstrel is more minute and full in his relation of the circumstances. The Borough-muir is on the south side of the city, and from Robroyston Wallace could easily have crossed the river without coming in sight of the English soldiers stationed there. Major is perhaps the only one who does not agree with the Minstrel, for he says Wallace was "captured *in* the city of Glasgow."

Almost the whole of our authorities concur in associating Menteith with the betrayal of Wallace, and it was assuredly great hardihood on the part of Lord Hailes to attempt a denial of it. Bower, Major, Wyntoun, the Lanercost MS., Langtoft, the *Scala Chronicle*, &c., all attest the fact of Menteith having acted the part of a traitor. It is impossible to trace what share Haliburton or Mowbray had, if they had any, in the capture of Wallace; but it is beyond all question that high rewards—considering the then value of money—were offered by Edward for his apprehension. This is shown by the records in the chapter-house at Westminster. A sum amounting to £1100 sterling was given in various amounts to different persons, and to Sir John Menteith one hundred pounds worth of land, independent, of course, of the lordship of the Lennox. When the Minstrel speaks of his having been shown three thousand pounds in gold at Ruglen Kirk, when the contract for the apprehension of Wallace was en-

tered into with Sir Aymer de Vallence, we must consider him as indulging in the privilege of the minstrel—but that he was bribed, whatever the amount, seems unquestionable. That Wallace and Menteith had previously been on terms of intimacy is stated more than once by Henry; and that he actually joined Wallace is asserted by Bower:—"In hoc ipso anno (1298) viz., xxviii. die mensis Augusti, dominus Wallas Scotiæ custos, cum Johanne Grhame et *Johanne de Menteith*, militibus, necnon Alexandro Scrimzeour, constabulario villæ de Dundee, et vexillario Scotiæ, cum quinquagentis militibus armatis, rebelles Gallovidienses punierunt, qui regis Angliæ et Cuminum partibus sine aliquo jure steterunt." This expedition, in which Menteith co-operated with Wallace, Graham, and Scrymgeour, is supposed to refer to that period described by the Minstrel—

"Fra Gamlis peth the land obeyt him haill,
Till Ur wattir, baith strenth, forest, and daill.
Agaynis him in *Galloway* hous was nayne."*

* Buchanan relates the story in reference to the attempt of Menteith to capture Bruce immediately on the eve of Bannockburn. He had a party of English men-at-arms concealed in a wine cellar, so that when Bruce came to take possession of the castle, and while at dinner with Menteith, they should issue forth and seize him; a vessel was also in readiness in the Clyde to bear him away to England. The design was made known to Bruce by a carpenter, who sought the King's presence. Thus advised, Bruce took care to have the wine cellar thrown open, in defiance of the excuses of Menteith, when the truth was discovered. The Englishmen were put to death; but Menteith was imprisoned, Bruce being afraid, from his influential connexions, to take any violent proceedings against him, lest it should weaken his strength

Tytler, while he ably supports Dr Jamieson, in opposition to Lord Hailes, as to the guilt of Menteith in the betrayal of Wallace, follows the Minstrel in conjecturing that his doing so may have originated in a feud arising out of the battle of Falkirk, where, he says, "Wallace, who, on account of his overbearing conduct, had never been popular with the Scottish nobility, opposed the pretensions of Sir John Stewart of Bonkill. . . . Sir John Menteith, his uncle, never forgave Wallace for making good his own retreat without attempting a rescue." It is surprising to find Tytler thus apologising for Menteith, against whom the charge of traitorship is so complete, and endeavouring to whitewash the Scottish nobility for their lack of patriotism, by attempting to fix a stain on the character of Wallace. That he was overbearing is an unwarranted assumption, opposed to the whole history of his career. The nobility refused to be led by the only man capable of carrying on the war successfully against the English, because of his comparatively obscure origin, being, although well descended, only the son of a small baron. The truth is, the factious nobility of Scotland never wanted excuses for disunion and treason. The whole of the wars with England, from the time of Wallace down-
at the approaching struggle with the English. The son-in-law of Menteith becoming security for him, he was liberated, on condition that he should take his position in the front at the approaching battle of Bannockburn, which he did so effectively, that he not only procured pardon for the past, but rewards for the future.

wards, amply attest this. But to apologise for the conduct of Menteith on account of the misunderstanding at Falkirk, is to admit, what not a few have denied, that there was any contention at all among the Scottish leaders, especially such a contention as led to the loss of the battle. If our Scottish historians are only partially correct in what they state, Wallace was grievously insulted by Sir John Stewart of Bonkill at Falkirk, and to have followed his rash conduct in attempting to save himself or his handful of men, amid the treason of Cumyn, and in the face of 100,000 of England's best equipped troops, in an open field, would have been madness. All he could hope to do was to cover the retreat of Stewart's schiltrons, and save as many as he could—and this he did in a masterly manner.

It is not known in what way Wallace was conveyed to London, though most likely on horseback, there being no carriages, properly speaking, in those days. *Delta*, with a poet's licence, has described the journey—two hundred horsemen escorting “a huge sepulchral van”—in a poem which he calls “The Dark Waggon.” But he is altogether wrong as to the route; the cavalcade—whatever might be the mode of conveyance—held to the south, westward by Carlisle; yet the idea is poetical, and there are one or two stanzas worthy of Dr Moir's reputation:—

“On—on they speed. Oh! dreary day,
That, like a vampire, drain'd away

The blood from Scotland's heart ! Delay,
 Thou lingering sun, to set !
 Rain, twilight ! rain down bloody dews
 O'er all the eye far northward views ;
 Nor do thou, night of nights ! refuse
 A darkness black as jet.

“ Heroic spirits of the dead !
 That in the body nobly bled,
 By whom the battle-field for bed
 Was chosen, look ye down,
 And see if hearts are all grown cold,
 If for their just rights none are bold,
 If servile earth one bosom hold,
 Worthy of old renown ! ”

The Minstrel, to whose narrative we again return, describes the grief of Longueville, on discovering the loss of Wallace, as extreme. He vowed never to return to France, but to remain in Scotland, and revenge the death of the patriot. He proceeded to Lochmaben, where he found Edward Bruce, and there continued till the arrival of his brother, the King, who came on the third day after the betrayal. It is well known that he stood firmly by the hero of Bannockburn, and fought nobly for Scottish independence. He had “ full gret gardoun ” in consequence—

“ All Charterys land the gud King till him gaiff,”
 and Charteris became the surname of his descendants.

Bruce is said by the Minstrel to have been deeply grieved by the loss of Wallace—

“ Ner out off wytt he worthit for to weyd.”

He was comforted, however, by his brother Edward, who passed a high eulogium on the character of Wallace, and urged immediate revenge—

“Merour he wes off lauta and manheid;
 In wer the best that euir sall power leid,
 Had he likyt for till haiff tane your crown,
 Wald nane him let that was in this regioun,
 Had nocht beyne he, ye suld had na entress
 In to this rewlm, for tresoun and falsnes.”

The Minstrel then glances briefly at the early career of Bruce, the slaughter of Cumyn at Dumfries, and the various chiefs by whom he was supported. But of Bruce's history he would refrain, as—

“Master Barbour, quhilk was a worthi clerk,
 He said the Bruce amang his othir werk.”

The Minstrel makes haste with his narrative of Wallace, but it is evident he dislikes the painful recital. He cannot forget that “Menteth was fals”—and as the end of the patriot was “displeasans,” declares he will put “it nocht in rym.” At the same time Scotland may not forget the happy time that he was born—

“Scotland he fred, and brocht it off thrillage,
 And now in hewin he has his herstage.”

In proof of which he relates the curious vision of the “monk of Bery,” who, on his deathbed, predicted the martyrdom of the “defendour off Scotland,” and his having “lestand warysoun” in heaven. Clifford and Vallence carried the “gud Wallace” to London, to the great delight of Edward. The Minstrel passes over the form of trial by which he was doomed, and

at once proceeds to the scene of execution. He was brought forth amid "a full gret rout" of armed men. Wallace conducted himself with a bold—or rather, the Minstrel means, with a calm—spirit. He asked for a priest, or confessor, but Edward, who was present, maliciously forbade any one, on the pain of death, to shrive him. The Bishop of Canterbury, however, boldly stepped forward, and, denouncing the King, proffered his services. Edward ordered the Bishop to be arrested, but his attendant courtiers counselled otherwise, for—

"All Inglissmen said, at his desyr was rycht."

Wallace then confessed himself to the Bishop, humbly commending his spirit to God, and saying "ane orysoun" on his knees. The Bishop then rode straight for Westminster, apparently unwilling to be a spectator of the cruelty about to be enacted. Wallace, immediately afterwards, was borne by the lockmen to the place of martyrdom. The Minstrel says that from the first night he was taken in Scotland, the same band of desperadoes continued to guard him, while Englishmen alone served him with food and other requisites. This continued for thirty days, the greater part of which time he was bound "on a skamyll off ayk," with strong iron chains. Before proceeding with the work of slaughter, a clerk was appointed to question Wallace as to his past career. He replied, but with such marked impatience, that one of the sheriffs ordered him to

desist. Wallace then desired of Lord Clifford that a small "Psaltyr buk," which he had always carried about with him since his childhood, but which had been abstracted when "dispalied off his weid," might be restored to him. This having been done, he caused a priest to hold it open before him while his executioners proceeded in the performance of their duty. Upon this relic—the gift probably, as Carrick supposes, of his mother—he continued to gaze with much devotion, as long as consciousness remained—

"Quhill spech and spreyt at anys all can fayr
To lestand blyss, we trow, for euir mayr."

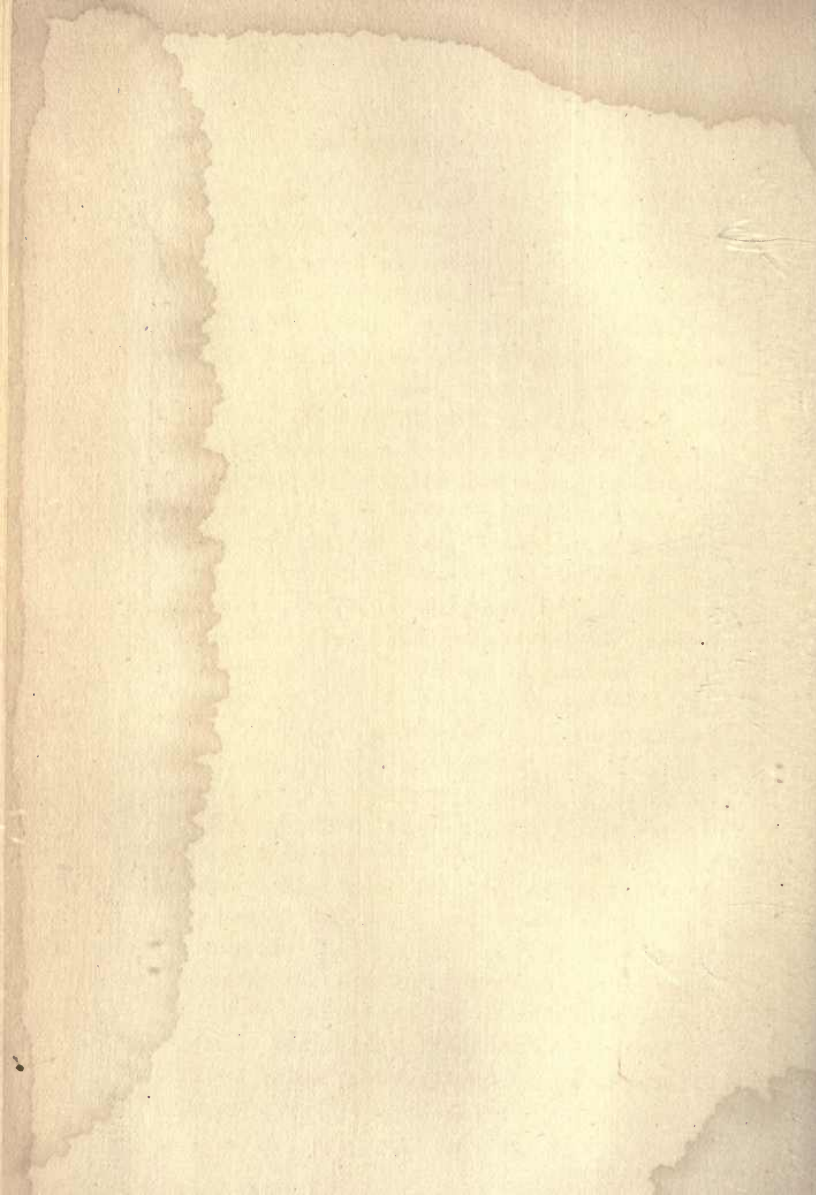
The Minstrel only alludes to the manner in which the body of the patriot was divided, and takes leave of his subject by appealing to his authority, "Maister Blair."

The Bard is amply borne out, if not in detail, at least in all the main facts respecting the martyrdom of Wallace, by other authorities. It is said that his capture at Glasgow took place on the 5th August 1305, and he did not arrive in London till Sunday the 22d of the same month—having thus been seventeen days upon the journey.* He was an object of great wonderment as he passed through England, and Stowe relates that he was followed by a vast crowd on entering London. He was lodged in

* Before the era of stage-coaches, and travelling on horseback, our forefathers used to take nearly a fortnight in going to London. Wallace seems to have been transported in about the same lapse of time.



“He caused a priest to hold it open before him, while his executioners proceeded in the performance of their duty.”—WALLACE, Page 310.



the house of William de Leyre, a citizen, in Fenchurch Street, and next day conducted on horseback to Westminster hall. Sir John de Segrave, Grand Marshal of England, the defeated at Roslin, Geoffrey de Hartlepool, Recorder of London, the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, accompanied him, followed by a multitude on horse and on foot. The excitement and anxiety of Edward to bring his famous opponent to execution seems apparent from the different commissions issued for his trial, and the changes made in the number forming a quorum. From authentic documents it appears that "previously to the 18th of August (the trial took place on the 23d) he had issued his commission to four individuals for jail-delivery in London and elsewhere; he now reduced the *quorum* to three, for the more rapid discharge of business. Upon reflection, this measure appears to have been considered by his majesty as not sufficiently energetic; for, on the same day, a special commission for the trial of Wallace was issued to five individuals, of whom three should be a *quorum*."* Arrived at the Hall, he was seated on the south bench, and a crown of laurel placed on his head, "for that," says Stowe, "he had said, in times past, that he ought to wear a crown in that hall, as it was commonly reported." Carrick endeavours to account for this report; but the truth is, Edward seems to have been at no loss for excuses to inflict petty annoyances of the kind.

* "Wallace Papers."

It appears to have been a favourite device of his political courts of assize. The same insult was heaped upon Lewellyn, the Welsh patriot, in conformity with a prophecy of Merlin, that a Prince of Wales should be crowned in London. His head was cut off, and placed on the Tower, with a crown of ivy. The same indignity awaited Sir Simon Frazer, who was executed subsequently to Wallace.

The commission who sat upon the trial of our hero, consisted of "Johanne de Segrave, P. Maluree, R. de Sandwyce, Johanne de Racwelle, et J. le Blound." He was then indicted by Peter Maluree or Malore, the King's Chief Justice, as a traitor to the King of England, to which he pleaded *not guilty*, never having been a subject of Edward. Of course it signified not what he pleaded—the trial being altogether a matter of form. The sentence pronounced against him recites that John Baliol having forfeited the kingdom of Scotland, Edward conquered it, and publicly received the homage and fealty of its "prelates, earls, barons, and others"—that he proclaimed his peace through the realm—that he systematised a government for it, "according to the laws and customs of that land"—that the foresaid William Wallace, forgetting his fealty and allegiance,* had raised a numerous body of followers, had attacked the English officers, had slain William de Heselrig, Sheriff of Lanark, whose dead body he

* We need hardly observe that Wallace never gave his fealty or allegiance to Edward.

afterwards cut into pieces—that, gaining strength and influence, he stormed the English garrisons, caused his writs to run through all Scotland, as if he were superior lord of that realm—that he summoned parliaments—that he attempted to league himself with the King of France—that he ravaged Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland—that he opposed the King in a pitched battle,* and that when defeated he refused to avail himself of the terms of peace then held out to his acceptance. He was therefore outlawed; “and since it is, and is believed to be, unjust, and inconsistent with the laws of England, that one so outlawed, and put without the laws, nor afterwards restored to the King’s peace, should be admitted either to defend himself or to plead,” sentence of death—to be beheaded and quartered—was accordingly recorded against him. † The sentence was carried into execution, at the Elms of Smithfield, with revolting circumstantiality of cruelty, on the same day, the 23d of August. The body having been dismembered, the head was placed on London Bridge, the right arm on the bridge of Newcastle, the left at Berwick, the right leg at Perth, and the left at Aberdeen. It is said that these remains were afterwards gathered together, and buried in Dunfermline, but we do not find that this statement rests on any good authority. So perished the ever-memorable hero of Scotland. Though given by Carrick, and frequently published, we cannot refrain

* The battle of Falkirk.

† “Wallace Papers.”

from quoting the following lines, translated from the original by Hume of Godscroft, understood to have been composed by John Blair soon after the death of Wallace :—

“ Envious death, who ruins all,
Hath wrought the sad, lamented fall
Of Wallace; and no more remains
Of him than what an urn contains !
Ashes for our hero we have—
He, for his armour, a cold grave.
He left the earth—too low a state !
And by his acts o’ercame his fate.
His soul death had not power to kill—
His noble deeds the world do fill
With lasting trophies of his name.
Oh ! hadst thou virtue loved, or fame,
Thou couldst not have exulted so
Over a brave, betrayed, dead foe,
Edward, nor seen those limbs exposed
To public shame—fit to be closed
As relics in an holy shrine.
But now the infamy is thine.
His end crowns him with glorious bays,
And stains the brightest of thy praise.”

CHAPTER XIII.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

THE story of Wallace, which we have just brought to a close, is an extraordinary and a sad one. He seems by nature to have been formed for the almost superhuman undertaking upon which he adventured. He possessed a body of great strength, yet so symmetrical, that his large proportions were chiefly remarkable when placed in contrast with other men. The Minstrel says "he was of stalwart pace and sound," fleet of foot, and agile in all his movements, with a constitution capable of enduring the utmost privation and fatigue. If we reduce the Blind Bard's poetical description of him to common prose—and there can be little doubt that he spoke from direct and authentic information—we find that his visage was proportionally long and fair, his nose straight and lengthened, his lips round, his hair brown or auburn, inclined to curl, his brows and eyelashes of a lighter shade, and with all "rycht sad of speech, and abill in curage." The reader will recognise in the portrait which accompanies this volume much of

what we describe. Whether it has any claim to be a genuine representation of the hero of Scotland, is, of course, incapable of proof. As observed in our introductory account of the picture at Niddrie House, there were in the days of Wallace, numerous artists, not only skilled in the emblazonments of chivalry, but in the illustration of missals. It is no great stretch of belief, therefore, to admit the accuracy of Blind Harry, when he tells us that a *description* of him was taken by the learned men of France. Whether the Niddrie portrait was painted from this description is a matter of dubiety, but it must be admitted that it is a very different representation of the hero from anything with which the public is familiar, and at once strikes the beholder as an excellent embodiment of all that we have read or conceived of the character of Wallace. The expression is altogether peculiar. It bespeaks deep thought, great firmness of purpose, and enthusiasm—but nothing of cruelty or ferocity. He was, no doubt, a man of blood—and he became so, not from any natural inclination for strife and contention, but from a virtue which bore down every other consideration, and that virtue was his love of country, accompanied by a thorough detestation of tyranny, cruelty, and usurpation. It was this strong feeling, working upon an impulsive temperament, that, as occasion called, changed the lamb into a lion, and enabled him to cut his way through crowds of enemies. But for this patriotic enthusiasm—which so worked itself from early years

into his system as to become almost constitutional,—he never could have stood out with such indomitable courage—*the only man in Scotland who did not, and would not, bend the knee to the proud invader!*

Thrice he delivered his native land from thralldom, when, on each occasion, she had been trampled down by overwhelming hosts, and lay prostrate under every disadvantage—with a vacant throne, for which her greatest barons were contending, and disunion and distrust everywhere. It is almost incredible that, under such circumstances, he should have been able to collect armies, and perform such deeds as he did with his comparatively few but daring followers. He himself had no experience in military tactics—no more had his countrymen—yet he displayed quite an intuitive ability to command; and when it is considered that his opponent was Edward I., the greatest warrior of the age, backed by the whole military strength of England, Wales, Ireland, and even Bretagne, some idea may be formed of the capacity of the man who destroyed the chivalry of England at the battle of Stirling Bridge, and subsequently led an army for nearly two months throughout the richest districts of the south—spoiling the land as he went—no one daring to oppose him. Edward had to give up the war against Philip of France, and disgracefully abandon his allies, the Flemings, in order that he might bend his whole strength against the man who had thus derided his authority, destroyed his armies, and carried the

sword into the heart of his own dominions. The army which Edward brought to Falkirk in 1298, consisting of upwards of one hundred thousand superbly-equipped warriors, was perhaps one of the finest military displays ever sent to the field by England. From that field Edward returned to the south, indulging in the name of conqueror, but with little to boast of the reality of conquest; and it must be admitted that treachery and disunion wrought well for him on that occasion. Although the Scots could muster no more than thirty thousand, chiefly foot, to encounter his magnificent array, it seems probable that, under the leadership of Wallace, this small army would have been amply sufficient to defeat him. There can be no doubt that the plan of the Scots, to draw Edward into the heart of the country, and fall upon him when compelled to retire for want of provisions, was betrayed, and that he was enabled to surprise them at Falkirk. Even then, but for the defection of Cumyn, and the ill-timed claim of Stewart to the chief command—although Wallace stood in the position of Guardian of the kingdom at the time, and had previously cleared it of all its enemies—they might either have retired unbroken to the Torwood—or stood their ground with every chance of success. Even the few schiltrons which gave battle under the Stewart, defied for hours the whole power of Edward, and were only broken at last by his artillery, which, from the want of cavalry, they could not check. It has

altogether been doubted, by some of our later Scottish historians, whether there was disunion on this occasion, and they usually prefer Hemingford's account of the battle. But Hemingford could not be a good authority in such a case as this. He could only relate what his informants saw and knew; and yet he states that the Scottish men-at-arms rode off the field without striking a blow—the *reason* of their doing so of course they could not tell. At the battle of Waterloo, for instance, the French writers say that Grouchy acted treacherously towards Napoleon. British historians deny this—but are they to be considered better authority than the French? All they know of the matter is that Grouchy *did not perform* the duty assigned to him—he *did not intercept Blucher*—and the Prussians were enabled to come in at the close of a long and keenly-contested battle—in time to convert the last struggle of the French army into a disastrous flight. Whether Grouchy acted from bad faith, or want of judgment, is, perhaps, not precisely understood at present, but the effect was the same. At Falkirk, however, there was more reason to believe in the treachery of Cumyn than the French have to think evil of Grouchy. The jealousy entertained against Wallace by the greater barons was well known. It had led to the disbanding of the Scottish army at Irvine the year before, and been exhibited in various ways. None of them, for instance, were in the army which invaded England under Wallace and Murray. But

the fact is, had there been no disunion—no treachery at Falkirk—there would have been no ground for that bad feeling which Hailes and Tytler say existed on the part of Menteith and other friends of the Stewart. Had Cumyn not wholly retired from the field—how came his followers to be unbroken?—and if Wallace had not taken up the position he did—nearer the Torwood—how could he have been able to secure the retreat of the scattered schiltrons? Treachery, disunion, and the folly of Sir John Stewart of Bonkill, made a comparatively easy victory for Edward at Falkirk; and what was, perhaps, of more consequence to him—it led to the resignation of Wallace as Guardian. As a patriot, anxious for the welfare of the country, it was apparently the only course which, amid the cabals of the barons, was open for him. If by his abandonment of office these barons could be brought to coalesce, and collect their strength in opposition to the common enemy, his object was in so far gained, and he could still use his individual arm and influence in the cause which he had so much at heart; and how he did use that arm and that influence,—and how he laid down his life a martyr to freedom, the Minstrel has recorded in unaffected language.

It is curious how some of our later historians—not even excepting Lord Hailes and Tytler, among those belonging to Scotland,—have dared to speak in other than the highest terms of the greatest man that this country, or any other, ever produced. We

could almost forgive such writers as Lingard, or the more obscure Wright, in endeavouring to disparage his memory, and whitewash Edward Longshanks. But for Wallace he would have been the greatest hero of the age, and a lasting boast to England. As it was, his utmost efforts were foiled by the valour of this one Scotsman. These efforts drained England and her tributaries, not only of men but of means—to such an extent as to bankrupt his exchequer,* and excite the barons to resistance. We can easily fancy the inextinguishable hatred of this man which animated the soul of Edward as he gloated over the revolting spectacle of his martyrdom. Yet even there he must have felt that the contrast was against him. He saw before him that wonderful individual whose prowess and judgment had so often annihilated his veteran legions, and who only stood there—calm and dignified as a martyr—because there were traitors amongst his countrymen base enough to sell him for English gold! We say, we are not altogether surprised that there should be Englishmen partial enough to attempt the justification of the greatest king that ever sat on the throne of England, although at the expense of truth. At the surrender of Cumyn and his small army in 1304,

* From the Wardrobe Accounts it appears that the campaign of 1300 cost *one-fifth* of the national income, and the Treasury was £5949, 4s. 3d. in arrears. In that year, the first attempt was made to depreciate the money. Sir Simon Frazer and others who served under Edward could not get their pay. The whole revenue of England, in 1300, was estimated at £150,000.

Wallace was *expressly excepted from all terms of grace*. Dr Lingard, in short, does not seem to have read the documents to which he refers in corroboration of his statement. And it is equally false that Wallace ever was an outlaw, in the proper sense of the term. He might be an outlaw, according to Edward's law; but never according to the law and government of his own country. He ought to have been treated simply as a prisoner of war, as he had never acknowledged Edward's authority in any shape. But that a Scots historian should in the slightest degree presume to impugn the sacred name of the saviour of his country is what we cannot think of with composure. The statement of Tytler, that he was overbearing in his conduct to the nobles, is founded upon no authority, unless, and by way of inference, the Minstrel, who tells us that, as Guardian, he was equally strict in enforcing the law against the high as the low. But this was quite in keeping with the conscientious character of the man, and no one will say that it was wrong. The Blind Bard invariably represents his hero as actuated by the kindest feelings in everything save his conduct as a warrior fighting against the English. In this particular, his enthusiasm for liberty had assumed a wildly resolute aspect, of the peculiar character of which, at this distance of time, we can form no proper estimate.

If we discard the Minstrel wholly as an authority, upon what fact does the charge rest? The few docu-

ments preserved of Wallace—sufficiently authentic to be received as evidence in a court of justice—entirely upset the remarks of Tytler. Take the letter, in 1297, addressed to the authorities of the Hanseatic Towns, regarding the trade of Scotland. We have here a patriotic desire to promote the commercial welfare of his country; and so far from arrogance or presumption, the best possible proof of the reverse, in his placing Murray's name before his own. The same thing occurs in the charter of protection to the monks of Hexham, upon which occasion Hemingford records an interesting trait of his character, when he devoutly heard mass, and restrained the rapacity of his soldiers. Of the disinterested disposition of the hero, we have another instance spoken to in the letter of recommendation by Philip of France to his agents in Rome. Though so grossly insulted and vilified by the nobles of Scotland that he found it necessary to resign his position as Guardian, yet this document proves his anxiety still to benefit his country, by seeking the friendly interference of the Pope. Though the Minstrel and all history were silent, we would say that these few stray memorials—coupled with the fact of his having laid down his life for his country—sufficiently bespeak the noble generosity and magnanimity of the man—and put to shame all such quibblers as we have mentioned.

In the situation of Scotland at the time, it was an easy matter to excite the jealousy of the barons.

The competitors for the crown had each their factions, and their interests led them in any direction save to union. When Wallace took upon him to assert the national independence, nothing seemed so possible as that he had a design upon the crown, and they became alarmed at his success. But in this, as in all his other public actions, it is evident that he was influenced by the purest motives. He seems to have steered clear of the various factions as much as possible. Whether he considered the decision of Edward in favour of Baliol as just, or whether he considered his fealty due to him as the crowned and acknowledged King of Scotland, may be a speculative question; but we invariably find him acting as if Baliol were King. Latterly, as in the charter to Scrymgeour, granted at Torphichen in 1298, he assumed even the title of Regent under Baliol—whether by appointment or otherwise there is no positive evidence. So long as he thus acted, it is evident that Bruce and he could not draw together, because the great object of the latter was the prosecution of his claim to the crown, along with the cause of national independence. Immediately after Baliol resigned his right in favour of Edward, and, by the negotiation of the Pope, had been sent to his paternal property in Normandy, Wallace adopted a different course. He invited Bruce, as the next in right of descent, to assume what Baliol had laid down, but could not bestow upon another. In all this we see a consistency—a principle of high honour

and justice; and by attending to it much that seems mysterious in the contrast between the conduct of Wallace and Bruce will disappear. So long as Baliol continued to be King of Scotland, even in name, there could be no union of action between them. But so soon as the throne became vacant, by the resignation of Baliol, the partition-wall was broken down, and we have every reason to believe, as the Minstrel tells us, that Wallace, when betrayed, was busily engaged in promoting the views of Bruce.

Very improper comparisons have been drawn between these two heroes—the greatest that Scotland ever produced. But the contrast is absurd. They cannot be judged from the same point of view. Their positions in life from the very outstart were radically different. And those who condemn Bruce must recollect that he was born to a large inheritance—with a hereditary claim to the crown, rendered sacred by his earliest associations. His grandfather and father had both preferred that claim, and they believed it to be just. To have joined Wallace would have been to fight against his own manifest interest, as well as his paternal feelings, and all the household traditions of his family. No wonder, therefore, that his conduct seems wavering down to the period that he slew the “faus Cumyn”* in the Greyfriars’ Church

* It is presumed that Cumyn never had been sincere in his arrangement with Bruce. But whether this was the case, or that he had repented of his bargain, it is said he sent the band to Edward, advising the capture of Bruce as the only means of preventing the outbreak in Scotland. The “faus Cumyn” was

of Dumfries, and unfurled his banner, as King of Scotland, and for national independence. Wallace had no family interest of this kind, and hardly any inheritance save his good broadsword. But to his immortal honour, he despised all personal aggrandisement, and had no ambition save to work out his country's independence. As the purest embodiment ever conceived of patriotism—as the most incorruptible and unflinching champion of a nation's rights—he must always take precedence of Bruce. At the same time Scotland may be proud that there was within her bounds a man capable of assuming the mantle of the great patriot, and of gloriously completing the task he had begun. The names of Wallace and Bruce, though they hold different ranks, Red John, the son of Red John Cumming, one of the most powerful of the barons of Scotland. He was Lord of Badenoch, Lochaber, and several other extensive districts—upwards of sixty knights were bound to follow his banner. He was married, according to the Minstrel, to Joan, sister of Aymer de Valence, cousin to Edward I. He was one of the competitors for the crown, and probably felt disappointed with the decision of Edward, which threw him into the ranks of Wallace for a time. Hailes, as usual, defends his character in the case of Bruce, but no argument can ever efface the impression which his conduct has left on the national mind. Both in the Highlands and Lowlands the name became synonymous with duplicity. The Gaelic proverb is that “while there are trees in a wood, there will be deceit in a Cumyn.” The defence of the Red Cumyn by Hailes is plausible, but no more. The very reason of his requesting an interview with Bruce in a church might be that he dreaded a quarrel. Cumyn, however, might not fear any such issue to the conference, because he was not aware that Bruce knew of his treachery, although he had been guilty.

should never be disassociated, and never contrasted. Had there not been a Wallace, it is questionable if ever there would have been a Bruce—yet it is but fair to judge of them by their deeds, and both are great.

Wallace showed what the Scots were capable of accomplishing in the field, if united, and under proper leaders. He, in short, taught them how to fight. With all his unexampled daring, and amidst his most brilliant achievements, you find him exercising the utmost caution and foresight. If his followers were a mere handful in comparison with the enemy, he contrived to make up for the deficiency by the ingenuity of his mode of defence or attack. He left nothing to chance which strategy could insure. His rude construction of strengths in the woods of the north, when assailed by overwhelming numbers, showed the fertility and readiness of his genius. Nor was his skill—as witness Stirling Bridge—in actions upon a large scale, less conspicuous. It is the possession of these well-known qualities of good generalship that distinguished Wallace above all his competitors—not less than his personal prowess—which renders the hazarding of a battle at Falkirk, under the circumstances, altogether out of the question, if he had been the acknowledged chief in command. He would never have perilled the hopes of his country in a battle upon a plain field with such a numerous and well-equipped army, especially when, by retiring into the Torwood, and manœuvring for a

few days, he knew that the enemy must of necessity fall back for want of supplies, and become an easy prey. His wit and coolness never forsook him in the most trying emergencies, and it is not to be supposed that he experienced any shortcoming on this occasion. If we look at the career of Bruce, we find him acting on the precise model of Wallace. When wandering, at the head of a few followers, in Carrick and Galloway, he is discovered adopting nearly the same contrivances to save his men, while they were enabled to cut down their opponents. Like Wallace, he left as little as possible to chance. At Bannockburn he did not forget to strengthen his position by an artifice which Wallace had previously followed at Stirling ford. It was to the want of judgment and caution—in more recent times—notwithstanding the practical examples of these great men—that such defeats as Pinkie and Dunbar befell our arms. Without foresight, caution, ready and sound judgment, there can be no great warrior. Wellington had all these, and his career was a steady course of victory. Sir Colin Campbell in India—notwithstanding the absurd remarks of a “Disabled Officer” in the *Times*—may be said to have gained all his victories by a Wallace and Bruce-like exercise of the qualities in question.

It has been remarked by a certain class of political philosophers, that the patriotism and struggles of Wallace and Bruce were of little real value, and that Scotland might as well have been united to

England then as now. It is perhaps needless to combat an argument which so obviously points to a very bad species of fatalism, and questions the utility of exertion under any circumstances—since we know not what is in the future. To keep possession of what belongs to us is one of the first laws of nature, and no one will allow himself to be robbed if he is strong enough to put down his assailant. In this sense, Wallace and Bruce did a noble thing—they beat off the national plunderer, who would have robbed us of our liberty, and imposed unheard-of burdens. No doubt, ages of war and much suffering were endured while in an independent state; but these struggles between England and Scotland taught them respect for each other, and to value the peace and advantages which a tardy union has brought. The noble stand for independence by Wallace and Bruce cannot be overestimated in a national sense—in the formation even of the national character. Its influence is felt wherever the lot of Scotsmen may be cast—whether as civilians or soldiers. The stern resistance of these men read a salutary lesson to England—and it speaks to her still in our demand for full and equal justice as an integral portion of the British dominions. The greatness to which Britain has attained since the union of the two countries could not have been realised had they remained separate. The necessity of maintaining this union is therefore apparent; but that necessity, and the respect which it involves to-

wards Scotland as a people, would never have been felt or acknowledged but for the battle-fields of Stirling Bridge and Bannockburn! In the case of the Guardian's own family—we mean of the Craigie-Wallace family, from which he sprang—his magnanimous and honourable career made an enduring impression. It was their boast and pride that, from the days of the hero downwards, till the property passed from their hands at the close of last century—the name of a Wallace was never to be found associated with disloyalty. During the Reformation, when faction was the order of the day, and the English party became strong under the wing of the new faith, the Wallaces stood firm by the national cause; and almost to the last hour they fought in the ranks of the Cavaliers—in what they deemed the interest of Scotland as well as of the Stewarts. In this way the family suffered much by the dissipation of their estates—and at this present moment it is questionable if a single acre of land in Ayrshire remains in the hands of a Wallace. Such is the mutation of time.

In viewing the character of Wallace there is every reason to believe that he was animated by a deep sense of the responsibility of his position in a moral point of view. It was common amongst his contemporaries to vow allegiance and break it without remorse, because it was compulsory. But it has never been mooted that his pledged word was disregarded on any occasion. He even appears to have

been devout—according to the religious notions of the times. The anecdote preserved by Hemingford, of his hearing mass amid the riot and plundering of his somewhat unlicensed army, and his care for the priesthood is a proof of this, and furnishes an unanswerable contradiction to the accusation of some of the English chroniclers, that he exercised great cruelty in expelling the English ecclesiastics from Scotland. The Minstrel speaks warmly of the natural goodness of his disposition, and if what he relates regarding the Psalter-book in his last moments is true—and we see no reason to doubt it—he must have possessed a well-regulated and highly devotional mind.

We perhaps cannot better conclude this very inadequate eulogium of Scotland's hero than in the words of Andro Hart, the well-known printer, in his preface to the edition of Blind Harry, which he printed in 1620:—"This was the end of this most worthy man's life, who, for high spirit in enterprising dangers, for fortitude in execution, comparable indeed to the most famous chieftains amongst the ancients, for love to his native countrey second to none, he onely free, the rest slaves, could neither bee bought with benefites, nor compelled by force to leave the publike cause which he had once profest, whose death appeared more to be lamented, that being invincible, to his enemy he was betrayed by his familiar, that in no case should have done so."

GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF
CRAIGIE-WALLACE.

[From an MS. in the Niddrie Charter Chest, dated in 1719.]

Sir Thomas Wallace of Craigy, Baronet, who now represents the family of Craigy-Wallace, succeeded to Sir William Wallace, Baronet, his brother-german, who left no male issue. They were both procreated betwixt Sir Thomas Wallace of Craigie, Baronet, and Dam Euphan Gemmill, daughter to William Gemmill of Templeland and Garrive. This William's predecessors left England upon account of a quarrall, and settled in Scotland, where they purchased the lands above mentioned, which the said Dame Euphan, being only child and heiress to her father, brought into the family of Craigie, where they still continue.

Sir William had the honour to command a regiment of cavalerie under King James the Seventh, and when that Prince retired into France, Sir William followed him, and constantly adhered to his service as long as he lived, whereby his estate suffered not a little.

Sir Thomas Wallace, Barronet, their father, was procreated betwixt William Wallace of Haillfoord, cousine and nearest heir male to the Laird of Craigie, and Agnes Boyd, daughter to Sir Thomas Boyd of Bonshaw, uncle to the Lord Boyd, afterwards Earle of Kilmarnock. He succeeded in the 1660 as nearest heir male to Sir Hugh Wallace of Craigie, Barronett, who had only one Son, who was fatuus, and died without issue. Sir Thomas followed the study of the Laws, and for some years as a Councill at Law practised in the Chief Courts of Judicature, within the Kingdom of Scotland. He was then advanced to be a Senator

of the Colledge of Justice, which is the Supream Court for civil affairs. Shortly thereafter he was made Lord Justice-Clerk, who is ane Officer of State by his employment, and first Judge in all criminall causses, which post he enjoyed as long as he lived.

Sir Hugh Wallace, Barronet, was procreat betwixt John Wallace of Craigie and Lady Margaret Maxwell, daughter to the Earle of Nithsdale. He was ane constant adherer to the King's intrest durezza the long rebellion in King Charles the First and King Charles the Second's time, and raised a regiment of foot for their service, upon his own expences, for which the rebels sequestrate his estate, and continued in possession thereof till King Charles the Second's restoration. All this brought him under a vast burden of debt, and forced him to sell a considerable part of his estate (which was then in a very flourishing condition) but never had any recompense therefore. He had only one son, who was fatuus, and therefore was succeeded by Sir Thomas Wallace, son to the Laird of Haill, who was his grand-nephew, as has been said.

John Wallace of Craigie was son to another John, begotten upon Dame Margaret Campbell, daughter to the Lord Lowdon. He had four brothers, William, Mr Thomas, James, and Robert.

This John was son to another John Wallace of Craigie, begotten by him upon Lady Margaret Cunnynghame, daughter to the Earle of Glencairn. He had four brothers, William, Robert, Michael, and Allan. This last was a merchant in the Low Countrys, where he made a considerable figure, and left issue, which still subsist there. He had also one daughter, called Annabella, who was married to Sir William Hamiltoun of Sorn.

John Wallace was son to William Wallace of Craigie, procreat betwixt him and Margaret Kennedy, daughter to the Laird of Bargany. He had only one sister, who was married to Allan Lord Cathcart. The said Margaret Kennedy, his mother, was thereafter married to Gilbert, Earle of Cassilis, by whom she had two sons, vizt., Gilbert the Earle, and Sir Thomas, Tutor of Cassilis, of whom is descended the family of Culzean, and three daughters, the eldest whereof was married to the Earle of Orkney, the second, to the Lord Gray, and the youngest, to the Laird of Barnbarrow.

William Wallace was son to John Wallace of Craigie, begotten by him upon Dame Issabell Campbell, daughter to the Lord Lowdon. He had by her four sons, John, Robert, Thomas, and Mr Michael.

John Wallace of Craigie was son to John Wallace, stiled the good Laird, begotten by him upon Margaret Rutherford, daughter of the Lord Rutherford. He had three brothers, Alexander, who went to the north of England and married the heretrix of Bemlie, which is a considerable family to this day, lineally descended from him. The second, called Robert, was a Collonell in Germany, and killed, without leaving any issue. The third was Mr Thomas, a Master of Arts, and one of the Professors of the University of St Andrews. He married a citizen's daughter there, upon whome he begatt ane only son, called Thomas, who in his younger years was page to King James the Fifth, and thereafter servant to Queen Mary, and in great respect with her. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Langside, but made his escape to the Low Countrys, and died at Antwerp. The said John had also two daughters, the eldest was Lady Waughtoun, and the other Lady Clunie Crichton.

John Wallace, stiled the good Laird, was son to William Wallace, begotten by him upon Dame Katrine Douglas, daughter to the Earle of Angus. He had nether brother nor sister.

William Wallace was son to another John Wallace. He was married to Margaret Johnstoun, daughter to the Laird of Johnstoun, now Earle of Hartfield and Annandale.

John Wallace of Craigie was Lievtonnant Generall to King James the Second, and fought the Battle of Sark or Galloway, against the English in anno 1447, wherein he was victorious, and with his own hand killed Magnus, the English Generall. He was wounded in the field, whereof he died at Craigie about three moneths after the battle. The standart which he carryed at the fight, and the signet ring which he wore upon his hand are ever since keep't in the family, as monuments of him. He married Dame Elizabeth Cathcart, daughter to Allan, Lord Cathcart, by whome he had three sons, John, the eldest, the second, Adam, who was Laird of Cairnhill, which is still a considerable family, the third, Hugh, who married the heretrix of Elderslie, that

estate being at that time fallen in to the family for want of heirs male.

This John Wallace was son to Adam Wallace of Craigie, precreat betwixt him and Douglas, daughter to the Lord Dalkeith, now Earle of Mortoun. He had neither brother nor sister.

Adam Wallace of Craigie was son to John Wallace of Craigy, begotten by him upon Dame Margaret Lindsay, daughter to Sir Jacques Lindsay of Craigie, of which she was heretrix. Adam had two brothers, William, who gott the lands of Burnbank, which is a family lineally descended from him, and still subsists. The other, called Robert, died in France without issue.

John Wallace, who married the heretrix of Craigie, was eldest son to Adam Wallace of Riccartoun, which was the ancient title and family of the name of Wallace. Their arms were alwayes a White Lyon Rampant in a blew field, till they married the heiress of Craigie Lindsay, whose arms was a Chequer, and then it was agreed betwixt the two familys that the Laird should retain the name of Wallace, but should quite the style of Riccartoun, and be designed Laird of Craigie, and for his arms should have a quartered shield, made up of two Lyons and two Chequers.

Adam Wallace of Riccartoun was eldest son to Sir Richard Wallace of Riccartoun, begotten upon Bruce, daughter to the Earle of Carrick. He had only one brother, called Sir Duncan Wallace of Sundrum, who had a great estate, which was divided amongst his three daughters, whereof the eldest was married to the Lord Cathcart, who, by that marriage gott the Lands of Sundrum, Auchin-Crove, Dalmelin, and many others.

Sir Richard was son to Adam Wallace of Riccartoun. He had only one brother, Malcolm, who gott the five pound land of Ellerslie in portion natural, holding by ward and releife of the family of Riccartoun, and afterwards it held in the same manner of Craigie, after the two familys were joyned in one.

This Malcolm married Joan Crawford, daughter to Sir Ronald Crawford of Corsbie, Sheriff of Ayr, upon whome he begat the famous and valient Champion, SIR WILLIAM WALLACE of Elerslie, whose memorie is eternized for valour and loyallity. He

fought many battles against the English, (who did then tyrannize Scotland,) when nobody was to appear for either King or countrey, and after performing many stupendious and almost incredible feats of arms, he three several times forced the English to abandon Scotland, and thereby rescued it out of the hands of these oppressours, and restored it to its pristine liberty.

Beyond Adam Wallace of Riccartoun there is little of certainty clearly instructed only by fragments of writes and seals, and the rank which it has always born in the country. It is reputed to be amongst the ancientest familys contained in one name within the kingdome of Scotland.

It has severall considerable familys descended from it, such as Elerslie, Cairnhill, Shewaltoun, Johnstoun, Failfoord, Burnbank, Barnwell, Holme, Brighouse, Holengtoun, Galrigs, Camsesskan, Holmstoun, Ferguslie. There are likewayes severall other familys, both in the north and south of Scotland, and north of England, of the name of Wallace, and many familys of other names are vassals to the said family.

As this family is remarkable for antiquity, so is it likewayes for piety and loyalty, in so much that there never could be one act of disloyallity obruded against the family since its beginning.

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[Faint, illegible handwriting and markings on aged paper]

DA Paterson, James, 1805-1876
783 Wallace, the hero of
.3 Scotland.
P28 W.P. Nimmo (1877)

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