

CALENDAR OF DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO

SCOTLAND.

1272-1307.

CALENDAR OF DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO

SCOTLAND

PRESERVED IN

HER MAJESTY'S PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON.

EDITED BY

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INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS, the second volume of the *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, preserved among the Public Records of England, embraces the entire reign of Edward I.,—a period full of events of great importance in the history of the two countries,—beginning with the last years of the peaceful and beneficent reign of Alexander III., and ending while the two nations were engaged, one for conquest and the other for independence, in the arduous struggle which, after many vicissitudes, was to end in firmly seating Robert Bruce on the vacant throne of his ancestors.

The reign of Edward I., so far as it relates to Scotland, may be divided into six periods—the last thirteen years of the reign of Alexander III., five of the nominal reign of Margaret of Norway, the two years' Interregnum during the Competition for the Crown, John Balliol's disastrous four years' reign, the second Interregnum of ten years, and lastly, the short period from the coronation of Robert Bruce till the death of Edward I.

Beginning then with Alexander III., we shall find that the documents calendared fully bear out the character assigned to him by Lord Hailes :—‘ His conduct towards the neighbouring kingdom was uniformly candid and wise. He maintained that amity with England which interest as well as relation to its sovereigns required ; yet he never submitted to any concessions

1272-75. 'which might injure the independency of the kingdom and
 Edward I. 'Church of Scotland.'
 (Alex. III.)

The first document¹ is a remonstrance by him as to encroachments on his rights in his Cumberland manors, addressed to Eleanor Queen of Henry III., who is called 'the late,' some rumour of his death having doubtless reached Scotland, though that event did not occur till 16th November, nearly seven months after the date of the letter, 22nd April 1272. As will be noticed from many other documents,² the privileges of the Kings of Scotland in these and their Tynedale possessions were grudgingly admitted, and closely watched by their brother sovereigns. On 27th August 1274, Edward I. issued a writ³ commanding 175*l.* to be paid to his royal brother-in-law from the issues of Durham, for the stated expenses of 100*s.* daily, allowed of old to the Scottish kings coming to the English Court; in this instance the cost of his attending the coronation at Westminster. Soon after, in Michaelmas Term⁴ the same year, Edward ordered the Barons of Exchequer to ascertain what balance was due to Alexander of his consort Queen Margaret's dower of 5000*l.*, that it might be settled. There is nothing to show, however, that it was ever paid.⁵ After above twenty-four years of married life, Queen Margaret died at the comparatively early age of thirty-five on 26th February 1274-75.⁶ Her grace and beauty are still the subjects of Scottish tradition. Only three weeks before her death she had obtained from her brother a special favour for Elizabeth de Quincy Countess of Buchan, who was in an interesting situation, releasing her from personal attendance before him to receive her share of her father's heritage.⁷ This loss made no change in the friendly relations between the brothers-in-law. Alexander continued to maintain his own public rights, as well as those of his subjects. He was in the custom of making journeys through his kingdom to see that justice was administered; and thus we find him, from

¹ No. 1.

² Nos. 17, 44, 133, 146, 147, &c.

³ No. 19.

⁴ No. 25.

⁵ The dower was originally in marks, not

pounds, and the balance due two years before the death of Henry III., was 2000 marks. (Vol. i., Nos. 1848, 2580.)

⁶ Fordun, ed. Skene, i. 305.

⁷ No. 40.

Elgin, on 15th August 1275,¹ urging the release of a vessel and her crew, belonging to Alexander of Argyll, arrested at Bristol on suspicion of piracy; from Stirling, on 24th October thereafter, informing Edward I., in answer to the latter's complaint regarding pirates,² that they would be judged according to Scottish laws; from Roxburgh, on 14th November after,³ asking the English King's favour in the business of Alexander the Steward,—whose case (rather a complicated one) is stated by himself to Edward I. in singular terms,⁴ ending with a familiar proverb; and lastly, from Brechin, 29th December,⁵ as to an aid demanded by Edward within Tynedale, on which the Scottish King says he must advise with his magnates. A document without date, evidently of the same year,⁶ sums up his demands, with Edward's replies. His mother, Mary de Coucy the Queen Dowager, appears about this time, on one occasion on pilgrimage to Canterbury (24th February 1275–76);⁷ at another, crossing seas⁸ (26th December 1276). The next year or two saw much correspondence between the Sovereigns on the subject of Scottish encroachments on the March between their kingdoms at Tweedmouth near Berwick,⁹ of which the Bishop of Durham had complained as an infringement on his liberty of Norhamschyre. Lord Hailes remarks¹⁰ that the subject of these solemn negotiations was probably nothing more than a salmon fishery. It may, however, have been some matter of greater moment. Berwick-on-Tweed was then a place of great commerce. The *Chronicle of Lanercost*¹¹ calls it a second Alexandria; its merchants and their extensive transactions appear often in the present Calendar; and few who see it now can realise what it must have been in the time of Alexander III., when many of the greatest ecclesiastics and nobles of Scotland had houses within its walls.

The question of the homage to be rendered by the King of Scotland for the lands and tenements which he held in England forms the next subject of discussion between him and Edward, and after preliminary protests and safe conducts had been

¹ No. 55.⁵ No. 62.⁹ No. 82, 90, 93, 94, 95, 104, 111.² No. 59.⁶ No. 63.¹⁰ *Annals*, 1277.³ No. 60.⁷ No. 67.¹¹ P. 135.]⁴ No. 61.⁸ No. 84.

1275–77.

Edward I.
(Alex. III.)

1278-79. adjusted, the precise terms of which do not very clearly appear,¹
 Edward I. the King of Scotland rendered homage, in respect of these lands,
 (Alex. III.) at Westminster on 29th September 1278, one of his greatest
 nobles, Robert Bruce Earl of Carrick, son of the future Com-
 petitor, swearing fealty on his behalf.² An instrument on the
 Patent Rolls, dated on 17th of October, declaring that the King
 of Scotland offered homage at Tewkesbury the day before, but
 as Edward had not his Council, he deferred it to London, is
 somewhat inexplicable. The date is undoubted, as the original
 is extant as well as the enrolment.³

The Assize Roll of Alexander's justices errant in Tynedale in
 1279,⁴ commonly called the 'Iter of Werk,' is a unique example
 of such a document under the reign of a Scottish king. From
 the references to earlier rolls of Tynedale in the title deeds of
 the ancient family of Swinburne of Capheaton,⁵ there must have
 been others; but all have disappeared with those of Scotland
 proper. Its chief value is perhaps genealogical, but it also affords
 evidence of the close similarity of the laws of the two countries
 at that date.

An inquisition, unfortunately much dilapidated,⁶ reveals a
 glimpse of the singular law of combat on the Marches called
 'Handwarcelle,' whereby the ownership of stolen goods (in this
 instance a mare) was decided, it does not appear whether by the
 principals alone or champions in their behalf.

Cognate to this March question is the singular privilege
 noticed in the inquisition on the death of Baldwin Wake, baron
 of Lydel,⁷ whereby the men of Roceland and Salom in Scotland
 had free pasture and right of fowling in the fields of Arthuret in
 Cumberland; a relic possibly of the days when Cumbria and
 Strathclyde were under one ruler.

During the period we have been traversing, we see little of
 the royal children of Scotland. A few of their letters to Edward I.,
 however, are still extant. In the first of these,⁸ Prince Alexander,

¹ Nos. 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125,
 126.

² No. 127.

³ No. 128.

⁴ No. 168.

⁵ Hodgson's *History of Northumberland*
 part iii, vol. i. pp. 10-18.

⁶ No. 183.

⁷ No. 208.

⁸ No. 156.

a boy of sixteen, writes (29th March 1279) in very affectionate terms to his 'most hearty uncle,' asking his favour for Sir Ingram de Umfraville. In another,¹ perhaps a year or two later, he writes expressing equal interest in his uncle's family. In both of these letters he says that, having no seal of his own, he uses that of his guardian, Sir William de St Clair. He appears to have successfully interceded about this time for Nicholas de Veteripont of Tynedale.² The next event in his life was his marriage to the daughter of Guy Count of Flanders, who had a safe conduct for her passage through England on 11th August 1282,³ the marriage taking place doubtless soon after. The Prince is said to have died at Cupar in Fife, on 28th January 1283-84,⁴ shortly after which date the Count sent a suitable escort to conduct his widowed daughter back to her own country.⁵

Only one letter of his sister, Margaret Queen of Norway, appears.⁶ She writes to her uncle in most affectionate terms, and, like her brother having no seal, uses that of her 'chamberere,' Dame Lucy de Hessewelle. She married, a year earlier than her brother, Eric King of Norway;⁷ and though only in her twenty-first year, her husband was seven years her junior.⁸ She preceded her brother to the grave,⁹ leaving an only child Margaret, who, on 5th February, immediately after her uncle's death, was acknowledged by the magnates as heiress of Scotland, in default of issue of her grandfather or his son.¹⁰

Even at this long interval of time, few will read the letter written by the bereaved King to Edward I., on 20th April 1284,¹¹ with its expressions of his overwhelming sorrow and grateful thanks for his brother-in-law's sympathy, without a touch of human feeling. Though in early middle age, having been born in 1241, he had lost wife and children, and being the only son of an only son was without a near male relative to succeed him.

¹ No. 204.

² Nos. 205, 217.]

³ Nos. 220, 221.

⁴ The day of his birth, according to the *Chronicle of Lanercost*, p. 111.

⁵ No. 247.

⁶ No. 185.

⁷ No. 197.

⁸ Hailes' *Annals*.

⁹ Fordun, ed. Skene, i. 307, *The Chron. Lanercost*, p. 111, says she died thirty days after him, in February.

¹⁰ No. 248.

¹¹ No. 250.

1279-84.

Edward I.
(Alex. III.)

1284-86. He reminds Edward that the heiress apparent of Scotland was an infant girl, and seems to bespeak her granduncle's protection for her if needful.

Edward I.
(Alex. III.)

The Scottish King, with prudent foresight, married again, his second consort being Joleta daughter of Robert (IV.) Count of Dreux, the head of a princely house, whose ancestor was Robert called 'the Great,' third son of Louis le Gros King of France.

On 19th August 1285,¹ a safe conduct issues from the English Chancery for herself and her brother John, to go through England to Scotland, and (ominously as it proved) to return within a year.

Long before that year was out the marriage was dissolved² by Alexander's melancholy death on the cliffs between Burnt-island and Kinghorn in Fifeshire, where he was thrown from his horse over a precipice (still called the King's Craig) and killed on the spot, on 19th March 1285-86.

With him expired the direct line of the Scoto-Pictish kings, traceable (with one break, the daughter of Malcolm II.) in the male line from Kenneth MacAlpine in the ninth century.³ More than this, the kingdom, which had attained under the wise reigns of his father and himself a high degree of prosperity, was ere long to experience the disastrous effects of civil disorders, retarding its progress for generations.

It will be proper, before going farther, to take notice of the evidences of trade during his reign, for we shall find that these are few and far between during the turmoil of the War of Independence. On 10th November 1273, three merchants of Aberdeen who had freighted a vessel from that port to St Omer with wool, timber, and hides, and had been plundered by Englishmen off Yarmouth and the Kentish Coast,

¹ No. 273.

² Queen Joleta re-married Arthur (II.) Duke of Brittany, by whom she had six children. In a Chronicle cited by Lobineau, *Hist. de Bretagne* (vol. ii., 362), a daughter, Biancha, is recorded as born to the Duke and his wife Yollandis, 'formerly Queen of Scotland,' in 1300. Joleta or Yolanda brought the county

of Montfort into the house of Brittany, and John de Montfort, Duke of Brittany, was her eldest son. *L'Art de Verifier les Dates* (tom. 11, p. 467; tom. 13, p. 217). There is a curious account of her proceedings after Alexander III.'s death, in the *Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 117.

³ Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i.

were ordered to have restitution.¹ They had not been satisfied, however, by 28th August 1274, when the constable of the Cinque Ports is ordered to see to it instantly.² A trader of the Lord of Argyll, touching at Bristol and arrested on suspicion of piracy, was released in 1275, through the intervention of the Scottish King.³ Philip de Ridale, a great Berwick merchant, and another, whose vessel, bound for Dieppe with wool, &c., had been plundered by a pretended salvor off the coast of Lindseye, were ordered redress on 11th May 1276.⁴ In August of the same year we find a landowner of the latter district, sending to buy horses at Stirling fair.⁵ In 1278-79, a London trader to Scotland has a protection for a year.⁶

1274-86.
Edward I.
(Alex. III.)

The extensive intercourse between Scotland and the port of Bordeaux is shewn by a long process, which must have begun some years before Alexander's death, not ending till the reign of John Balliol, whereby a Gascon merchant, John Mazun (or Massun), claimed a large sum⁷ for wines, &c., supplied to the Court of Scotland, and asserted that, besides delaying payment till his credit at home was destroyed, the Scots cheated and imprisoned him. The affair involved the two Kings in correspondence in 1284,⁸ besides petitions from the mayor of Bordeaux,⁹ and the creditor,¹⁰ then in a Scottish prison. He seems to have threatened to annoy Scotsmen in his own country, for, on 27th March 1286, he gives security to abstain from so doing,¹¹ and has a safe conduct to go with an official to Scotland to recover.¹² In 1288 the executors of Alexander III. complained that he was arresting Scotsmen's goods in England for his debt.¹³ Lengthy proceedings, apparently with no result, took place before commissioners who sat at Carham on the March, in February 1288-89.¹⁴ His case slept during the Interregnum, but, on

¹ Nos. 9, 10.

² No. 20.

³ Nos. 55, 63.

⁴ No 74.

⁵ No. 79.

⁶ No. 151.

⁷ The sum claimed was 2197l. 8s. *Federa*,
i., 787 (Record edition).

⁸ No. 252.

⁹ No. 255.

¹⁰ No. 264.

¹¹ No. 295.

¹² Nos. 297, 299.

¹³ Nos. 353, 360.

¹⁴ No. 359.

1285-94. John Balliol's accession it was made a handle for one of Edward I. Edward's imperious mandates to his vassal King, who was (Alex. III., Margaret, John Balliol.) summoned on 2nd April 1294,¹ to appear and answer at Westminster to the Gascon's demand. The executors of the late King explained² how the final payment would have been made but for the creditor's own conduct, and with this the affair disappears from record.

In a very curious letter without date,³ in old Castilian, a Spanish shipmaster relates to the Scottish King the misfortunes of his vessel, driven far out of her course on the Western Islands, and the treacherous conduct of an island chief, who may perhaps be identified with 'Alan MacRotheryk,' whose son appears on the Ragman Roll. The particulars of the cargo, given in Norman French, are interesting.⁴

We may now pass lightly over the next three periods—the reign of Margaret of Norway, the Interregnum during the Competition, and the reign of John Balliol.⁵

From the grave of their lamented Sovereign at Dunfermline, the magnates of Scotland who had assisted at his obsequies, headed by the Bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, addressed the King of England on the 29th March 1286,⁶ consulting him as the nearest in blood to their infant Queen.

¹ Nos. 685, 686.

² Nos. 687, 688.

³ No. 288.

⁴ No. 289.

⁵ These have been fully illustrated in several important works, official and non-official, viz :—Hailes' *Annals of Scotland*, Rymer's *Fœdera*, Sir Francis Palgrave's *Documents and Records relating to Scotland* (1837), and the Rev. Joseph Stevenson's *Documents illustrative of the History of Scotland* (1286-1306), published in 1870. The documents printed in these works, being given at length and in the original, are merely noted briefly in this volume for the sake of continuity. Here the editor must express his obligations to the valuable work of Mr Stevenson. From the nature of the book, however, which, as its title bears, consists of 'Selections,' taken not only

from the public records, but from other sources, while the present work embraces all documents in the former repository connected with Scotland, it necessarily follows, that occasionally Mr Stevenson's labours are supplemented by additional notices. It is also to be borne in mind, that when that gentleman, and Sir Francis Palgrave before him, perused the originals, these were in a very different state of repair from their present condition. Under the careful management of nearly two generations of able public officials, these documents have been repaired and mounted, rendering it sometimes possible to make out words and dates which baffled these learned persons. Some however have become illegible by their gradual decay since they were printed by Sir F. Palgrave.

⁶ No. 292.

Six Guardians were shortly after (11th April) appointed by the convention at Scone, in name of the infant, including these two bishops,¹ and under their government the affairs of the kingdom were conducted on the whole much as during the late reign. The King of England, naturally enough, was desirous to embrace the opportunity of uniting the two realms by the marriage of his son and grand-niece, and with this object many negotiations took place between his envoys and those of Norway and Scotland during the year 1289,² ending with the important Treaty of Salisbury on 6th November,³ and the Papal bull of Nicholas IV. permitting the intended marriage.⁴ He had procured an earlier bull from the late Pope, Honorius IV. (on 27th May 1286),⁵ granting a general dispensation for all his children to marry within the forbidden degrees. To smooth proceedings, he had also lent the King of Norway 2000 marks in 1286,⁶ and his energetic envoy, the Bishop of Durham (probably not long after that date) granted the considerable sum of 400*l.* in annuities to Norwegians of rank, till the Queen attained the age of 15.⁷ He wrote urgently to Eric⁸ on 17th April 1290, to hasten the arrival of his daughter in England, a request which had been already made to Eric by the Guardians on 17th March.⁹ On that day they had signified their consent to the marriage under their common seal,¹⁰ Edward having bound himself to them in a penalty of 3000 marks, unless their Queen arrived by All Saints' day.¹¹ The important marriage treaty at Brigham on the Tweed next followed, between the English Ambassadors and the magnates and community of Scotland, duly ratified by Edward at Northampton on 28th August 1290.¹² The principal personages had appointed procurators,¹³ the King of England had with paternal interest despatched a great vessel from Yarmouth, victualled with delicacies in the spirit of the age,¹⁴ to bring the young Queen to her realm; and all things seemed to point to a

1286-90.
Edward I.
(Margaret of
Norway.)

¹ Fordun, ed. Skene, i. 310, 319.

² Nos. 382, 383, 386, 387, 388, 389, 391.

³ No. 390.

⁴ No. 392.

⁵ No. 298.

⁶ No. 293.

⁷ No. 445.

⁸ No. 423.

⁹ No. 417.

¹⁰ No. 416.

¹¹ No. 428.

¹² No. 450.

¹³ No. 448, 449.

¹⁴ No. 464.

1290.

Edward I.
(Margaret of
Norway.)

happy issue of his anxious negotiations at the Court of Rome and elsewhere, attended as they had been with heavy expenses.¹

In this fair prospect of a happy alliance between the two nations, while messengers were hurrying through the land with accounts of the arrival of the young Queen and her father in Orkney,² and the magnates of Scotland were assembled at Perth to deliberate upon the negotiations which were in progress with the King of England, and to make arrangements for receiving 'the child of so many hopes,'³ a doleful rumour spread through the land that she had died before touching the shores of her kingdom. On 7th October 1290, the Bishop of St Andrews reported it to Edward I., and urged him to take steps to prevent disorders.⁴ The Bishop mentioned that at the instigation of certain persons,⁵ the Lord of Annandale had unexpectedly come with a formidable retinue to Perth.

In the Competition for the Crown, to which we now direct our attention, Rymer's *Fædera* and Sir Francis Palgrave supply the bulk of the documentary evidence, printed at great length. The *Fædera* embodies the entire proceedings from the time when Edward I. met the clergy and nobles of Scotland at Norham in May 1291, to his final decision in November 1292, adjudging the Crown to Balliol. This famous document, known as the *Great Roll of Scotland*, was drawn up by Master John de Cadamo (or of Caen), an apostolic notary, in a narrative form, embodying the successive instruments, which were written from day to day, as the business proceeded, by another official, Master Andrew de Tang, clerk of the Diocese of York. As these last sometimes give expressions and facts differing from the *Great Roll*, the narrative in this Calendar has been taken from them, with great brevity of course, and the differences pointed out.

¹ Nos. 463, 464.

² Nos. 456, 457, 463, 464.

³ *Fædera*, i. 741.

⁴ No. 459. From a very interesting paper in the *Proceedings of the Scottish Antiquaries*, vol. x. p. 403, by Joseph Anderson, LL.D., we learn that the Princess died (but was not buried) in Orkney—that Bishop Narve of

Bergen, in whose arms she died, brought her body back to Norway, and the King her father, after satisfying himself that it was his daughter's corpse, caused her to be buried beside her mother on the north side of the choir of Bergen cathedral.

⁵ Lord Hailes conjectures that the Bishop of Glasgow is here pointed at.

Sir Francis Palgrave has given, with one or two exceptions, the responses by twenty-two of the religious houses to Edward's commands on them to furnish evidence touching the two kingdoms;¹ as also the pleadings of the Competitors.² These also have been stated here with the utmost succinctness. In Mr Stevenson's volumes we have the instruments connected with the administration of the kingdom of Scotland by the four surviving Guardians, the Bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, the elder Comyn, and James the Steward—to whom Edward had added a fifth, Brian fitz Alan of Bedale—all deriving their powers *ex terminis* from him in his assumed capacity of overlord.³

1291
Edward I.
(Interreg-
num.)

The extracts from the Chronicles were read at the first meeting on 10th May.⁴ They contain a curious mixture of historical facts and monkish legends. One, that of Chester,⁵ is not in Palgrave, and has an interesting account of the circumstances attending the death of St Margaret Queen of Malcolm Canmore. That following it, of Faversham,⁶ gives some particulars which, from the state of the document, escaped the acute eye of Palgrave—Arthur's victories at Duglas water over Colgrim and the Saxons and Scots, and the Scots and Picts besieging his sick nephew Hoel in the city of Alcluyd, when they fled to the isles of Lennox—and over Gilla . . . nurias, an Irish king, and his barbarians. That of Carlisle⁷ seems most strictly historical of all. The undated preliminary appeal to King Edward by the seven Earls of Scotland,⁸ will be remarked as being distinctly written in the interest of the Lord of Annandale, from whom, in Palgrave's opinion, the very subservient letter to the King⁹ probably emanated. Balliol has been singled out by common fame as more obsequious than the others, which pliancy is said to have gained him the Crown. But those who read the various instruments¹⁰ will probably be of opinion that all were alike prepared

¹ No. 478.

² Nos. 512, 513, 514, 515, 607, 608, 609.

³ Nos. 496, 499.

⁴ No. 475.

⁵ P. 113.

⁶ P. 114.

⁷ P. 116.

⁸ No. 465.

⁹ No. 481.

¹⁰ Nos. 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 488, 489, 492, 497.

1291. to accept Edward's decision, and receive the Crown at his hands.
 Edward I.
 (Interregnum.)

Besides the homages made to Edward as overlord on Holywell Haugh, on 13th June 1291,¹ by the Guardians and twenty-seven other Earls and Barons of Scotland, it was ordered by the Guardians that the same submission should be made by all, clerical and lay, who would have been bound to make it to a living King of Scotland.² This was done, apparently to a limited extent, for in the existing document,³ there are little more than two hundred names, made up of three bishops (Dunblane, Aberdeen, and Ross), twelve abbots and priors, the heads of the two military orders, three prioresses, and Maria Queen of Mau, two earls (Stratherne and Ross), thirty-six barons and knights, eighty-two burgesses of Berwick with the mayor, and seventy of Perth.

Among the claims of the Competitors,⁴ there is a remarkable variation in that of John Comyn. In the *Great Roll*, he traced his descent from Bethoc, daughter and heir of Dovenald, son of Duncan, son of Crinan, *i.e.*, Donald Bane King of Scotland, younger brother of Malcolm Canmore. In the original instrument here calendared, he traces it from Hextildis, daughter and heir of Gothrik, son and heir of the above Donald. The former of these genealogies is supported by a charter of Henry III. in 1261,⁵ confirming to John Cumyn's father the extensive Tyne-dale lands which had been derived from Hextildis, his ancestress, wife of Richard Cumyn, and styled daughter of Huctred son of Waldef.⁶ This Huctred or Uctred (the same as Gothrik) appears as a great landowner in Northumberland in the Pipe Roll of Henry I.⁷ It does not seem to be known who he was, but as his father, Waldef or Walleof, must have been a contemporary of Donald Bane, the royal descent of Comyn must have been through the latter's daughter Bethoc, the wife of Huctred.

It is unnecessary to pursue in detail the well known story of the proceedings which ended in the decision by the King of

¹ No. 499.

² No. 508.

³ No. 508.

⁴ No. 507.

⁵ Vol. i., No. 2287.

⁶ These, however, are said in that charter to have been the heritage of Huctred.

⁷ Vol. i., No. 13.

England, on 17th November 1292, in favour of John Balliol as King of Scotland,¹ the latter's subsequent fealty and homage,² and the instruments by his magnates and the official notary attesting it.³ His first royal act was the release to Edward I., on 2nd January 1292-93,⁴ of all obligations undertaken by the latter to him or his people while Scotland was in his hands. All these were carefully deposited at Westminster on the 16th of the same month,⁵ with a notarial protest by the King of England, reserving his full right to hear appeals from Scotland.

1292-94.
Edward I.
(John
Balliol.)

The new King soon learned that this was to be a very operative clause. In April he writes to his overlord, deprecating being summoned on the justice eyre in Yorkshire;⁶ and though Edward freed him of the large sum of 3000*l.*, due for the relief of his late mother's English lands, permitting the balance of less than 300*l.* to be paid by easy instalments,⁷ and made other concessions of a like nature, an instrument was taken as to his refusal of justice to a burgess of Berwick and Macduff of Fife,⁸ and he was summoned in person to answer at Westminster to the claim of the persevering Gascon merchant, John Masson, already noticed.⁹ Possibly to propitiate a powerful friend, we find him on 20th June 1294, giving the Bishop of Durham and his successors in the see, a considerable yearly revenue and church patronage in Tynedale, and a grant for life of the entire Cumberland manors belonging to the Scottish Crown.¹⁰

The Berwick burgesses made great complaints of English interference with their shipping,¹¹ which was supported by a letter from their King to Edward, 2nd July 1294.¹² Edward being on the point of war with France, summoned Balliol and eighteen of his magnates to join him with their forces, in London on 1st September the same year.¹³ Balliol having entered into negotiations with Philip IV.,¹⁴ evaded the demand, and Edward probably was not then prepared to enforce it. But Balliol may have sent

¹ No. 649.

² Nos. 650, 652, 653.

³ Nos. 654, 655.

⁴ Nos. 657, 658.

⁵ No. 660.

⁶ No. 668.

⁷ No. 670.

⁸ No. 680.

⁹ Nos. 685, 686.

¹⁰ Nos. 691, 692.

¹¹ No. 696.

¹² No. 697.

¹³ No. 695.

¹⁴ *Federa*, i. 822.

1294-96. to excuse himself, as on 23rd August 1295,¹ Edward writes to him in reply, by 'Henry of Aberdeen,'² Balliol's envoy, saying he has committed his views to him *vivâ voce*. This was soon followed, however, by the seizure of Balliol's and all other Scotsmen's lands in England, on 16th October,³ a step, doubtless, fully justified in Edward's eyes, by the subsequent discovery of the alliance between Balliol and Philip, dated 23rd of same month,⁴ and by the letter from Balliol, at length goaded beyond endurance (without date, but evidently at the same period),⁵ in which he recites the injuries sustained by himself and his subjects, and renounces his allegiance, with the homage extorted by violence. The records contain but slight allusion,⁶ to the Scottish invasion of Cumberland by Balliol's army on 26th March 1296, under the Earl of Buchan, their repulse at Carlisle on the 28th, and their inroad into Northumberland on 8th April, when Hexham and Corbridge were burned and the country wasted.⁷ Early in February previous, Edward had summoned his forces to meet him at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and was on his way to Scotland,⁸ apparently reaching the borders by the end of that or beginning of next month.⁹ Here he drew from the obscurity (perhaps the prison), where he had remained for upwards of fifty years, Thomas, the bastard son of Alan of Galloway, who had once been desired as their lord by the men of Galloway,¹⁰ rather than that their country should be parcelled out among the daughters of Alan. It is likely he had been kept by Balliol and his father, as a formidable rival, in honourable captivity, and Edward may have designed restoring him to his father's possessions, or the Balliol part of these, as he granted the Galwegians their old liberties at Thomas's instance, and likewise sent him to Carlisle castle to be near his country.¹¹ We hear no more of him, and probably he did not long survive, for he must have been a man of great age. Another circumstance of some interest may also be here adverted to. The King of

¹ No. 714.² Probably Bishop Henry Cheyne.³ No. 718.⁴ Nos. 719, 720, 721.⁵ No. 722.⁶ No. 829.⁷ Hemingburgh, ii. 101. No. 843.⁸ Nos. 726, 727.⁹ Nos. 728, 729.¹⁰ Wyntown, ed. Laing, ii. 242.¹¹ Nos. 728, 729.

England, who had reached 'Werk' (which the editor takes to be Werk on Tweed) by the 17th March or sooner, must, to all appearance, have there received the homages rendered on the 14th of March by ninety Scottish landowners, headed by the Earl of Lennox.¹ The year is not given, but as we find among them the name of Patrick de Graham, who fell at Dunbar on the 28th April 1296, we conclude that it must have been at this time. These persons probably foresaw the inevitable issue of the contest, and with one or two exceptions, none of their names occur in the list of the 130 prisoners taken at Dunbar and sent to English prisons.² With the exception of this last-mentioned document, and several others of the same tenor,³ a report on the damage done by the English army, which crossed the Tweed at Coldstream on 28th March,⁴ and an order by the King at Berwick, on 2nd April, that Sir Robert Clifford keep the Marches with 140 men-at-arms and 500 foot,⁵ we have no information here regarding the capture of Berwick and the battle of Dunbar. These must be learned from the chroniclers of the time, who relate the story with various degrees of accuracy. A Placita roll of the army, which shows the strict discipline maintained,⁶ gives, in conjunction with the numerous homage deeds which now begin to appear, a pretty full itinerary of Edward I. in Scotland, from 21st March to 28th August 1296. These homage deeds, of which about seventy originals are still in existence, more or less decayed, occasionally having the seal attached, begin with that of James the Steward of Scotland⁷ at Roxburgh castle, on 13th May, followed by that of his brother John, two days after.⁸ On referring to these and the others, in the text of Palgrave, it will be found that those who had rebelled, or were specially connected with Balliol, are made to abjure any allegiance to him; the others simply swear fealty to Edward as King of England.

1296.
Edward I.
(John
Balliol.)

The reign of Balliol was now over. On the 2nd July 1296

¹ No. 730.

² No. 742.

³ Nos. 743, 744.

⁴ No. 733.

⁵ No. 734.

⁶ No. 822.

⁷ No. 737.

⁸ No. 740.

1296. he granted under his Great Seal at Kyncardyn the instrument¹ confessing his sins against his liege lord, and delivering up to him his realm and people. While Fordun,² on the authority of Baldred Bisset, the Scottish envoy at Rome, avers this to have been a forgery, there is no doubt of the genuineness of another instrument³ by which, on the 7th of the same month, Balliol, in the churchyard of Stracathro in Forfarshire, renounced his treaty with Philip, and three days later, in Brechin castle, resigned his realm, people, and royal seal, to the Bishop of Durham on behalf of Edward.⁴ For ten years the unhappy realm was without a king; though the successive Regents, Wallace, Comyn, and others, professed to hold office on behalf of King John, in their correspondence with the French King.

The document⁵ discovered under the title ‘Gardroba. Inventoria jocalium de diversis annis r. r. Edw.,’ is of no little value, as being, so far as the editor recollects, the only direct evidence on record that, in addition to a number of jewels, relics, &c., found in Edinburgh castle, a great coffer and two small coffers, with divers writings and memoranda found there, were, on 17th September 1296, transferred from Berwick-on-Tweed to London, and deposited in the Wardrobe at Westminster. It may be fairly surmised that these comprised many, if not all, of the old Records of Scotland. The incident forms an appropriate close to the reign of Balliol.

In touching on the documents during this second Interregnum, probably the best known by name at least, is the celebrated *Ragman Roll*,⁶ an invaluable record of the landowners of Scotland at a time for which no other data of equal value exist. There are three copies of it,⁷ from one of which (No. 88) Prynne printed copious extracts, not always correctly. The Bannatyne Club, fifty years ago, printed (the editor thinks) from the

¹ No. 754.

² Fordun, ed. Goodall, ii. 218.

³ No. 821.

⁴ The instrument of 2nd July is not recorded on the Ragman Roll; while that of 7-10th July is there at full length. This tends to strengthen the suspicion against the former document.

⁵ No. 840.

⁶ No. 823.

⁷ Nos. 88, 89, and 90 of the *Tower Miscel-*

laneous Rolls, all in the handwriting of Andrew de Tang.

same Roll as Prynne, giving also the limited homages of 1291, already referred to.¹

1296.

Edward I.
(Interreg-
num.)

In this document there are recorded, first, the several homages by the bishops, barons, and chief men of Scotland, made during King Edward's northern progress after Dunbar; and secondly, the more universal homages made at the Parliament of Berwick-on-Tweed on 28th August the same year, when all these persons took the oaths again, with the addition of the dignified churchmen, the earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and whole community of Scotland. From the extreme north of Scotland to the Rhinns of Galloway in the south, and from the Western Isles to the Lothians, the landowners of Scotland, great and small, were summoned. There are, allowing for duplicates, nearly two thousand names enrolled; and, as the counties to which they belonged are generally referred to with much care, it is sometimes possible, notwithstanding the antiquated forms under which they appear, to identify the names with those of still existing places or families. It would occupy too much space to consider it from all its points of view; but it may be observed that some names are repeated more than once, and others omitted. Notably among these last are the Bishops of St Andrews and Dunkeld, and Sir John de Soulis, three of the four Commissioners who negotiated the treaty between Balliol and Philip of France.² Bishop Fraser probably felt that this was too serious an offence to be lightly passed over by Edward, and remained in France, where he died next year.³ Nor are the Bishops of Moray, Brechin, or Dunblane to be found.⁴ The name of Simon Fraser will be looked for in vain, though he swore fealty at a later date, 13th October, the same year,⁵ and, on 28th May 1297, came under a very solemn oath, under the guarantee of his cousin, Sir Richard Fraser, in Edward's own presence at Bramber in Sussex.⁶ He served under Edward's banners in Flanders,⁷ to that King's great pleasure,⁸ and after serving him

¹ No. 508. Prynne's work is very scarce, and the Bannatyne edition of the Ragman Roll consisted of a very small impression.

² *Federa*, i. 830.

³ On 20th August 1297. Keith's *Scottish Bishops*.

⁴ Caithness and Ross were then vacant.

⁵ No. 849.

⁶ No. 885.

⁷ No. 952.

⁸ No. 980.

1296-97. with more or less constancy for some years, he revolted in 1302, again came to peace with Comyn, but revolting, finally, with Edward I. (Interreg- num.) the Earl of Carrick, was executed not long after Wallace. Robert de Keith, too, is not to be found, who, we shortly learn,¹ was accounted so dangerous a foe, that Edward sent him from Carlisle castle far into the interior of England; and yet afterwards Keith became and remained one of his firmest adherents. Such anomalies meet the reader at every step through these records. One bright exception is the patriot Wallace. Though there are three Waleyses of Ayrshire on the Roll, his name is not there, and there can be no doubt of the fact that, as he said on his trial, he was never a liegeman of England.

Thus, though this Roll is not printed for the first time, there is much to be found in it by those who study it in conjunction with other documents in the Calendar. In addition it may also be here pointed out, that, as all the homage seals now remaining in the Chapter House are for the first time systematically described in their actual state, whether still on the deeds or detached, and are often grouped together by the original strings, this affords a new means of identifying, with more or less accuracy, probably not far from one-third of the parties to the original homages. This will be dealt with a little more fully as we proceed.

The tranquillity of the country did not last long. The mere fact that besides the three high offices of Governor, Treasurer, and Justiciar, many others were filled by Englishmen, could not fail to be irritating to an independent people. The writ of 31st January 1296-97,² ordering the Governor to forbid any one to leave the kingdom, points at disturbances, possibly those in which Wallace first came under the notice of the authorities; and the messages from the King of England to nearly sixty Scottish earls and barons, both north and south of Perth, on 24th May 1297,³ to be communicated to them *viva voce* by

¹ Nos. 1147, 1148.² No. 871.³ No. 884.

Cressingham and another official, probably related to securing the peace while he was absent in Flanders, whither he went late in August the same year. To the like effect were the ample powers entrusted to Henry de Percy and Robert de Clifford, about June of that year,¹ and his thanks to several Galloway magnates for their good offices about the same time.² The editor cannot, from the records, give any new evidence as to the incidents in Wallace's career which led to the armed rising that ended in the Scottish victory at Falkirk, or verify the romantic stories related by Henry the Minstrel, with one exception—the slaughter of the sheriff of Lanark. The *Chronicle of Lanercost*³ distinctly attributes the origin of the rising to the Bishop of Glasgow and the Steward. The fact that the sheriff of Lanark was killed during this period, appears incidentally in an inquiry made about Michaelmas 1304,⁴ as to money in the official custody of the late Hugh de Cressingham, which had gone amissing after his death at Stirling, and had been, it was stated, placed in Werkworth castle in August before his death for fear of the Scots, 'who had begun to rise against the King [of England], and had killed the sheriff of Lanark.'⁵ His name is not given, and so must be looked for elsewhere. Andrew de Livingstone was sheriff of Lanark for the year 1296, when he accounts for 80*l.* of its issues.⁶ The same Andrew, as a Lanarkshire freeholder, appears on the Ragman Roll, and in May 1297, he is among the barons south of Forth to whom Edward I. sent a verbal message.⁷ From this date he occurs no more—and as the insurrection must have come to a head about this time, the probability is that he met his death attempting to put it down at Lanark.⁸ At any rate, Sir Andrew (who was ancestor of the

1296-97.

Edward I.
(Interregnum.)¹ No. 887.² No. 894.³ P. 190.⁴ No. 1597.⁵ P. 418.⁶ P. 264.⁷ No. 884.

⁸ So far as they have been examined hitherto, no name resembling the 'Heselrig' whom Blind Harry calls sheriff of Lanark, has been discovered in the English records. It sounds,

however, like a Scottish territorial designation, and as the Livingstones possessed Mousebriggs and other lands near Lanark, Andrew may, after all, be the person intended by the Minstrel. The editor is aware that Fordun calls him William de Hesliope, 'Anglieus,' and that in a MS. (*Add. MSS. Brit. Mus.* 8835, fol. 42), cited by Mr Stevenson, in *Documents illustrative of Sir William Wallace, his life and times*, 1841 (Maitland Club), he is called William de Hesebregg. But Fordun wrote

1296-97. Earls of Linlithgow and Calendar) and another Livingstone, Sir Edward I. Archibald, who was sheriff of Stirling and Linlithgow and held (Interreg- num.) other offices, along with Sir Alexander de Abernethy, were steady partisans of Edward I.

The energetic measures of Percy and Clifford soon brought the Bishop of Glasgow and other magnates to terms.¹ These were the Earl of Carrick, the Steward, John his brother, Alexander de Lindsay, and William de Douglas; and the Earl agreed, under security, to deliver his young daughter Marjory as a hostage for his loyalty. Wallace, however, declined to submit, and with his adherents retired to Selkirk forest, as we learn from a letter of Cressingham to the King, written from Berwick on 23rd August.² Douglas was put in irons in Berwick castle, the reason assigned being that he had not fulfilled his agreement.³ He was never liberated, but was soon transferred to the Tower.⁴ He was alive there on 6th November,⁵ but must have died shortly before 20th January 1298-99, when his widow has a writ for the dower lands of her first husband,⁶ which had been seized along with those of Douglas.

The state of Scotland, though unsettled, cannot have been thought dangerous in the summer of 1297, as Edward left for Flanders in August, taking with him many of the barons and knights of Scotland, who had been released from prison on condition of serving against France.⁷ But there is no doubt there were disturbances in the far north, in the districts of Moray and Ross, set on foot or fomented by Andrew de Moray, in May, who shortly afterwards joined his forces to Wallace and fell at the battle of Stirling. So much is learned from several letters to the English King in July of this year,⁸ written

nearly a century after this time, and the document cited by Mr Stevenson is only a modern copy, of one of the Cotton MSS. which was destroyed in the fire of 1731. The writer of the original, which was a register of events by some officer of the city of London (and a very curious document), was probably not conversant with Scottish surnames—or the copyist may have misread the name as he has some others. This MS. has been lately printed in vol. i. of *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edw. I. and Edw. II.* (Rolls series.)

¹ At Irvine, in Ayrshire, 7th July 1297. Nos. 907, 908, 909, 910.

² No. 916.

³ Nos. 918, 919.

⁴ No. 957.

⁵ No. 960.

⁶ Nos. 1054, 1055.

⁷ Nos. 937, 939, 940, 942, 944, 948, 952.

⁸ Nos. 917, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 931, 932. The most interesting of these are perhaps the two from the Constable of Urquhart castle.

by the Bishop of Aberdeen, the Earls of Buchan, Mar, and Strathearn, Sir Gartnet of Mar, and Sir Reginald le Chen; who were all actively engaged in his service at the time.

1297-98.
Edward I.
(Wallace.)

A historical error seems to have been committed regarding this Andrew de Moray, and as one of the bearers of this name was a distinguished man, and died Regent of Scotland for David II., the present is an opportunity for setting it right. Lord Hailes,—then, of course, without the full information from records that is now before us,—whom all others have followed, calls his father ‘Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell,’ and ‘the only baron who adhered to Wallace’; and says that after his fall at Stirling, Wallace ‘took as his partner in command the young Sir Andrew Moray’ his son. Now, though of the same stock, neither of them was ‘baron of Bothwell’ in 1297. The then titular lord of Bothwell (for Edward had confiscated the barony) was Sir William de Moray, who swore fealty, 28th August 1296,¹ along with twenty-one of the greatest magnates, immediately after the churchmen.

He was the heir of Walter de Moray, lord of Bothwell in the time of Alexander III., and the manor of Lilleford, in Lincolnshire, belonged to them.² He appears to have been compelled to live in England, in Lincolnshire, and in poverty, deprived of his great estates, as shewn by Edward’s order on Exchequer,³ that sustenance be allowed him, under which he receives 25*l.* from the sheriff at Michaelmas 1299; and he died, probably in England, before 10th November 1300.⁴

Sir Andrew de Moray ‘knight,’ and his son Andrew de Moray ‘esquire,’ were both made prisoners at Dunbar in 1296. The knight was sent to the Tower, and the esquire to Chester castle, on 16th May 1296.⁵ The latter had either been ransomed or escaped to the north, but the father was certainly still a prisoner in the Tower when the battle of Stirling was fought.⁶

¹ *Ragman Roll*, p. 196. He had formerly done so as Sir William de Moravia ‘the rich,’ in 1291 (p. 125), an epithet given, the editor believes, to distinguish him from the three other Sir Williams, of Drumsargard, Sandford, and Tullibardine.

² No. 725.

³ No. 1053.

⁴ No. 1178, *Ing. p. m.*

⁵ No. 742.

⁶ No. 960.

1297-98. His son Andrew had a conduct to visit him on 28th August that year,¹ which he cannot possibly have used, as he, not his father, was undoubtedly killed fourteen days afterwards at Stirling. His father must have died between 6th November 1297 and 28th November 1300, still a prisoner. These two Andrews, father and son, being thus accounted for, who was the Sir Andrew de Moray of Bothwell, brother-in-law of King Robert Bruce, and Regent of Scotland? He was the son of the younger Andrew de Moray, killed at Stirling. This is made clear by the inquisition *post mortem*,² already referred to, taken on the death of Sir William de Moray (evidently of Bothwell), whose heir in some lands in Berwickshire, held of the Earl of March,³ is found to be a child named Andrew 'son of Andrew 'de Moray, slain at Stirling against the King,' who was son of the late Sir Andrew de Moray; further, that this boy was two years old at the last Pentecost, *i.e.*, born about Pentecost 1298, rather more than eight months after his father's death. What the precise relationship between this boy and the head of the house was, is not stated, but it is clear he was the only Andrew living in 1300, and the nearest heir. If so, the Regent was a man of only forty years of age at his death in 1338, instead of the veteran approaching seventy, as hitherto supposed, and his wife, Christian Bruce, was much older than himself. In fact, her son Donald earl of Mar, the Regent who fell at Dupplin in 1332, must have been older than his step-father Moray.⁴

¹ No. 961.

² No. 1178.

³ Whereby they had escaped confiscation with the barony of Bothwell.

⁴ It is seldom that dates so exact can be got at so remote a period. This discovery will also explain why he never appears till late in the reign of Robert I. Had he been the comrade of Wallace, he would have been senior to Douglas and Randolph, and at least equally entitled to take a leading share in the councils of his country. Whereas he only became prominent on the death of these eminent men. It is true that two documents may be cited to prove that an Andrew de Moray was alive after the battle of Stirling. The first of these is a letter by Andrew de Moray and William le Waleys, leaders of the armies of Scotland,

addressed to the mayors and commons of Lübeck and Hamburg on 11th October 1297, dated at 'Hadsington' in Scotland, respecting freedom of trade between these towns, and Scotland now delivered from the English. This was first printed by Lappenberg in his edition of Sartorius's *Urkundliche Geschichte des Ursprunges der deutschen Hanse* (Hamburg, 1830), ii. 188, and also by Mr Stevenson, in the Wallace documents (already cited), p. 159, with a facsimile from the archives of Lübeck. The other is the protection cited by Hemmingburgh vol. ii. p. 144, granted by Moray and Wallace to Hexham, dated 7th November 1297. This we only know from his pages, the original being non-existent. Besides, in one MS. of Hemmingburgh, Moray is called 'Alexander.' The statements of the inquisition

There is little in the Records touching the English defeat at Stirling bridge. A writ issued in the name of the English King by the Prince of Wales on September 12th, when the result was of course unknown,¹ orders the Earl of Surrey, who had been superseded by Brian fitz Alan as governor before the King left England,² to remain till the country was settled. Another on 24th September, repeated the command, and ordered the sheriff of York and thirteen northern barons to join Surrey with their forces instead of coming to London.³ Surrey had by this time retreated as far as York,⁴ and the whole of the border counties, as far as Newcastle on the east, and Carlisle on the west, were overrun by the successful Scots,⁵ though they were repulsed before these fortified towns. The burgesses of Roxburgh relate in their petition to Edward how they were surprised and only escaped with their lives.⁶ An irregular force, however, like that under Wallace, could not long maintain the offensive, and as Edward was known to be on his way back to England, and reinforcements had been ordered⁷ to the number of about 30,000 foot, besides the military tenants, confidence was restored, and the Earl of Surrey is found again at Roxburgh on 16th February 1297-98,⁸ the King of England also issuing a writ on the 17th March⁹ from Canterbury, three days after landing, thanking his forces in Scotland for their good services, and saying he was hastening to join them.

1297-98.
Edward I.
(Wallace,
Guardian.)

After his victory at Falkirk on 22d July 1298, organised resistance being at an end, the King of England, having established a garrison in Stirling castle,¹⁰ departed by the western Marches. While at Stirling, and afterwards at Carlisle and other places on the March (which he traversed leisurely during

post-mortem are, however, precise, and cannot be traversed :—*Et dicunt quod Andreas de Morrevia, 'interfectus apud Strivelyn contra 'Dominum Regem,' filius quondam Domini Andree de Morravia, habuit quemdam filium legitime procreatum qui commoratur in Morravia inter inimicos Domini Regis, cuius nomen est Andreas ut credunt. Est propinquior heres eius. Et fuit etatis duorum annorum ad Penthecostem anno r. r. E. xxviii.*

¹ No. 945.

² No. 941.

³ No. 946.

⁴ No. 947.

⁵ Nos. 954, 971, 1021.

⁶ No. 958.

⁷ Nos. 956, 984.

⁸ No. 973.

⁹ No. 974.

¹⁰ No. 1002. Lord Hailes states that the castle, as well as the town, was burned by the Scots on their retreat. (*Annals, sub. anno.*)

1298-99. September and October, by Jedburgh and Werk to Berwick),¹ Edward I. he bestowed various Scottish livings, chiefly in the dioceses of (Bishop of St Andrews, St Andrews and Glasgow, on English clerks. He remained at Earl of Newcastle-on-Tyne during November, and both while there, and Carrick, previously, gave directions as to the munitions and garrison of John Comyn *junior*, Edinburgh, Berwick, and the castles on the Marches.² Provision Guardians,) was also made for forays from the different garrisons to keep down the Scots;³ prominent among those engaged being Sir Simon Fraser, whom Edward styles "his friend and liege." His hereditary lands were formally restored to him in March following⁴ by Edward's special grace. In December 1298, an advance of three months' pay was made to the Earl of Surrey, four other Earls, and Henry Percy, for an expedition into Scotland with 500 heavy horse,⁵ and about the same time, foot to the number of 8000, were ordered to be provided by the Earl of Carriek and some Galloway chiefs, and the northern and midland counties of England.⁶

The year 1299 opens with a permission by Edward to negotiate the exchange of ten prisoners of rank with the Scots,⁷ for an equal number in England. These are probably the prisoners alluded to in the letter to Edward from his constable of Roxburgh castle on 20th August that year,⁸ which relates the curious story, learned by his spy, of the quarrels among the nobles at the election of the Bishop of St Andrews, the Earl of Carriek, and John Comyn as Guardians, at Peebles a day or two before. The Scots patriots were now raising their heads again, and were negotiating with Philip of France, who seems to have been desirous, despite Edward's positive refusal, to include them as his allies in the truce of June 1298.⁹ Edward made strenuous efforts to apprehend the Scottish envoys on their return voyage,¹⁰ without success.

The late King of Scotland was delivered to the Papal envoy

¹ Nos. 998, 1000, 1008, 1013, 1017.

² Nos. 1014, 1015, 1016, 1018, 1019, 1022, 1025, 1026, 1028.

³ Nos. 1032, 1034, 1036.

⁴ No. 1061.

⁵ No. 1044.

⁶ No. 1049.

⁷ No. 1062.

⁸ No. 1978.

⁹ Nos. 990, 993.

¹⁰ No. 1071.

at Wissant in France, on the 18th July, by the constable of 1299-1300.
Dover, who took a formal receipt for his person.¹ He had been brought a few days before from the Tower to Edward at Canterbury, under a very meagre escort.²

Edward I.
(Bishop of St
Andrews,
Earl of
Carrick,
John Comyn
junior,
Guardians.)

Though Edward, on 18th September, ordered a levy of 16,000 foot to assemble at Newcastle-on-Tyne by 24th November, for a Scottish invasion,³ his barons refused to advance; and though he postponed the muster till 13th December at Berwick,⁴ he was obliged to desist from his intention, and leave the castle of Stirling, then besieged by the three Guardians,⁵ to its fate. It surrendered shortly after, with its garrison of ninety men,⁶ after enduring considerable privations.⁷ The English forces at this time held no part of Scotland beyond the Forth; and even in the south the castles of Bothwell and Carlaverock were held by the Scots.⁸ In the second of the documents last referred to, the constable of Lochmaben tells the King of England that he had secured the head of Robert de Coningham constable of Carlaverock, and set it up on the keep of his fortress. The slain man was a nephew of the Steward of Scotland. This shews the ferocity of these Border forays into which the war had degenerated. An undated document⁹ assigned to this period must be placed one, perhaps two years later.

Early in 1300, Edward gave large orders for provisions to be forwarded from England and Ireland, to Berwick and Skinburness near Carlisle, by Midsummer, and having ordered 16,000 foot to muster at Carlisle, joined them with his son and his barons, and after taking Carlaverock castle,¹⁰ marched through the borders of Galloway, reducing it to partial submission.¹¹ He remained during the autumn months at Carlisle and the castle of La Rose,¹² staying a week at Dumfries (October 23-30),

¹ Nos. 1079, 1080.

² No. 1072.

³ No. 1092.

⁴ No. 1111.

⁵ No. 1109.

⁶ No. 1119.

⁷ No. 1949.

⁸ Nos. 1093, 1101.

⁹ No. 1121.

¹⁰ Nos. 1145, 1146. The interesting poem

'The Siege of Carlaverock,' edited by Sir Harris Nicholas in 1828, gives no precise account of the numbers of the besieging army. There are 87 banners named, each having of course, a certain number of men-at-arms. The poet gives 3000 as the number of these, but takes no account of the foot.

¹¹ Nos. 1147, 1148, 1149, 1150, 1151.

¹² Nos. 1153, 1155, 1161, 1163, 1172.

1301. where he ratified the truce granted to the Scots at the mediation of France, till Pentecost 1301.¹ The documents (the first of which is unfortunately mutilated)² shew that there was a force of 100 horse and 300 foot in the English 'pale,' as it may be called, under the warden, and also indicate the limits of the district. In the north the English held Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Stirling, and Kirkintilloch castles as an outer line, with Bothwell to command Clydesdale. On the east, Dirlerton, Dunbar, and Berwick-on-Tweed. Along the Border, Roxburgh, Jedburgh, Hermitage-Soules, and Lydel; Lochmaben, to command Annandale, with Dumfries, Carlaverock, Dalswynton, and Tibbers for Nithsdale, and the outlying post of Botel in Kirkcudbright for Galloway. By a return in February preceding,³ the garrison of Edinburgh numbered 347 of all ranks with 157 horses. The castle and county of Dumfries, with Lochmaben, and Annandale, were held by 70 men-at-arms, and 200 foot.⁴ Berwick-on-Tweed was held by 30 men-at-arms and 200 foot⁵; and Jedburgh and Roxburgh by 30 men-at-arms and 130 foot.⁶ Hermitage and the Mote of Lydel were in the hands of Sir Simon de Lindesay, with what number of men is not stated.⁷ In a roll for the last month of the year,⁸ we learn that Carlisle was besieged by the Scots for a month in November and December 1297, after the victory of Stirling; and also between 20th July and 2nd August 1298; which latter attack shews perhaps an attempted diversion in favour of Wallace and his army, who were being crushed at Falkirk. Twenty-one unfortunate Galwegians had been placed by Surrey in Carlisle castle in 1297 as hostages, ten of whom had died, and the others were still there. The letter from Philip of France, bespeaking the Pope's favour for Sir William Wallace, was probably written, either in this or the end of the previous year.⁹

The truce having come to its natural termination at Pente-

¹ Nos. 1163, 1164.

² Nos. 1164, 1165.

³ No. 1132.

⁴ No. 1170.

⁵ No. 1171.

⁶ Nos. 1172, 1174.

⁷ No. 1173.

⁸ No. 1179.

⁹ No. 1184.

cost 1301,¹ and the attempts of the French to renew it having failed, to Edward's evident satisfaction,² the barons having also supported him in the celebrated letter from Lincoln, in which they denied the Pope's jurisdiction in temporal matters, and his power to decide as to the rights of the King of England over Scotland,³ he made ready for another campaign. He ordered the Northumbrians to be on the alert against the enemy,⁴ and levies of 12,000 foot to meet him at Berwick-on-Tweed at Midsummer.⁵ The Prince of Wales being now sixteen years old, his father resolved to give him an independent command, and ordered the Earls of Lincoln, Lancaster, Gloucester, and Arundel, and twenty other barons and knights, to meet the Prince at Carlisle with their forces, on the above day, 'that the chief honour of taming the pride of the Scots' (so the writ runs), might accrue to the young leader.⁶ Great provision of victual was also made from England, Wales, and Ireland, to be brought to Berwick, Carlisle, and the Isle of Arran in Scotland.⁷ The two armies entered Scotland shortly after Midsummer, the Prince's force marching by Dumfries⁸ into Galloway, where he made or was reported to have made, in September, a pilgrimage to the shrine of St Ninian at Whithorn.⁹ Though preparations were made for him at Ayr and Turnberry castle, and he had proceeded as far as the water of Cree, where he was on the 1st and 2nd October,¹⁰ he had returned to Carlisle by the 5th,¹¹ remaining there till towards the end of the month;¹² and we hear no more of him till he is found with his father in Linlithgow on 30th December.¹³ The reason for his force not proceeding into Ayrshire was the very unsettled state of the district, as we shall presently see. Turning to the King's division of the army, there are much more definite data as to its number and movements on the original Pay Roll.¹⁴

1301.

Edward I.
(Bishop of St
Andrews,
Earl of
Carrick,
John Comyn
junior,
Guardians.)

¹ No. 1194.² No. 1198.³ No. 1188.⁴ No. 1194.⁵ No. 1202.⁶ No. 1191.⁷ Nos. 1192, 1193.⁸ No. 1212, 1224.⁹ See the letter of the sheriff of Peebles to Edward I., with its account of the Scots remov-

ing St Ninian's image to New Abbey, and its miraculous return the same night to Whithorn, No. 1225. This Saint's day, it may be observed, is 16th September.

¹⁰ Nos. 1233, 1235.¹¹ No. 1239.¹² Nos. 1242, 1248, 1249.¹³ No. 1270.¹⁴ No. 1229.

1301. There were about 6800 foot, and a troop of about forty hobelars and foresters from Roxburgh and Selkirk. They were paid at Edward I. and foresters from Roxburgh and Selkirk. They were paid at (Bishop of St Andrews, Earl of Carrick, John Comyn junior, Guardians.) Berwick, on 12th and 14th July; at Selkirk, on 25th; at Peebles, on 8th August; at Cambusnethan, on 18th August; at Bothwell, on 6th September; and at Dunipace, on 29th. Their route is thus clearly marked, up the valley of the Tweed to Peebles, then across Tweed and up Lync water towards Carstairs and the valley of Clyde, passing near Biggar, perhaps halting there on the march.¹ The cavalry force is also given on a horse roll for the same expedition.² On his march Edward granted a charter (at Peebles on 10th August)³ of the late Sir William de Moray's barony of Bothwell, &c., to Aymar de Valence, though the castle was then in the enemy's hands. He must have received several disturbing pieces of news in his progress. The warden of Lochmaben castle, writing on 10th September, reported his repulse of an attack on that fortress by a strong Scottish force, under Sir John de Soulis and Sir Ingram de Umfraville;⁴ and three days later, the constable of Roxburgh gave him further news of this same army.⁵ On the 14th of the same month a serious mutiny in the garrison of Berwick-on-Tweed, owing to the men being in arrear of pay, was reported to him by its constable, and though it was put down, from the lucky chance of the money arriving, yet the leaders concerned were dissatisfied at the distribution.⁶ A dispute between his lieutenants in Roxburgh, as to the division of booty taken from a band of robbers there, was also referred to his decision.⁷ And finally, a letter written on 3rd October, from the constable of Ayr, reporting an attack by the Scottish force in great strength, on Turnbery and Ayr castles,⁸ must have caused him anxiety for the division under his son. With considerable strategy the Scots had got into his rear, and from their retreat in the mountainous district

¹ Traditions of this march must have lingered among the Clydesdale peasantry, and not unlikely gave rise to Blind Harry's wild romance of the battle of Biggar.

² No. 1190. This document is inadvertently placed too early in the Calendar. It should have been placed at the *end*, not the beginning

of the year 1301, as its entries begin 28th July 1301, and end February 1301-2.

³ No. 1214.

⁴ No. 1220.

⁵ No. 1221.

⁶ No. 1223.

⁷ Nos. 1226, 1227.

⁸ No. 1236.

lying between the head of Nithsdale, Kirkeudbright, and Carrick, were endeavouring to separate the two English armies. But the Ayrshire garrisons maintained their ground,¹ and Edward after visiting Glasgow,² where iron and coal were bought,³ and taking Bothwell Castle early in September,⁴ prepared to secure his hold on the country by wintering at Linlithgow. A letter from an official at Roxburgh, shews the forces keeping Selkirk Forest, and their arrangements for watching the Scots in Galloway, as well as the urgent need of money.⁵ A carefully drawn up statement⁶ shews the numbers of the English army with the King in Scotland on 8th October, exclusive of the Prince's division, their daily, weekly, and yearly pay, and the like details of five castles (that of Carstairs now first noticed) and the forest of Selkirk.

From Linlithgow, in November,⁷ Edward ordered additional stores from Ireland to be delivered at Skynburness and Ayr for the Prince, and to supply Lochmaben and Dumfries. He also built a house for himself at Linlithgow;⁸ and had large quantities of hay shipped at Newcastle for the port of Blackness on the Forth.⁹ Additional levies of 4900 foot were ordered to march for Linlithgow on New Year's day;¹⁰ but, by a later writ,¹¹ they were reduced to 1400. He received a New Year's gift from the Queen by the hands of Sir Aymar de Valence,¹² and on 26th January ratified another truce with the Scots till St Andrew's day the same year, obtained at the mediation of France.¹³

About the beginning of February 1301-2, Edward set out for England, and on the 12th was at Roxburgh castle, where, under his own eye, indentures were executed by the wardens of Edinburgh, Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedworth, Linlithgow, Bothwell, and Ayr, for the keeping of these places till Pentecost.¹⁴ Sir

1301-2.
Edward I.
(Bishop of St
Andrews,
Earl of
Carrick,
John Comyn
junior,
Guardians.)

¹ No. 1293.

² Nos. 1216, 1217.

³ No. 1271.

⁴ No. 1235.

⁵ No. 1230.

⁶ No. 1241.

⁷ No. 1260.

⁸ No. 1262.

⁹ Nos. 1264, 1266.

¹⁰ No. 1261.

¹¹ No. 1267.

¹² No. 1280.

¹³ Nos. 1282, 1284, 1285. The ratification, however, expressly declares that the King does not recognise John Balliol or the Scots as allies of France.

¹⁴ No. 1286.

1301-2. Alexander de Balliol of Cavers undertook the forest of Selkirk with thirty men-at-arms, binding himself to find 600 foot on four days', and 1000 on eight days', notice¹ for its defence. He was entrusted also with the building of the new pele of Selkirk,² for losing which, a year later, he afterwards got into temporary disgrace with Edward.³ Sir John fitz Marmaduk, with twenty men-at-arms, had charge of Renfrewshire (or Strathgryfe, as it was then called) till Easter.⁴ The Earl of Ulster, and other Irish magnates were warned to provide 500 heavy cavalry, 1000 hobelars, and 10,000 foot for the Scottish war.⁵

Although the Earl of Carrick was still one of the Guardians in name, a Galloway homicide is pardoned by Edward on 16th February at his request;⁶ and by the end of April following he had, with some of his Carrick tenants, been received to peace.⁷ In singular contrast to his actual position, the letter of King Philip, addressed to him and John Comyn *junior*, as 'Guardians of Scotland for King John,' dated 6th April 1302,⁸ will be read. In it Philip encourages the Scots in their resistance to Edward, and hints that he is devising means to help them, but for safety prudently commits further details to the bearer, William, bishop of St Andrews, their fellow Guardian.

The year 1302 seems to have been, on the whole, inactive. The English retained the various fortresses and districts already stated as being in their hands. Particular details are given of the constables and garrisons of these and their other munitions till Christmas,⁹ and we see the progress of the new works at the peles of Linlithgow and Selkirk. On 4th August Edward granted a charter of privileges to Berwick-on-Tweed.¹⁰ And on 15th of that month six Scotsmen were allowed to go as envoys to France with the French Ambassadors.¹¹ A truce till Easter 1303, was concluded on 25th November, with France,¹² but it appears that the Scots were not included.

¹ No. 1287.

² No. 1288.

³ Nos. 1344, 1349.

⁴ No. 1290.

⁵ No. 1295.

⁶ No. 1291.

⁷ Nos. 1302, 1303.

⁸ No. 1301. No doubt seized when the Bishop of St Andrews was captured, some years later.

⁹ Nos. 1317, 1321, 1324.

¹⁰ Nos. 1314, 1315.

¹¹ No. 1331.

¹² No. 1333.

With the New Year of 1302-3 the Scots again took arms, and invaded the English possessions.¹ Comyn the Guardian had been joined by Sir Simon Fraser about August preceding.² The battle of Roslin, on 24th February, in which they defeated Sir John de Segrave, receives little notice in the Records.³

1302-3.
Edward I.
(Bishop of St
Andrews,
John Comyn
junior,
Guardians.)

Edward, being now disengaged from foreign wars, bent his whole force to subdue Scotland. On 9th April 1303, 9500 foot were ordered to muster at Roxburgh by 12th May, from York, Nottingham, Derby, Lancaster, Westmoreland, Cumberland, Durham, and Northumberland.⁴ Besides these the Earl of Carrick was requested to bring men-at-arms, and 1000 foot of Carrick and Galloway, and Sir Richard Siward 300 foot of Nithsdale.⁵ The pay roll of this army for both years, 1303 and 1304,⁶ supplies data for approximately estimating its numbers. The levies ordered from Ireland have been already referred to.⁷ Two fortified wooden bridges had been constructed under the King's direction at Lynn Regis, at great cost, for the passage of the army across the Forth, and were shipped for Scotland under escort of a fleet of thirty vessels in May⁸; and engines of war, stores, &c., had been despatched to the north.⁹ In the face of these formidable preparations, the Scottish envoys maintained their negotiations in France, though duped by Philip's fair words, and on 25th May wrote to Comyn, encouraging him and the community to strenuous resistance.¹⁰

Edward and his army reached Perth by the 11th June.¹¹ While there, the Scots (of Galloway probably), broke into Annandale and the Marches of Cumberland with a strong force, and the array of the latter county and Westmoreland, with a force drawn

¹ Nos. 1341, 1342.

² No. 1317. Without notice, it appears, for he carried off the horses and armour of a comrade at Werk Castle, who had an allowance from Edward I. to replace them.

³ No. 1347.

⁴ No. 1351.

⁵ No. 1356.

⁶ No. 1599.

⁷ It appears from a Wardrobe book of this year, 32 Edward I. (*Add. MSS. Brit. Mus.*, 8835), that the contingent under the Earl of

Ulster did not exceed 500 men of all ranks, except for a few weeks in July, when nearly 3500 Irishmen were paid while awaiting a fair wind to Ireland. Of these 2600, or more, were foot, 500 hobelars, and 300 knights and esquires. Sir Nigel Cambel was one of the earl's knights in the early part of that year.

⁸ No. 1375.

⁹ Nos. 1366, 1369, 1370, 1371, 1372, 1373, 1377, &c.

¹⁰ No. 1363.

¹¹ No. 1368.

1303-4. from both sides of the Marches, was summoned to repress them.¹
 Edward I. (Bishop of St Andrews, John Comyn junior, Guardians.) The Earl of Carrick was at this time in English pay and associated with the English warden of Annandale.² He also held the office of sheriff of Lanark,³ and a little later (9th January 1303-4), was in command of the English garrison of Ayr.⁴ The chief event of this year was the capture of Brechin castle about the beginning of August,⁵ to which there are only some incidental references, shewing the Prince of Wales' presence there,⁶ and that Edward brought his engines by sea to Montrose⁷ and stripped the lead off the cathedral of Brechin for them, but afterwards restored it;⁸ and after marching his forces as far as Kinloss in Moray, from which he turned back on 10th October,⁹ reached Dunfermline soon after, where he spent the winter. Here he was joined by the Queen, who came by Tynemouth, where she stayed probably from the end of June till 26th September,¹⁰ reaching Norham castle by the middle of November.¹¹ Though New Years' gifts by her Majesty and the Countess of Holland are recorded as presented to the King at Dunfermline, on 1st January 1303-4,¹² she cannot have arrived there till the 18th or 19th January, as she only started from Berwick on the morrow of Hilary.¹³

The Household Roll of the Prince of Wales for this entire year¹⁴ contains many entries of interest. The imposing array of clothes, armour, and other effects with which he took the field; his losses at dice, considerably exceeding the value of his library¹⁵ or his oblations at Mass;¹⁶ his gifts to those who amused him or suffered from his jokes;¹⁷ his present of an Arts' gown to a successful tilter;¹⁸ and the costly cope presented by him to a Spanish Cardinal; all contributed to swell the sum total for the year of 5653*l.* 3*s.* 5½*d.*

¹ No. 1374.

² No. 1385.

³ No. 1420.

⁴ No. 1437.

⁵ No. 1434.

⁶ Pp. 366, 369.

⁷ No. 1386.

⁸ No. 1687.

⁹ No. 1401.

¹⁰ Nos. 1376, 1380, 1381, 1394, 1398.

¹¹ Nos. 1411, 1414.

¹² No. 1434.

¹³ No. 1438.

¹⁴ No. 1413.

¹⁵ P. 368.

¹⁶ P. 364.

¹⁷ P. 369.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

William earl of Ross, a prisoner in the Tower since 1296, was released in September this year.¹ The details of his escort and journey of eighteen days to Berwick-on-Tweed, and of the cost of his armour, give an illustration of the manners and customs of the times.²

1303-4.
Edward I.
(Bishop of St
Andrews,
John Comyn
junior,
Guardians.)

Though in winter quarters, the King of England did not encourage idleness. He ordered carpenters and other workmen to be sought for in the Lothians, and sent to Dunfermline to prepare for his intended siege of Stirling,³ the last remaining stronghold in native hands. To harass those Scots who kept the field, he sent a cavalry expedition across the Forth to the neighbourhood of Stirling under very stringent orders as to secrecy.⁴ And in the beginning of January 1303-4, Sir John de Botetourte, justiciar of Galloway, organised a very strong expedition of nearly 3000 men, to make a foray on the Scots in the south-west.⁵ Aymar de Valence had been treating for some time with Comyn and his allies to bring them to Edward's will,⁶ and had been at Linlithgow and Glasgow in September, where he had borrowed 20*l.* from a canon on the King of England's business.⁷ Later on, in December, the patriots being about Perth, messages were exchanged between Edward and them,⁸ and after some further delay, and attempts to mitigate his rigorous⁹ conditions, from which, severe as they were, some were absolutely excepted, the Guardian and his followers laid down their arms at Strathorde on 9th February 1303-4,¹⁰ leaving Stirling castle to its fate. Wallace, whom the King of England declined on 3rd March to receive, except on terms of unconditional submission, still kept aloof somewhere in the upper parts of Stratherne or Menteith.¹¹ At this very moment, the Earl of Carrick and Christopher Seton were actively engaged in Edward's service, the latter in the garrison of Lochmaben,¹² and the Earl in pursuit of the patriots,¹³ for which he

¹ No. 1395.

² *Ibid.*, No. 1401, 1403, 1416.

³ Nos. 1408, 1412, 1414.

⁴ No. 1432.

⁵ No. 1437.

⁶ Nos. 1392, 1393.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ No. 1419.

⁹ Nos. 1444, 1445, 1447, 1448, 1449, 1451.

¹⁰ No. 1741.

¹¹ Nos. 1462, 1463.

¹² No. 1464.

¹³ No. 1465.

1303-4. had an especial letter of thanks from Edward. On 20th March 1303-4, Sir John de Menteith was appointed sheriff and constable of the shire, town, and castle of Dunbarton.¹ After holding a Parliament at St Andrews at Mid Lent, to which he summoned the Scottish magnates,² Edward decided to besiege Stirling;³ and sat down before the castle on 21st April.⁴ From that day till its surrender three months later, he personally directed the siege, for which extensive preparations were made,⁵ and every precaution taken to prevent supplies to the garrison.⁶ Lead for the engines was also stripped from all the churches in the district, care being taken however to leave the altars covered.⁷ The Earl of Carrick, who had succeeded by his father's death to his English estates, actively assisted, for substantial reasons.⁸ The lands of many Scotsmen who had come to Edward's peace were restored to them,⁹ prominent among these being the Bishops of St Andrews and Dunkeld and others of the late envoys to France.¹⁰ The goods and chattels of Sir William Oliphant the constable, and the garrison of Stirling were given to a recreant countryman.¹¹ To judge from the scarcity of provisions among the besiegers,¹² the garrison must have been in great privation. At least thirteen engines and a 'war wolf' of novel construction battered their ramparts,¹³ and Greek fire was showered on the defenders.¹⁴ They surrendered unconditionally on St Margaret's day (20th July), only twenty-five persons being named in the instrument attesting the surrender, along with the governor, though there seem to have been others still within.¹⁵ A curious fact is mentioned in a letter on the day the castle fell, that Edward ordered that none of his people should enter till it was struck by the 'war wolf,'

¹ No. 1474.² Nos. 1461, 1468, 1471, 1480.³ No. 1477.⁴ No. 1519.⁵ Nos. 1482, 1483, 1486, 1491, 1498, 1499, 1500, 1524, 1536, 1539, 1554, 1556, 1559, 1589.⁶ Nos. 1489, 1515.⁷ No. 1504.⁸ Nos. 1493, 1495, 1510, 1540, 1546, 1548.⁹ Nos. 1481, 1535, 1538, 1544, 1584, 1594.¹⁰ Nos. 1528, 1529, 1530, 1531.¹¹ No. 1517.¹² Nos. 1552, 1553.¹³ No. 1599.¹⁴ No. 1569.¹⁵ No. 1562.

possibly to see its effect.¹ The garrison were all despatched to English prisons particularly named.²

1304.
Edward I.
(Inter-
regnum).

Edward remained some weeks in the neighbourhood,³ and probably feeling that while Wallace remained at large, his work was incomplete, held out inducements to some of his late associates to capture him.⁴ He was at the Abbey of Holyrood on 16th August,⁵ at Pentland the next day,⁶ and Eddleston on the 19th;⁷ from which he must have made a rapid march through Peebles, Traquair, and Selkirk, to Jedburgh by the 20th or 21st,⁸ resting at Yetham in the Cheviots till the 24th.⁹ An account of the expenses of his portable chapel while in Scotland, shews his simple personal habits.¹⁰ The household account of the Prince of Wales, beginning 20th November 1303, ending abruptly with a lost membrane on 19th April 1304,¹¹ illustrates his separate campaign in Perthshire, and gives the names of many in his train; among them Edward Bruce, the future King of Ireland.¹² It is pleasing to turn from these military records to two unique documents giving (though from an enemy's hand not the less valuable) the only information we have of the internal condition of the country about this period. The first of these¹³ is an account by the Escheator south of Forth in the years 1302, 1303, and 1304, and relates to the counties of Lanark, Peebles, Ayr, and Dumfries, and the district of Annandale. In Lanarkshire there are returns of the Crown demesnes of Cadzow and the Vale of Clyde,¹⁴ of the Bishop of Glasgow's burgh and barony, the burghs of Lanark and Rutherglen,¹⁵ and the lands of the Comyns, Maxwells, and others. In Peeblesshire those of the same bishop,¹⁶ the Crown demesnes of Traquair and others,¹⁷ and of Sir Simon Fraser and his retainer

¹ No. 1560. In the British Museum Wardrobe account, already referred to, it is stated that an 'oriole' was made in the King's house at Stirling, that the Queen, the Countess of Gloucester and Hereford, and other ladies of the Court, might see the assault of the castle.

² Nos. 1567, 1572, 1668.
³ Nos. 1570, 1573.
⁴ No. 1563.
⁵ No. 1576.
⁶ No. 1578.
⁷ No. 1579.

⁹ No. 1594.

¹⁰ No. 1580.

¹¹ No. 1516.

¹² P. 394.

¹³ No. 1608.

¹⁴ Pp. 424, 427, 428.

¹⁵ Pp. 424, 428.

¹⁶ P. 425.

¹⁷ Pp. 424, 425, 428

⁸ Nos. 1580, 1594. The Wardrobe account

1303-4.
Edward I.
(Interreg-
num.)

Simon de Horsebrok.¹ In Ayrshire those of the burgh of Ayr, the burgh lands² of Irvine, and the baronies of Dalmellington, Ochiltree, and others.³ In Dumfriesshire those of the royal demesnes, and the burgh of Dumfries. In Annandale those of the towns of Lochmaben and Annand, with many provostries, mills, &c.⁴ As the names of places are mentioned with much detail, this adds to its value. The other document⁵ is a compotus by the same officer and his colleague of an extent made of all the royal lands in Scotland from Sutherland to Galloway, between April 1304 and February of the following regnal year. Though the receipt was large (nearly 1400*l.*), the expenditure exceeded it by nearly 400*l.*, but as part of the document is much destroyed the details are not distinct. Beside land and burgh farms, it contains accounts of customs and arrangements for their collection at various ports. The ruined state of Stirling after the siege is shewn by the issues for the year being only 4*s.*⁶ The two officials who made this valuation had a strong armed escort during their labours, which regularly mounted guard at night.⁷

This year 1305 witnessed the capture of Wallace, when, the Records do not say, but probably not long after 21st May. Lord Hailes says that a prisoner, Ralph Haliburton, offered his aid in discovering him. This receives confirmation from the fact of this man's name being scored out of a list of prisoners in England, at that date.⁸ Before this time Edward de Kethe had received a gift from the King of England of whatever he might gain in pursuit of his patriot countryman.⁹ There are very few notices in the Calendar to add to the little that is known of Wallace's real history, outside of the poem of Henry the Minstrel. Whether he is the William le Waleys, whose companion is accused of robbery at Perth, in June 1296,¹⁰ the editor cannot say. He appears to have cut off the supplies of the English garrison of Stirling about St Bartholomew's day 1299.¹¹ By an inquisition held immediately after his execution, regarding Michael de Miggel, a Scotsman who had been in his company,

¹ Pp. 424, 428.

² Pp. 425, 428,

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Pp. 426, 427.

⁵ No. 1646.

⁶ P. 440.

⁷ P. 443.

⁸ No. 1668.

⁹ No. 1424.

¹⁰ P. 191.

¹¹ No. 1949.

it was found that Wallace had kept this man, who had tried to escape twice, by force, and in fear of his life.¹

1305.
Edward I.
(Interreg-
num.)

The commission for his trial on 18th August marks the close of his career,² his execution taking place on the 23rd.³ King Edward's harsh treatment of him seems due to personal resentment, for while he had never sworn allegiance, those who had repeatedly violated their fealty were pardoned, favoured, and even trusted.

The King of England now made what he doubtless thought was a final settlement of Scotland,⁴ appointing his nephew, John of Brittany, Warden, with subordinate officers. The sheriffs of counties, with one or two exceptions, were Scots, the castles were committed to Englishmen, or Scots in his interest, and several persons were punished by banishment for certain periods. Orders were given for the courteous treatment of Scottish magnates and others passing through England,⁵ and the High Steward made his submission at Westminster.⁶ Rewards were bestowed on the captors of Wallace, and on Sir John de Menteith,⁷ who, it is right to point out, was at that time and had been for a year before the capture, an official in the English interest, being sheriff and constable of Dunbarton.

With the spring of 1306 dismal news reached King Edward, the murder of Comyn and rebellion of Bruce. That an appearance at least of trusting Bruce was maintained till this event, is shewn by a writ, dated 8th February, two days before the murder, acquitting him of a debt due by his father.⁸ By the 24th of that month Edward had heard the news at Itchenestoke in Hampshire.⁹

With his accustomed energy he appointed Aymar de Valence,

¹ No. 1689.

² No. 1685.

³ *Stow's Chronicle*. It has been doubted whether this is the correct date, as he was only tried on 23rd August at Westminster. It is to be remembered, however, that his sentence was, to be drawn from the palace of Westminster to the Tower, from the Tower to Allegate, and so by the middle of the City to the Elms (at Smithfield). The probability is, therefore, that immediately after sentence he was carried off straight from Westminster to

his doom. In the long summer day there was ample time for this. It is not likely he was brought back, on a subsequent day, from prison, in order to start from Westminster Hall.

⁴ No. 1691.

⁵ No. 1698.

⁶ No. 1713.

⁷ No. 1730.

⁸ No. 1743.

⁹ No. 1747.

1306. Henry de Percy, and Robert de Clifford, to put down the Scots,¹ intending himself to follow, notwithstanding his infirmities, with his son.² The seamen bringing provisions from Ireland were commanded to keep the high seas, and not to approach the Ayrshire or Galloway coasts, the seat of the rising.³ He gave the Annandale estates of Bruce to his son-in-law Humphrey de Bohun earl of Essex,⁴ those in Durham to Robert de Clifford⁵ (with a part subsequently of Christopher de Seton's estate), and committed his other English lands to various persons,⁶ keeping the manor of Writtle for himself.⁷ The earldom of Menteith was given to John de Hastings and Edmund his brother,⁸ that of Lennox to John de Menteith,⁹ of Carrick to Henry de Percy, and Athol to Ralph de Monthermer;¹⁰ and doubtless many other patriots lost their lands, of which there is no record.

At no period of his life is the fiery energy of the King of England more apparent than in these last eighteen months of his life. The writs, often only drafts, are altered and interlined to express his wishes more clearly. He urges his lieutenants to action,¹¹ expresses his gratitude to God for their successes,¹² orders that no terms be kept with the Bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, but unconditional surrender,¹³ adding his earnest wishes for their capture, and his pleasure on hearing one is taken;¹⁴ gives orders to destroy the lands of ungrateful Scotsmen, but to honour the loyal,¹⁵ and put to death enemies taken in arms, with certain special exceptions, on whose fate he is to be first consulted.¹⁶ Such are a few of the contents of the letters despatched while Edward was slowly making his way to Scotland in June 1306.

The Prince of Wales, leaving his father on the Marches, entered Scotland in July, and we find him on the 13th of that month announcing to Aymer de Valence the surrender of Loch-

¹ No. 1754.

² No. 1763.

³ Nos. 1753, 1763.

⁴ Nos. 1757, 1766, 1842. It is for this reason that so many of the Annandale papers are in the Duchy of Lancaster collection. The heiress of the Bohuns married Henry IV.

⁵ Nos. 1776, 1894.

⁶ Nos. 1767, 1804.

⁷ Nos. 1804, 1816.

⁸ No. 1771.

⁹ No. 1786.

¹⁰ Hemingburgh, vol. ii. 257.

¹¹ Nos. 1773, 1777.

¹² No. 1780.

¹³ No. 1777.

¹⁴ Nos. 1785, 1786.

¹⁵ Nos. 1782, 1787.

¹⁶ No. 1790.

maben castle two days before,¹ and saying that he will hasten to Perth. He was at Forteviot, within a few miles of it, on 1st August,² and at the end of that month or beginning of next, the castle of Kildrummy surrendered to him, as the jubilant letter of 13th September, giving the names of several of the prisoners, relates.³ Among the chief of these were the King of Scotland's brother [Nigel], Sir Robert de Boyd, Sir Alexander de Lindesay, and others not named. Nigel Bruce was executed, after trial by a special commission, at Berwick.⁴ How the other two escaped a like fate does not appear. The Countesses of Carrick and Buchan, Maria and Christina the sisters, and Margery the daughter, of Bruce, were taken in the sanctuary of St Duthac, at Tain, by the Earl of Ross, and delivered to Edward.⁵ They were placed in strict confinement, three of them in 'kages.'⁶ The Earl of Athol, Simon Fraser, Christopher Seton, and others of note, were executed, the two former at London and the last at Dumfries.⁷ The Bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow and the Abbot of Scone, were sent under a strong escort to the castles of Winchester, Porchester, and Mere in Wilts, being treated with the utmost rigour, and placed in fetters.⁸ He of St Andrews attempted to clear himself of complicity in the murder of Comyn, but his solemn assurance procured him no favour from the incensed King,⁹ and had he and the others been laymen, they would have forfeited their lives.¹⁰ He was interrogated on apprehension, like a felon, by commissioners at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and forced to acknowledge many charges—violation of his oath as a Privy Councillor for one, and the secret indenture with the Earl of Carrick¹¹ (on St Barnabas day 1304), which was found with other compromising documents, in his possession.¹² Charges against him and the two other churchmen were drawn up to be submitted to the Pope.¹³

1306.

Edward I.
(Robert I.)¹ No. 1803.² No. 1809.³ No. 1829.⁴ Hailes, referring to Trivet and Matthew of Westminster.⁵ *Ibid.*, referring to Barbour and Fordun.⁶ Nos. 1850, 1851.⁷ Hailes, referring to Trivet and Matthew of Westminster.⁸ Nos. 1812, 1813, 1814, 1815, 1824.⁹ Nos. 1780, 1781.¹⁰ No. 1799.¹¹ No. 1817.¹² Nos. 1818, 1822.¹³ Nos. 1827, 1828.

1306. The Bishop of Glasgow made a request to Edward to be enlarged in England, till the 'ryote' of his countrymen was put down.¹ The Bishop of Moray saved himself by flight to Orkney, where the King of England endeavoured to persuade Haco, King of Norway, to arrest him,² without success. In addition to these stern examples of vengeance, one may be added, hitherto it is believed unknown.³ On 4th August 1306, a special commission at Newcastle-on-Tyne sentenced to death, *without trial*, fifteen Scotsmen and one Englishman, taken in arms, with one exception, on the field of Methven, which, if we accept the date in the indictment, was fought on Sunday the 26th of the previous June.⁴ Edward's instructions (drawn up by himself at Laysingby near Carlisle, on the 1st of August) were express, that none should be allowed to answer. It cannot be doubted that they all met their doom.⁵ Among them were Alexander le Skyrmyshour, created by Wallace hereditary standard-bearer of Scotland, and John de Seton, 'Englishman.' The latter was captured in Tibbers castle, near Dumfries, and was indicted for aiding in Comyn's murder, and making prisoner the sheriff of Dumfries, Richard Siward. From his style of 'Englishman,' he was probably a brother or near relative of Christopher Seton, who was tried as a native subject of Edward.

We must now turn to the central figure—the new King of Scotland. After his defeat at Methven, Bruce and his small band of adherents, escaping into Athol, lurked for some time there and in the West Highlands, enduring much hardship, from which, when reduced to the extremity of famine among the hills, they were at length rescued by the Earl of Lennox, who till then thought King Robert had been killed at Methven. They then made their way by sea to Kintyre, where Angus of the Isles received them into his castle of Dunaverty, at the extreme south of that peninsula. Fearful of treachery,

¹ No. 1825.

² No. 1907.

³ No. 1811. This was pointed out to the editor by Mr William Brown, barrister-at-law of Lincoln's Inn, a diligent student of the antiquities of his county, York. It is a fly-

leaf sewed to a Yorkshire Assize Roll, with which it has no other connection.

⁴ The 19th June is the date given by Lord Hailes.

⁵ No. 1823.

Bruce remained only three days within its walls, and with his followers crossed to Rachrin, an island thirteen or fourteen miles to the south-west, about four miles from the north coast of Ireland. From the Records we learn that King Edward acknowledged directly the important services of John of Argyll in pursuit,¹ and that the fugitive was followed so closely by his enemies that Dunaverty castle was under siege on 22nd September,² and had been invested probably some days before. And it is clear his island refuge had been discovered, for on 29th and 30th January 1306-7, there are orders for Hugh Biset and his fleet to join Sir John de Menteith and Simon de Montacute in pursuing Robert Bruce and his accomplices and destroying their retreat.³ On 1st February Edward ordered the sheriff of Cumberland to despatch vessels well manned and armed to Ayr, in search of Bruce, and assist his Admiral, who was at sea on the same duty.⁴ Thus rumours of his return to Scotland (which Barbour says was in early spring), may have preceded the actual event. But it is somewhat unaccountable that Bruce was permitted to remain undisturbed, to all appearance, in Rachrin from September till January. It was within the territories of the powerful family of the Bisets of the Glens of Antrim, who were warm adherents of Edward I., and though the currents and races of these stormy seas are proverbial, they could be no obstacle to hardy mariners. He may, therefore, have been for these mid-winter months, in some more distant refuge.⁵ For Barbour asserts that on reaching Carrick in spring, he for the first time learned the disasters and executions of his friends, from a lady a 'ner cosyn' of his own in that country. The desertion also of some of his principal adherents, the Earl of Menteith, Sir Patrick Graham, and others, in November preceding, was then probably first made known to him.⁶

1306-7.

Edward I.
(Robert I.)¹ No. 1830.² Nos. 1833, 1834.³ Nos. 1888, 1889.⁴ No. 1893.

⁵ Now that we know the alliance between the Bruces and the royal house of Norway to be a fact, it is far from improbable that Bruce did betake himself to the Norwegian domin-

ions. It has been overlooked that Fabyan (ed. 1559, p. 148) and other English chroniclers circumstantially assert this, though Dr Jamieson in his additional notes to Barbour (Book II.) treated it as equally fabulous with the Norwegian marriage.

⁶ Nos. 1849, 1852.

1306-7.
Edward I.
(Robert I.)

He must also have then heard of the total defeat of the force of 700 Irishmen, brought to his aid by Thomas and Alexander his brothers, which was cut to pieces on landing (9th February) at Lochryan, by Dougal Macdowall, when the heads of his brothers and Sir Ranald Crawford and other leaders, were placed on the gates of Carlisle.¹ Even his resolute spirit might have quailed at this news, and not less at the unknown dangers yet before him, while he was to be hunted for his life among his native hills.

Whatever may have been the exact date of Bruce's reaching Carrick, early in February the English King must have believed in his arrival, for he writes from his sick-room at Lanercost on 6th and 11th February, ordering a distinct report from Aymar de Valence and his other officers at Ayr, of their doings against the Scots, to be sent to him by a trustworthy messenger, as he believes they are concealing the real state of matters, and have done so badly they do not wish him to know the truth.² At this point Barbour confuses dates, saying that the prisoners from Kildrummy were brought to Edward at Burgh-on-Sands, on his death-bed (July 1307), when he ordered them all to instant execution. Whereas, as we have seen, Kildrummy was taken nearly a year earlier, in September 1306. But his romantic account of Bruce's pursuit by Aymar de Valence with a cavalry force, and John of Lorne (or Argyll) with 800 men 'and ma,' and a bloodhound that once belonged to the fugitive King, is borne out so far by the warrant of 19th July, under the seal of Sir Aymar, then at Dalmolin near Ayr, for pay to Lorne, who with 800 foot, and 22 men-at-arms was then guarding that town.³ So, too, is Barbour's narrative of the failure of Aymar de Valence's attempt to surprise Bruce in his retreat at Glentool.⁴ On 20th February 1500 Border foot were mustered at Carlisle to pursue him, and on 19th March 1000 from Lancaster, with 1500 more from Cumberland and Westmoreland;⁵ while it is otherwise certain that from 12th February to 3rd May he must have been

¹ Chronicle of Lanercost, p. 205. Nos. 1905, 1915.

⁴ A wild mountain lake in the upper part of Kirkcubright.

² Nos. 1895, 1896.

⁵ Nos. 1902, 1913.

³ No. 1957.

in a most critical position. On the side of Nithsdale, Sir John Botetourte the warden, was in pursuit with 70 horse and 200 archers. On that of Ayrshire, Sir Aymar de Valence with 700 archers was on his track. Sir Robert de Clifford, with a small detachment, kept guard at the water of Cree; and from Carlisle, 70 horsemen and 40 archers, with 300 Tynedale men under Sir Geoffrey de Moubray, were sent by the English King himself to Glentroot in special search of Bruce, between 10th April and 3rd May.¹ A map of the district will show how near he must often have been to his enemies, and that his escapes must have been often narrow. He did, however, extricate himself from the toils, and by the 10th of May (according to Barbour), defeated Sir Aymar de Valence at Loudon Hill, on the border of Ayr and Lanarkshire, nearly thirty-five miles to the north. The date of this action is given by the English historians² as about the end of March, but Barbour's date is supported by two letters, without a year, but dated 15th May. In the first of these,³ from Carlisle, King Edward's anger at the retreat of the Guardian before 'King Hobbe' (as he calls Bruce) is mentioned; also that he had reviewed his cavalry (400 men) decked with leaves, on Whitsunday, and was very merry. The writer adds a curious fact that James of Douglas had sent to be received, but on seeing the English forces retreat [at Loudon Hill] he had drawn back; showing how desperate Bruce's prospects must have been before this success. The second letter,⁴ from Forfar, gives the rumours about Bruce that possibly had been brought from the same fight, and his improved prospects, and the expectation that he might come that way.⁵ From its mention of King Edward's possible death, the editor, with some hesitation, has assigned it to this period, though neither the writer nor person addressed are named. The action of Loudon Hill was not decisive in its effects, for the English operations were going on in a few days after; a foray from Dumfries, in the direction of Cumnock, being

1306-7.

Edward I.
(Robert I.)¹ No. 1923.² Hemingburgh, ii. p. 265. Trivet, i. p. 413.³ No. 1979.⁴ No. 1926.⁵ Barbour says such was his intention after the battle, and that he crossed the 'Mounth' to attack the Earl of Buchan and other enemies in that quarter. But he places this a year too early.

1307. arranged for on 16th May by the Treasurer (the Bishop of Chester) at Dumfries, who had come from Lanark the day before.¹ Bruce is said to have defeated Ralph de Monthermer within three days after Loudon Hill, and besieged him in Ayr castle, but to have retired on succours approaching.² On 1st June, Aymar de Valence, then at Bothwell castle, orders 300 foot for Earl Patrick at Ayr; and workmen for the repairs of the castle.³ He was at Ayr himself ten days afterwards,⁴ from that time till Edward's death, making expeditions into the neighbourhood in search of his late opponent. He was, early in July, on another foray to Carrick and Glentool;⁵ about Ayr from 17th to 19th July;⁶ in the Glenkens (Kirkcudbright) on the 24th;⁷ by the 31st he was back at Skeldon on the Doon, above Ayr;⁸ and was still at Ayr with many knights, Clifford, Hastings, &c., in that month or August.⁹ These writs seem to indicate that Bruce must have been in that district, not in the north of Scotland, at this time, for the Warden would hardly have remained to pursue an inferior foe.

With the death of Edward I. the greatest danger had passed away, and Robert Bruce's career was thenceforth one of steady progress, though toilsome years were to pass before he secured his throne, even by the all but unanimous recognition of his own countrymen.¹⁰

A few words must be said on the seals in the text and Appendices I. and III. There are contained in this volume descriptions of the seals, still extant to the number of about 860, that were attached to the original homages of Scotsmen in 1296. Of these there are about 20 duplicate and borrowed seals, besides a few of Englishmen who had an official connection with Scotland at that time, but all, with scarcely an exception, are of that period.

¹ Nos. 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1933.

² Hemingburgh, ii. 265. Trivet, i. 413.

³ No. 1935.

⁴ No. 1938.

⁵ No. 1942.

⁶ Nos. 1954-1957.

⁷ No. 1958. Though seventeen days after the King's death, this letter is given as in his '35th year.'

⁸ No. 1959.

⁹ No. 1961.

¹⁰ A strong national feeling is traceable among the commons of Scotland. While most of the magnates, as fear or interest influenced them, were by turns the adherents or opponents of England, the 'mesne men' and commons seem to have steadily refused the inducements held out to them to submit (Nos. 1908, 1909), and were ever ready to rally round the standard of independence.

The seals (86 in number) which have been autotyped¹ by Mr Charles Prætorius are, generally speaking, of excellent design, in a superior kind of wax, many having been appended to important instruments at the time of the Competition for the Crown, or to single homages.² The five plates containing these are numbered at the beginning of Appendix III.

Many of those that follow are also very good, quite equal in execution, but being often joined on tags or strings, were not found suitable for the autotype process. As a rule, the general homage seals are impressed on olive-green coloured wax, and at first sight seem rudely executed. But on careful examination they are extremely interesting, and shew a considerable amount of, we may believe, native art in the designers. The characters of the animals and birds depicted are true to nature, and many of the devices and designs are curious. Many are not armorial, exhibiting the devices of a flower, a shrub, a rabbit, or a bird. A stag's head cabossed, a hunting horn, a star and crescent, are also common. A considerable number, above 100, have baffled the decipherer, and still remain a subject for conjecture. As they have been described with every possible care, shewing how many are attached together, they may be identified by a comparison with the names on the Roll, and a process of induction. By this means many have been definitely, some conjecturally, ascertained.³ The surname of the homager is not always the same as that on his or her seal, and what is singular, seals appear to have been lent, for in several instances the same seal occurs more than once in a homage. It will be noticed on examining the Roll, that the homages were at first made singly by important persons from May to July, and thereafter on 28th August they were made in groups, more or less in number, beginning with the churchmen and magnates, after which landowners, both great and small, are found

¹ Of the same size as the originals.

(2 vols., 1850-66). If, as not unfrequently

² The seal of Walter Steward earl of Menteith (Pl. iv. 6), is probably the earliest in the present collection, dating between 1258-1290.

happens, his readings differ, it must be remembered that he has had the great advantage of deliberate and careful comparison of the seals

³ The editor has to acknowledge the assistance derived from the previous labours of Mr Henry Laing in his *Catalogue of Scottish Seals*

with the names on the *Ragman Roll*, and this in the groups often identified with the remains of the original homages.

1296. on the same deed. The seals were probably first affixed, and each made oath in turn touching his or her own seal, after the manner still in use in the execution of English deeds. It is believed that the placing these seals in juxtaposition to the Ragman Roll will supply a want long felt by more than one eminent Scottish antiquary. It has been found impracticable, for the reasons stated above, to make a separate index to them. Where identified or conjectured, however, a reference has been placed to the seal after the name of the owner.

The subject of seals being cognate to that of genealogy, reference may now be made to some genealogical questions on which the documents in the Calendar throw light. Two of some historical interest have been already adverted to.

We discover probably the last appearance of Alan Durward, so prominent in the early years of Alexander III., as still in possession of the castle of Bolsover, on 25th August 1274.¹ It may be noticed that in Nicholas de Soulis' claim to the Crown (in the Great Roll) a slip is committed; his mother, Ermegarda, being there apparently called the daughter and heir of Alexander III. Whereas, it will be seen in the original instrument, that his mother was daughter of Alan Durward, who had married a daughter of Alexander II. Soulis' mother was thus the niece of Alexander III. This partly supplies a missing link in the Durward genealogy. A later Sir Alan Durward is found holding office at Inverness in 1291-92;² and Thomas Durward of Angusshire is on the Ragman Roll.

Alexander III., as the Scottish overlord of the late Walter de Lindesay of Lamberton and Kendal, is found on 23rd September 1274,³ certifying that the re-marriage of Cristiana his widow, to Walter de Percy of Kildale, took place in his kingdom. On 14th June next year, Edward I. condoned Percy's trespass for a fine of 80 marks.⁴

The memorandum as to the descendants of Waldeve of Allir-

¹ No. 18.

³ No. 23.

² No. 560.

⁴ No. 52.

dale, younger brother of Gospatric (II.) and Dolfín, is a singular document.¹ It does not appear what was the object of bastardising these elder brothers, or entering into the fabulous details as to Ranulph de Meschinis having received the earldom of Karliol from William the Conqueror. In some respects, the latter portion especially, where it treats of Cospatrick of Bolton, and what follows, it is almost identical with the *Chronicon Cumbriæ*,² but the beginning is quite different. Some historical persons are however named, and there seems no reason to discredit the assertion that Duncan King of Scotland married Ethelreda the daughter of Earl Gospatric (I.).

The Molecastres and Penningtons of Cumberland appear to have held Gyffyn in Coningham, probably a grant to one or other family from the de Morvilles.³

Robert de Brus of Annandale, afterwards Competitor, had married as a second wife a Cumberland heiress, Cristiana de Irby, before 1279.⁴ They often appear in the records from this date.

The surname of Lokard or Lokarde (found in Dumfriesshire, in William the Lyon's reign,⁵) occurs as one of seven coparceners, mostly Scottish, in the barony of Levington in Cumberland.⁶

In the inquisition on the death of John Biset *junior* of Glenarm, whose three co-heiresses are all married to Scotsmen, the island of Rachrin, the future refuge of Robert Bruce, occurs among his possessions.⁷

In the Assize Roll of Werk in Tynedale, details are given of the Comyn family in 1279, showing that John Comyn of Tynedale (father of him whom Bruce killed at Dumfries) had a younger brother John Comyn *junior*, who was portioned in Thorton in Tynedale.⁸ This younger John appears once again as Sir John Comyn 'le joen,' in 1297,⁹ in contradistinction to his elder brother, there styled Sir John of Badenoch as the head

¹ No. 64.
² Dugdale *mon.* i. 400, *old ed.* (Wetherall Priory).

³ No. 133.
⁴ No. 146.

⁵ Vol. i. No. 105. Hence perhaps Locardebi.
⁶ P. 37.

⁷ No. 163.
⁸ P. 51.
⁹ No. 963.

1297-1303. of the family. It also appears that this younger Sir John had a uterine brother Robert and a sister Alicia, shewing that his mother, whose name was Alicia,¹ must have married another Comyn.* This Robert was doubtless the uncle Sir Robert who was killed at Dumfries with his uterine nephew.² It may also be pointed out here that an entry on the Close Rolls establishes the fact, much discussed in the history of the Earldom of Menteith, that Isabella countess of Menteith, wife of William Comyn of Kirkintilloch, was not, as often called, the daughter of Walter Comyn, but of John Russel, the English knight, who was the second husband of Walter Comyn's widow, the elder Countess of Menteith.³

Another piece of evidence about this once great family is afforded by the inquisition on 30th December 1303,⁴ taken before the deputies of the Earl of Carrick, then sheriff of Lanark, wherein it was found that Sir John Comyn (who is styled 'grandfather of Sir John Comyn then living') gave the land of Dalserf in Clydesdale in frank marriage with his daughter to Sir William de Galbrathe, by whom it was given to his own son William and the latter's wife Willelma, daughter of the late Sir William de Douglas, and the four co-heiresses of these last inherited—the eldest being a daughter Johanna, mother of Bernard de Cathe,⁵ then living. While Dalserf was known to have been an early possession of the Comyns, these details of relationship to the Galbraiths and Douglasses seem new.

Cristiana de Valoignes, the heiress of Panmure, appears at Berwick, 10th August 1291,⁶ attending to her affairs. Having been married in 1215 she had reached a great age.

¹ P. 54.

³ No. 466.

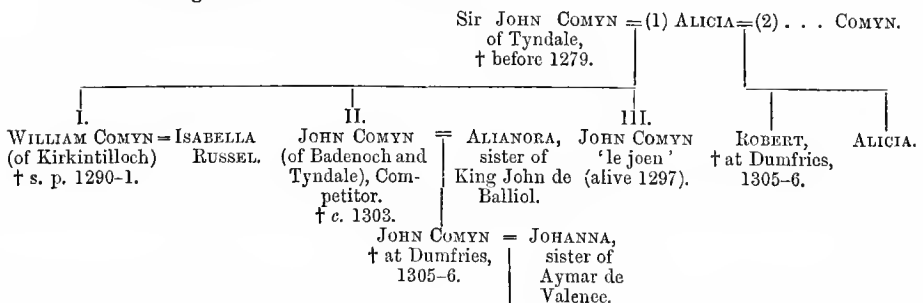
⁵ Keith (?).

² No. 1747.

⁴ No. 1420.

⁶ No. 511

* The following tree will make this more clear :—



On 11th March 1285–86 Edward I. consented to a marriage between John the heir of Athol and a daughter of Sir William de Soules.¹

Eric King of Norway, after a lapse of ten years from the death of Margaret of Scotland, his first Queen, took as his second, Isabella daughter of the elder Robert earl of Carrick, in 1292. The inventory of the valuable robes, jewels, plate, and two crowns, delivered at Bergen, 25th September 1293,² by the envoys of her father for her use, is new. If the mother of Thomas Randolph earl of Moray was, as she is usually called, Isabella, then there were two sisters of the same name. They may have been the children of different marriages.

An interesting point in the pedigree of the Douglasses occurs in the sheriff's return for the lands of Scotsmen in Essex, seized by Edward I. in 1296.³ William de Douglas held lands there in right of the wife whom he abducted at Tranent—Alianora de Ferrars—as dower from her first husband, and among other properties seized was a son of his named Hugh, said to be nearly two years old, and born in England. This boy lived to be for a short time the head of the family, after the death in Spain of his more eminent half brother 'the Good' Sir James.

From a petition for exchange of prisoners on 7th April 1299⁴ it is learned that Marie, successively Queen of Man and Countess of Stratherne, had married a third time, an Englishman, Sir William fitz Waren. She was a daughter of the house of Argyll,⁵ and died before 10th October 1303.⁶

The lineage of the family of Seton, which rose to high rank in Scotland, is illustrated by several documents. In the first of these, John de Seton is found on 4th July 1291, accompanying Edward I. by his special order to St Andrews.⁷ On 6th October 1294, the same John perhaps, (for he had lands in Yorkshire), becomes surety for John Comyn, who had committed an assault on the doorkeeper of Exchequer.⁸ By 11th September 1299, he was dead, leaving lands in the counties of Cumberland and York,

¹ No. 285.⁴ No. 1062.⁷ No. 501.² No. 675.⁵ P. 124.⁸ No. 702.³ P. 173.⁶ No. 1117.

his son Christopher being his heir, who was twenty-one years of age on 25th March of that year.¹ By later documents, it appears that the father left a widow named Erminia.² Christopher was thus only twenty-eight when he was executed in 1306.

Robert de Coningham, the slain constable of Carlaverock castle,³ was probably the same who appears on the Ragman Roll as of Ayrshire. The connection between him and James the Steward of Scotland, whose sister was his aunt by marriage, is new to the editor.⁴

Sir John the Steward, next brother of James the High Steward, who fell at Falkirk in 1298, and is generally styled 'of Bonkill,' can only have been so in expectancy, through his marriage to the heiress, Margaret de Bonkill. For Sir Alexander de Bonkill, her father, was alive till shortly before 27th April 1300, when an inquisition of his Cumberland lands was taken, where it is found that his daughter and heir Margaret remains with the enemy in Scotland.⁵ His widow, Crestiene, petitioned Edward I. for dower on 7th June afterwards.⁶ Margaret, his daughter, became the wife of Sir David de Brechin before 7th July 1304, when she and her husband are received to the King's peace.⁷ She was dead before September of that year, when a dispute is recorded in the Register of John de Halton bishop of Carlisle, as having taken place regarding the presentation to the church of Ulvedale in his diocese. It is there stated that her heir by John Steward was a minor, that she had married David de Brechin under a Papal dispensation, and had issue by him, and that he survived her. (9th Report of Commissioners on Hist. MSS., App. p. 181 *b*.)

At p. 337 a question of some interest in Scottish heraldry is suggested by two seals there described. It has hitherto been supposed that the armorial bearing of three cinquefoils was con-

¹ No. 1091.

² Nos. 1841, 1861, 1904.

³ No. 1101.

⁴ There is no mention of it in Douglas's *Peerage of Scotland* (art. Glencairn). The Robert de Coningham who swore fealty to Edward I., is there said to have declared for

Robert I., from whom he had charters of the Ayrshire lands of the la Zouches and de Ferrers.

⁵ No. 1135. Nothing is said of her being a widow.

⁶ No. 1139.

⁷ No. 1584.

fixed at that period to the family which afterwards took the surname of Hamilton. A seal in the Chapter House collection (App. III., 157) bearing this charge, has accordingly been attributed to Walter fitz Gilbert, their ancestor. The original homage to which it and four others have been appended, has perished, but it can be identified on the Ragman Roll (p. 198), by these four seals, the inscriptions on which are distinct, while on the fifth (that under notice), the words 's' VALTERI DWRAM,' can be read with some difficulty, but certainly not Walter fitz Gilbert. All five belong undoubtedly to a homage by persons from eleven different counties, on which the name, not of Walter fitz Gilbert, but of Walter Duraunt, a Dumfriesshire landowner, occurs. In another homage (p. 199), Walter de Burghdon of Roxburghshire appears, his seal (App. III., 2 (15)) bearing a single cinquefoil. In 1302 a knight of the same Christian and surname was sheriff of Lanark and constable of Carstairs, and in that capacity his seal (p. 337) is appended to his indenture, and bears three cinquefoils. That of Sir William de Duresme (or Durham) sheriff of Peebles (*ibid.*)¹ bears three cinquefoils on a bend. These coincidences are somewhat remarkable. The de Burghdons were a Northumberland family, from which county some have thought the Hamiltons also came.

Several references occur, illustrating the connection of the Campbell family with Ayrshire. Robert de Kethe, who appears to have been a speculator in wardships,² complained that Sir Nigel Cambel had taken possession of the ward of the two daughters of Andrew de Crawford, which the complainant had bought from John Balliol while King. Sir Nigel appears further to have married the younger of these daughters, and Crawford's estate seems to have been the barony of Longemertenock in Ayrshire (p. 425). Sir Nigel is found afterwards in possession of the ward of the heir of Hubert de Multon,³ with the King of England's license to marry the widow. He was dead before 25th

¹ He seems to have been a Scotsman too, quite different, but this might easily be the being claimed as the ancestor of the Dur- case, for arms were not then fixed.
hams of Largo, in Fifeshire. Their shield is

² Nos. 1406, 1409, 1983.

³ No. 1289.

October 1305,¹ when the ward of his son, a minor, is given to Sir John de Dovedale. It has generally been said that Sir Nigel Cambel married one of the sisters of the Earl of Carrick. If so, she must have been an earlier wife than either of these ladies, or the Colin Cambel, Bruce's nephew, who is named by Barbour as being rebuked sharply by his uncle for his rashness in the Irish campaign of 1317, could hardly be the son of this Sir Nigel, who is the only knight of that name occurring in the records at this date.²

In June 1304,³ Sir Patrick de Dunbar son of the Earl of March, receives a cask of new wine for his wife, Lady Ermigarda, then pregnant. This marriage is hitherto unknown, and it is uncertain who the lady was. If this Patrick was he who succeeded his father in 1309, and was the last of the line of earls named Patrick, the only wife assigned to him is the celebrated Black Agnes, daughter of Thomas Randolph earl of Moray, whom he married about 1323.

Many of the documents in this volume are undated, and those often not the least valuable as tending to throw light on the acts and motives of some of the chief persons of the time. This has caused much thought and labour in endeavouring to fit such writings into their proper places. Some perhaps could now be more properly placed, though, on the whole, the editor thinks they have been arranged with a fair approximation to chronological sequence.

The editor has, in concluding, to repeat his acknowledgments to the Master of the Rolls, and Sir William Hardy, the Deputy-keeper, for the great facilities afforded him in consulting the Public Records under their charge, as well as to their assistant officers, Mr Selby especially, who is always ready to solve a difficulty when such occurs.

J. B.

LONDON, *October 1884.*

¹ Nos. 1628, 1717.

² There is a Mestre Nigel Cambel of Ayrshire on the Ragman Roll, who was also an envoy of the senior Earl of Carrick, when his

daughter Isabella was Queen of Norway. The term 'Mestre' would rather imply that he was a churchman.

³ No. 1549

SCHEDULE OF RECORDS EXAMINED.

		No. of Rolls, &c.
EXCHEQUER.	Pipe Rolls, 1-35 Edward I.	35
	Chancellor's Rolls, 1-15 Edward I.	15
	Originalia „ 1-21 „	19
	Memoranda „ (Q.R.) 1-35 Edward I.	31
	„ „ (L.T.R.) 1-20 „	17
	Miscellanea, (Q.R.) 1-35 „	—
	„ (Q.R. Army) 1-35 Edward I.	—
	„ (Q.R. Wardrobe) 1-35 Edward I.	—
	„ Treasury of Receipt 1-35 „	—
	Liber 'A,' Chapter House.	
	Paper Documents, Chapter House, 7 Portfolios	v.r.
	Scots Documents, „	—
CHANCERY.	Patent Rolls, 1-35 Edward I.	37
	Close „ „ „	35
	Charter „ 2-35 „	34
	Fine „ 1-28 „	28
	Liberate „ 1-35 „	35
	Chancery Files, 1-35	11 bundles
	Inquisitions post mortem, 1-35 Edward I.	
	Tower Miscellaneous Rolls, Portfolio No. 459.	
	Papal Bulls (Alexander IV.—Clement V.)	170
	Royal Letters.	
	Miscellaneous Portfolios, Nos. 11, 41, 474.	
	Parliamentary Petitions.	
	Writs of Privy Seal (Tower)	17 bundles
QUEEN'S BENCH.	{ Assize Rolls, Northumberland, Cumberland, } { Westmoreland, &c. }	
DUCHY OF LANCASTER.	{ Charters	3 vols.
	{ Grants (in boxes) 'A,' 'B,' &c.	

* * It has been considered unnecessary to include the *Rotuli Scotiae* in this Calendar, as these Rolls, which begin in 1291 and end in 1516, have already been printed, in an edition of 1000 copies, under the direction of the Record Commissioners in two volumes folio, Lond. 1814-19.

TABLE OF THE CONTEMPORARY KINGS AND GOVERNMENTS
OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND FROM 20TH NOVEMBER 1272 TO
7TH JULY 1307.

A.D.	England.	Scotland.	Beginning and Length of Reign.
1272	Edward I.	Alexander III.	{ 8th July 1249 (to 19th March 1285-86.)
		Margaret of Norway. }	(to October 1290.)
		Interregnum.	1290-1292.
		John Balliol.	1292-1296.
		Interregnum.	
		Sir Wm. Wallace (Guardian).	1297-1298.
		The Bishop of St Andrews, the Earl of Carrick, and John Comyn, <i>junior</i> , (Guardians.) }	1299-1303-4.
		Robert Bruce.	{ 25 March 1306 to 7 June 1329.
1307	{ Close of the reign of Edward I.		