



**The
History and Chronicles
Of
Scotland**

By Hector Boece,

**Translated Into Scots
By John Bellenden**

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Frontispiece
The Arms of King James V.



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Bibliographic and Editorial Note

In 1526 Hector Boece (or Boyis or Boice, or various other spellings) published, in Latin *Scotorum Historiae a Prima Gentis Origine cum Aliarum Rerum et Gentium Illustratione Non Vulgari*. [A History of The Scots from Their First Origin with an Account of Other Matters Of Importance.] A few years later (the exact date is uncertain) King James V of Scots requested John Bellenden to make a translation, his own Latin being shaky. This he did, not into English but into the Scots language which was his and the king's native tongue. It was subsequently published about 1536. This was republished in 1821, which edition is the source of our version.

We have endeavoured to present a modern English version, the original Scots being difficult or in some cases incomprehensible to 21st century Anglophones. If we have failed in anything, we can console ourselves that no-one else has tried; if it inspires a better version no-one will be more pleased than ourselves.

Notes added by the Ex-Classics Project translator are identified by [TN]. Other notes are by the uncredited editor of the 1821 edition from which this work is taken. Translations of Latin are also by the Ex-Classics Project.

The History and Chronicles of Scotland

Title Page
(of Vol. 1)

THE
HISTORY AND CHRONICLES
OF
SCOTLAND:
WRITTEN IN LATIN
BY HECTOR BOECE,
CANON OF ABERDEEN;
AND TRANSLATED
BY JOHN BELLENDEN,
ARCHDEAN OF MORAY, AND CANON OF ROSS.

VOLUME I.

EDINBURGH:

REPRINTED FOR W. AND C. TAIT.

M.DCCC.XXI.

Advertisement.

THE HISTORY AND CHRONICLES OF SCOTLAND, of which a reprint is here offered to the public, is a work of great rarity, and has long been highly prized by collectors. It is a translation, from the Latin, of Hector Boece's *History of Scotland*, executed by John Bellenden, Archdean of Moray, at the request of James the Fifth, who appears to have been ignorant of that language. It was printed at Edinburgh, in a black letter folio, probably about the year 1536, by Thomas Davidson, a Northland man, born on the Water of Dee. Mr Herbert supposes that there was another edition published in 1541. That there were two editions is not improbable, although it seems impossible now to ascertain their dates with accuracy. The copy from which the present edition has been printed, differs considerably in orthography, and occasionally even in expression, from another copy, in the library of the late Lord Hailes, which has been used in revising the proof-sheets. These copies contain no internal evidence of the precise dates of their publication, which must, however, have been very near to the periods assigned by Herbert. Davidson was appointed Royal Printer in 1540, and the Statutes of James the Fifth, which he printed at the command of that monarch, bear the date of 1541.<1>

There is no information to be obtained respecting the engraver of the curious wood-cut which ornaments the last leaf of Bellenden's work, and of which a [facsimile](#) has been executed, for the present reprint, by Mr. Lizars. [at the very end of this edition – TN] We can scarcely venture to attribute the original to a Scottish, or even to an English artist, among whose works, at this time, we rarely discover either tolerable design or careful execution. It is more than probable that Davidson procured the block from Germany, where the *Formschneiders* had made considerable progress in the art of engraving upon wood, at an early period. The copy of the *Acts of two Parliaments of James the Fifth*, printed upon vellum by him, in 1541, and preserved in the Advocates' Library, contains a fine impression of the same print, to which is subjoined the following monkish distich:

*En ego, justicie typus atq. figura, tribunal
Sic ascendo meum: dextra assertoribus alta
Astipulor veri, quibus hec mea lilia merces;
At si quis contra sentit, demissa sinistra
In stygios jubet ire lacus, gladioq. feriri.<2>*

The subject of the print scarcely requires any description. Within a circle of roses are the ordinary emblems of the Trinity; on the right and left appear the Virgin, with an infant Jesus in her arms; Moses, and the Royal Psalmist; St Peter, with the keys of heaven; St Paul, and the Lion of St Mark; with a large assembly of prophets, apostles, martyrs, pilgrims, popes, cardinals, virgins, and matrons. The lower part of the engraving exhibits a scene in purgatory. A more minute description may be found in Herbert's edition of Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*. The general design is full of spirit; and the execution of the engraving has not been surpassed by the most skilful of modern xylographers.

The original title-page has also been accurately copied upon a reduced scale, for this work. It exhibits a rude engraving of the Arms of Scotland, a favourite ornament with our early printers. The original may have been executed in Scotland,

and its merit is not diminished in the copy by Mr Lizars. The blooming letters used in the course of these volumes were designed and engraved by this ingenious artist. The two small wood-cuts which occur in the fourth and twelfth Books were executed by Mr Bewick.<3>

There are several manuscript copies extant of Bellenden's Translation of Boece. The most ancient and authentic of these belongs to Sir Alexander Boswell of Auchinleck. It differs materially from the printed work; and the Editor regrets extremely that the arrangements for the present publication did not admit of collating them. The earlier part, as far as the end of the table to the fourth Book, is wanting. What remains of the table differs in many respects from the printed copy. Then follows the list of Kings, which is a fuller translation of Boece's catalogue. This is succeeded by "a ballad," which is the same with the "Proem of the History;" but concludes, "Here ends the ballad, and begins the Preface directed to our Sovereign Lord King James the Fifth." The preface occupies four pages and a half of the MS. It is just the Epistle which concludes the printed volume under the title of "The Epistle directed by the translator to the King's grace;" but concludes with the following date, which is material, as ascertaining the period at which the translation must have been executed: "At Edinburgh, the last day of August, the year of God, one thousand five hundred and thirty-one years."

It would be vain to attempt an enumeration of the discrepancies that occur in the historical part of the narrative; but a few of them may be noticed. In the third chapter of the Fourteenth Book, the passage beginning, "It was said by them that followed the opinion of Balliol," runs thus in the MS.: "It is said that Robert Bruce was the cause of the discomfiture of this last field at Dunbar; for in the beginning of the battle, he permitted to King Edward to come from King Balliol, with all his friends and kinsmen," and then he goes for his reward to the English monarch. A very remarkable variation occurs in the fifth chapter of the same Book. In the MS., Wallace's speech to Bruce is literally translated from Boece; while, in the printed copy, all his abuse of Bruce is omitted, and an apology introduced.

In the printed work, the Fifteenth Book commences with an account of the proceedings of Sir James Douglas, which is omitted in the MS., where this Book begins as follows:— <4>

"And begins the 15th book of the same. How David Bruce was made King of Scotland; and how Earl Thomas Randolph was made Governor thereof. Of his great justice; and of his death. Ca. Primo.

"After King Robert had died in this way, his son, David Bruce, was made king; and because he was unable to govern the realm because of his tender age, Earl Thomas Randolph was made governor; for none at that time was compared to him in courage and prudence, except Sir James Douglas, who, as we have said, had made a vow to go to the the Holy Land. Earl Thomas was also governor for 4 years during the infirmity of King Robert; and because the people were broken with long wars, he thought best, so that they could recover, to make peace with England. Such things done, he made it his business to govern the realm in peace, commanding his officers to do justice in all parts. And so that they should not remain unmindful of the wars, he commanded them to have their weapons & harness always ready for battle; further, to sustain good men in justice, and to punish evil men, who are repugnant to it. He commanded that saddles, bridles, and all other instruments pertaining to the use of husbandry, should lie available both day and night; and if anything was taken away,

Hector Boece

that the Sheriff of the Shire should either cause it to be restored to the owners, or else to pay it from his own purse. Finally, such extreme punishments was done to thieves, that both theft and pilfering were suppressed in all parts; and many broken men discouraged from their wild insolence, although they attempted to use such oppressions on the people in time of peace, as they used before, when the country was troubled by civil contentions. In addition, so that virtue should be authorised in this realm, he commanded that no vagabond people, minstrels, nor jugglers, be received in any towns, unless they had some craft to provide their livelihood, (because they were useful only in time of battle.) In this way, he purged the realm of many idle ruffians."

The corresponding passage in the printed copy is materially different. If Bellenden personally superintended the publication, he must have had some purpose, which cannot now be detected, in garbling his original composition. In the Auchinleck MSS. there is considerably more of the vernacular language of Scotland than in the printed work.

The Editor is indebted to Sir Alexander Boswell for these collations. He is also indebted to Mr George Chalmers for a variety of particulars relative to Boece and Bellenden; extracted by that gentleman from an unpublished work of his own, *On The Printing and Printers of Scotland*, which, it is hoped, he will not long withheld from the world.

Biographical introduction.

The early part of the Literary History of Scotland is involved in much obscurity, and has not been investigated with a due share either of care or of candour. Many eminent writers who adorned the reigns of the Stuarts during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, are now in a great measure unknown or forgotten. The difficulties these early writers had to encounter, from the limited sources of information which they possessed,—the absence of authentic records to guide them in their researches,—the romantic and fabulous times of which they wrote, and the want of science to operate as a check upon credulity, seem entirely to have escaped those critics by whom their labours have been depreciated, and their claims to the gratitude of posterity denied.

John Barbour, the father of Scottish historians, composed his celebrated historical poem upon the exploits of Robert the Great, about the year 1375; and, looking to the remote period at which it was written, it is a work of great merit. The subject is well selected and skilfully managed. Bruce was truly the hero of Scottish chivalry; and Barbour relates his mighty deeds with all the enthusiasm of a Scottish poet. His narrative is remarkable for simplicity, and his style is by no means deficient in fancy. He appears to have been acquainted with ancient literature; but it is to be regretted, that the taste of the age should have led him to study Statius and Claudian, rather than Virgil and Horace. He certainly, however, improved the language of his country, "by a strain of versification, expression, and poetical images, far superior to the age in which he lived." It is difficult to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion as to the credit due to his historical details, but the researches of Lord Hailes leave a favourable impression of their accuracy.

The *Scotichronicon*, the earliest general history of Scotland that has reached our time, was compiled during the reign of Robert the Second, by John of Fordun,—so named from the supposed place of his birth, a village in Kincardineshire. This venerable chronicler flourished about the year 1380. His Latinity is barbarous; but he is admitted to have been a useful compiler of history, by a writer who is never disposed to bestow unmerited commendation upon the early historians of Scotland. Lord Hailes, too, avails himself liberally of the materials furnished by Fordun, and appears to have set considerable value upon them.

The *Scotichronicon* was continued by Walter Bowar, Abbot of St Colm, to the end of the reign of James the First. His materials are valuable and authentic, but they are ill-digested, and his style possesses no attraction.

Andrew Winton, Prior of Lochleven, was a contemporary of Bowar. He composed his *Metrical Chronicle of Scotland* about the year 1420, during the regency of Murdoc, Duke of Albany. This curious work remained in manuscript, till that part of it which relates to the affairs of Scotland was introduced to the notice of the world by the late Mr David M'Pherson, in a publication which appeared in 1795. It contains much genealogical information relating to many of the noble families of Scotland.

The period during which Bowar and Winton flourished, was followed by a long pause in the progress of historical writing in Scotland, while considerable advancement was made in the fine arts. James the First, who had not neglected the culture of his mind during the gloom of his tedious captivity, indulged with great success in poetical composition. His grandson was devoted to architecture and

painting; and the great hall in the Castle of Stirling, with *Rosslyn's Proud Chapel*, attest the taste of the monarch and of the age. The unfortunate hero of Flodden Field was fonder of the ways of strife than of the paths of peace; yet, true to the character of his race, he was not regardless of the interests of literature. His famous statute relative to Education<7> deserves to be commemorated, as an enactment worthy of an enlightened legislator. Although it related only to the children of the higher orders, it may be viewed as in some measure the commencement of that system which ultimately resulted in the establishment of Parish Schools, by an act of the Privy Council, in 1616. It was under the auspices of James the Fourth, too, that the typographical art was introduced into Scotland, and that the excellent Bishop Elphinston founded the University of Aberdeen.

With the reign of James the Fifth commenced the golden age of the early literature of Scotland. The character of this monarch is familiar to every reader of history. Eminent as a poet, and remarkable for his love of learning, his court was filled with accomplished scholars, and his praises were sung by the poets of his own as well as of foreign lands.

*And the, my sovereign, be lyne continuall
Ay come of kings your ancestors.
And writes in ornate style poetically
Quick-flowand vers of rhethorik cullors,
So freshlie springand in your lusty flowers.
To the great comforte of all true Scotsmen—<8>*

was the address of a Scottish poet to James; and it is supposed that Ariosto "glanceth at his worth in the parson of Zerhino, whom he nameth Prince of Scotland"<9>

The earliest historian during this reign, whose writings have come down to us, is John More. His work, *De Gestis Scotorum*, was written in 1518, and first printed at Paris, in 1521, by Badius Ascensius, with the usual elegance which distinguished his press. More was less credulous than the historians who preceded him, and corrected many of the figments, as he calls them, of Scottish history. His narrative closes with the marriage of James the Fourth, in 1495. "He wrote," says Archbishop Spottiswood, "Although in a Sorbonic and barbarous style, yet very truly, and with a great liberty of spirit." <10> He was followed by a writer of distinguished talents, and unquestionably one of the most accomplished scholars of his age.

Life of Hector Boece

Hector Boece^{<11>} was descended from an honourable family in the county of Angus, who possessed the barony of Panbride for a long period of years. David the Second, having appointed a council to meet at Perth, commanded the names of all those who had done good service to their country, or whose fathers had been slain at the battles of Duplin and Halydonhill, to be communicated to him, in order that he might have an opportunity of rewarding them. His rewards consisted chiefly of gold, silver, and jewels; but Boece informs us, that the heiress and barony of Panbride, or Balbride, were bestowed upon Hugh Boece, his grandfather, in consequence of his father having fallen at the battle of Duplin. This property still belonged to the family, during the reign of James the Fifth.

Boece was born at Dundee, about the year 1465-6; and hence he assumed the surname of Deaconus. His education commenced at his native place. It was continued at Aberdeen, and afterwards completed at Paris, where, in 1497, he became a Professor of Philosophy in the college of Montacute. During his residence in that university, he had an opportunity of forming an intimacy with many of the most eminent scholars of the time. Among these was Erasmus, with whom, during the after-part of his life, he maintained a regular correspondence. As a mark of his esteem, Erasmus dedicated a Catalogue of his works to Boece, and accompanied the transmission of it with a very eloquent and affectionate letter, in which he reflects, with much complacency, upon his intellectual intercourse with him at Paris, when they were both actively engaged in literary pursuits.^{<12>}

In 1500, Boece was invited, by Bishop Elphinston, to become Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, which he had a short time before founded, under the patronage of James the Fourth. This invitation was at first unfavourably received, but, allured by "gifts and promises,"^{<13>} Boece at last yielded to the solicitations of his countryman. He left Paris and his learned friends with regret. Upon returning to his native country, he experienced a kind reception from the Canons of Aberdeen, and immediately entered upon the discharge of his professorial duties. His associate in these was William Hay, a parson of whom he speaks with respect and affection. They were both natives of Angus; they had spent their youth together in Dundee; and they had afterwards studied at Paris, under the same masters. By their joint exertions, King's College acquired great celebrity, and became a nursery of excellent scholars. Boece discharged the duties of Principal and Professor with zeal and fidelity. His annual revenue, at this period, amounted to 40 Scottish marks, about L.2. 4s. 6d. of sterling money,—a sum which, as Dr Johnson observes, was then probably equal, not only to the needs, but to the rank of the President of King's College.^{<14>}

After the death of Bishop Elphinston, in 1514, Boece undertook a work, intended, chiefly, to give an account of the life and character of that excellent prelate, and which was published at Paris in 1522, in a small quarto volume, now of great rarity, entitled, *Vitae Episcoporum Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium*. It begins with the life of Beanus, the first Bishop of Aberdeen, and ends with that of Gawin Dunbar, who filled the see at the time the book was published. Nearly one-third of the whole, however, is occupied with the *Memoirs* of Boece's patron, which contain an interesting account of his early education, and of his gradual advancement to the high literary and political situations he afterwards filled.

The narrative is particularly minute regarding the foundation and endowment of King's College. The building is described as magnificent in ornament and extent. The Church attached to the College is represented as having been built of hewn stone, and as containing suitable accommodations for priests and students. It was richly furnished with marble altars, graven images, pictures, statues, tapestry, garments of gold and purple, candelabras, vases of curious workmanship, vessels for frankincense and holy water, coverings for the altars embroidered with gold, and a chest of cypress-wood, adorned with pearls and gems, in which the relics of the saints were deposited. These were chiefly the gift of Bishop Elphinston. A few of the ornaments were bestowed by Arthur Boece,<15> a brother of our historian who does not himself appear to have been wealthy enough to make donations to the Church of his College; but it is recorded, that a magnificent altar, with suitable ornaments, was erected by his executors.<16>

There were four Professorships in King's College; the first of Divinity, to which all the others were subordinate,—the second of Canon Law,—the third of Civil Law,—and the fourth of Physic. Ten Bachelors were employed in attending the lectures of the Professors, and in explaining them to the younger students. Similar duties were performed by fourteen students of philosophy; and there was also a Teacher or Professor, whose duty it was to initiate the members of the college in Grammar, previous to the study of the higher and more important branches of education. In Boece's time, this last department was filled by John Vaux, a scholar of great learning and intense application.<17>

The endowments of Bishop Elphinston were not confined to his own College and Church. He adorned the original Cathedral of Aberdeen with rich gifts, and completed the great Tower, which Henry Leighton, a former Bishop, had left unfinished. He also commenced rebuilding the choir, in a style of splendour consistent with the other parts of the cathedral; but this work was not completed at his death. A bridge over the Dee was planned by him; and he left a large sum for the purpose of carrying it into execution. Nothing can be more delightful than Boece's account of the old age of the Bishop.<18> It was devoted to religion, to learning, and to the pleasures of society. His table, which was splendid, was frequented by the noble and the learned; and, although abstemious himself, his love of music and of gaiety made him a very agreeable companion. He died, after having filled the See of Aberdeen for 30 years,<19> full of age and of honour. It is to be regretted that no part of his historical collections has yet been made public. They are preserved among the manuscripts of Sir Thomas Fairfax, in the Bodleian Library.

Boece, as already mentioned, concludes his Lives of the Bishops with a short notice of Gawin Dunbar, to whom he dedicated the book. He urges upon this prelate the propriety of following out the plans of Elphinston, for finishing King's College, and for erecting a bridge over the Dee. Dunbar adopted these suggestions, and completed much of what his predecessor had left unfinished. It has been said that Boece prevented him from placing his name and armorial bearings upon a part of King's College, of which he had commenced the building. In consequence of this, the Bishop, in a fit of humour, directed it to be completed, "roughly, without good workmanship or contrivance."<20>

During his long residence in King's College, Boece devoted much of his leisure to the composition of a General History of Scotland, which was destined to establish his fame. It was published at Paris, in 1526, in a folio volume, under the title

of *Scotorum Historicae, a prima gentis origine, come aliarum et rerum et gentium illustratione non vulgari*:<21> This edition contains seventeen Books. A second was printed at Lausanne, and published at Paris in 1574, about forty years after the death of Boece. In this, were added the eighteenth, and part of a nineteenth Book, written by himself; and a continuation of the history to the end of the reign of James the Third, by Ferrerius, a learned Piedmontese, who came to Scotland, in 1528, in the train of Robert Red, Abbot of Kinloss, and afterwards Bishop of Orkney.

Soon after the publication of his History, James the Fifth bestowed upon Boece a pension of L.50 Scots yearly; as appears from the following notices in the Record: "1527, July 14th, Grant to Master Hector of a pension of L.50 Scots yearly, to be paid him by the sheriff of Aberdeen out of the King's casualties."<22> This grant was repeated, two years afterwards, with a variation of the source of payment:—"1529, July 26th, Precept for a letter to Mr Hector Boys, professor of theology, of a pension of L.50 Scots yearly, until the King promote him to a benefice of 100 marks Scots of yearly value; the said pension to be paid him by the customers of Aberdeen."<23> As the King's customs of Aberdeen were probably inadlevellede to answer all the assignments upon them, Boece's pension was afterwards, in 1533 and 1534, paid, the one-half by the King's Comptroller, and the other half by the Treasurer. There was paid in this manner one year's pension, from Whitsunday 1532 to Whitsunday 1533; and another, from Whitsunday 1533 to Whitsunday 1534.

As the payment of the pension does not appear in the Treasurer's accounts after 1534, it is probable, that, about this period, the King carried into effect his intention, intimated in the grant of 1529, of giving Boece a benefice in lieu of it. The benefice so given, was the Rectory of Tyrie, in Buchan, Aberdeenshire, which he held at his death, in 1536; as appears from the record of the presentation of his successor:—"1536, November 22d. The king presented Mr John Gardin to the Rectory of Tiry, in the diocese of Aberdeen, vacant by the death of the late Mr Hector Boiss."<25>

No particulars are known respecting the latter years of Boece; but the notice just quoted from the Record, shews that he died in 1536,<25> when he must have been about seventy years of age. According to Gordon of Straloch, this event happened at Aberdeen.

The merits of Boece, as a historian, have been keenly disputed. It was formerly supposed, that the severity of his treatment, by some of the older English writers,<26> originated in passion and malice; but their example has been followed by two modern critics of his own country. Lord Hailes and Mr Pinkerton. In speaking of our historian, the former seems to lose his usual caution; and Mr Pinkerton inveighs against him as "the most egregious historical impostor that ever appeared in any country!" He would have done well to have recollected an observation of his own, when attempting to justify his favourite hero, James the Fifth, for sanctioning the judicial murder of the young and lovely Lady Glamis upon a charge of witchcraft,— "that it is no crime not to have been a philosopher before philosophy revived."

Lord Hailes sarcastically remarks, "that, although reformed from Popery, we are not reformed from Boece;" and it is perhaps true, that the charms of his narrative may have given currency to fables, even after the progress of knowledge, and the light of science, had exposed their absurdity. But what is the conclusion to be drawn from thence? Certainly not that he is unworthy of all credit, but merely that, in estimating the credit which is due to him, it is necessary to make an allowance for those parts of

his works that can be traced to the credulity of the age in which he lived, and of which, with all his learning and accomplishments, it must be admitted that he largely partook.

Anxious to support the claims of his country to a high degree of antiquity, he listened readily to the most extravagant traditions, provided they supported his favourite delusion, and enabled him to add another name to the long line of Scottish monarchs. Many statements were thus hazarded upon authority which modern discrimination would scornfully reject. The dynasty of Scotland was carried far beyond the birth of Christ; and every reign was full of battles never fought, and of events which never existed, save in the dreams of monkish tradition.

Boece prefixed to his *Chronicles* a geographical description of Scotland, accompanied by a short account of the manners of the ancient inhabitants. Here, also, we discover symptoms of great credulity, but none whatever of a disposition to deceive. He was fond of Natural History, a science at this period in its infancy. The accuracy which experimental investigation has now acquired was wholly unknown, and many of the great arcana of nature, which have since been explained, were the subject of ignorant astonishment in the days of Boece. Phenomena which are now common and intelligible, were then viewed as marvellous, and surpassing all comprehension. This may explain the readiness with which Boece, in common with such writers as Herodotus and Livy, lent a willing ear to every report of events deviating from the ordinary course of nature. If an account had been transmitted to him of such a machine, as that invented by Bramah, enabling a single individual to root out a forest-tree, it would have been as difficult for him to believe this as the story told by Sir Duncan Campbell, of the terrible beast of Loch Garnoll, *footed like a gander*, which was capable of striking down the largest oak with the blow of her tail. His account of the sea-monks at the Isle of Bass, and of the wild men of Norway, with all the accumulation of prodigies which are scattered throughout his History, admit of a similar explanation. We may smile at his simplicity in believing them, but there seems no reason for imputing to him the character of a contriver of fables.

His geographical knowledge appears to have been inconsiderable; and, accordingly, his description of Scotland is inaccurate. It is not surprising that he should give an erroneous account of the boundaries of the Roman provinces; but it does seem remarkable, that he should represent the Clyde and the Forth as rising among the same mountains.

His account of ancient manners is curious and interesting; tinged though it be with the fables of a golden age. Many amiable traits of character are attributed to the ancient inhabitants of Scotland. Every mother nursed her own child; and an inability to discharge this maternal duty afforded a presumption of infidelity. The soldier who was found in battle with an unbelted sword, was scourged; and the warrior who sold his armour, or *laid it to wed*,^{<27>} was degraded. Victory was never sought by treason or falsehood; and the highest imputation against the character of a chief, was to conquer in any way but by *force of fighting*. The number of stones with which the sepulchre of a warrior was adorned, depended upon the number of enemies he had slain. In peace, justice was strictly administered, and so great a degree of liberality regulated the mercantile transactions of the ancient Scots, that a purchaser was not bound to adhere to his bargain unless the seller gave him something above just measure.

It is generally admitted, that, at a remote period, the Monastery of Iona not only contained a valuable library,<28> but was the general repository of the Scottish records.<29> Indeed, one of the least enthusiastic of modern writers, has indulged the pleasing reflection, that, from this distant island, the barbarians of the West, in ancient times, " derived the benefits of knowledge, and the blessings of religion." The ultimate fate of the literary treasures of Iona is unknown, nor is it now possible to ascertain of what they consisted. Our regret for their loss would be aggravated in no ordinary degree, could we believe that a manuscript of Livy or of Sallust existed among them.

An attempt has been made to convict Boece of deliberate mis-statement, by contrasting his account of the removal of the public Records and Manuscripts from Iona to the Priory of Restennet, in Angus, by Alexander the First, with the allegation in a different part of his work, that at a later period a variety of historical writings were transmitted to him from Iona. But supposing it to be true, that the Monastery of Saint Columba was pillaged by Alexander, it is not improbable that a *portion* of the manuscripts may have been concealed and retained by the monks; and that Boece may have been enabled to avail himself of these remains in compiling his History.

The circumstances connected with the alleged transmission of the manuscripts to Aberdeen, strongly confirm the accuracy of his statements. A tone of great sincerity distinguishes his narrative. He claims no merit for his investigations, into which indeed he was led, from a desire to follow out an inquiry commenced by a Legate of the Pope, a century before. The tradition of the time was, that Fergus the Second, in assisting Alaric the Goth, in sacking Rome, brought away a chest of books which he presented to the monastery at Iona. In consequence of a belief in the truth of this story, Aeneas Silvius<30> intended, when he was in Scotland, to have visited Iona in search of the lost books of Livy, but was prevented by the death of James the First. His scheme was resumed by Boece, who makes no mystery as to the mode in which he procured access to the manuscripts. This was effected by the interposition of the Earl of Argyll, and his brother, the King's Treasurer. Boece's History was published while these persons were alive; and if he referred to unknown or imaginary authorities, he did so before living witnesses, by whom his statements might have been contradicted and refuted.

But the heaviest charge against the veracity of Boece, arises from his reference to the writings of Veremundus, an author whose works are unnoticed by the other ancient chroniclers of Scotland. Bale, Chambres of Ormond, Paulus Jovius, Buchanan, and Sir Richard Baker, are supposed to quote Veremundus upon the authority of Boece alone, who is thus made answerable for all the fables which have found their way into the early history of Scotland. Now, had it been his deliberate intention to forge an authority, his natural sagacity would have prevented him from adopting the name of an obscure Spaniard, which could carry no weight with it, and could not therefore answer the purpose which he must have had in view. Again, he states that he received the manuscripts from Iona only in 1525, the year before his History was published; and hence it has been said that his narrative carries its own refutation with it, because he could not possibly, during this short interval, have made the use which he pretends of the Chronicle of Veremundus.<31> This is no doubt a difficulty, but its existence is much in favour of our author's honesty, who must be *acknowledged to have had a better invention than to have forged so improbable a falsity*, especially in a matter where he was liable to be contradicted by Argyll, the Treasurer, the whole Monks of Iona, and his contemporaries in the University of

Aberdeen. In short, had the account which he gives of the manuscripts been fabulous, it is plain that it would have been more skilfully devised, and free from those objections of improbability which have been urged against it, and which are only to be explained upon the supposition that the narrative is true.

It has been inferred that his account of Veremundus is false, because this writer is not quoted by Fordun. But this is really a very lame conclusion. Fordun is not referred to by Boece,<32> and his *Chronicle* remained in manuscript for about two centuries after the publication of the history of the latter. The silence of Boece, however, would have been a very singular reason for presuming against the existence of Fordun, yet it might have been relied on as leading to this conclusion, with quite as much safety as we can depend upon the silence of the latter in evidence of the inaccuracy of Boece's statements respecting Veremundus. Fordun quotes authors whose writings are no longer extant, yet credit is attached to them, and there is no reason why the positive assertions of Boece should not carry the same weight. It has been suggested by a respectable writer, that Fordun does refer to Veremundus, although under a different name.<33> The true explanation of the matter seems to be this: Boece suppressed the name of Fordun in order that he might acquire the credit of being the earliest general historian of Scotland; and for the same reason, Fordun did not directly avow the extent to which he transcribed the writings of the earlier Chroniclers.<34>

The ingenious author of the *Historical Account of the Ancient Culdees*, hazards a supposition not much to the credit of Boece, that he may have "destroyed the manuscripts which he had used, that his own history might be in greater request."<35> This notion derives some support from a passage which occurs in the writings of Gordon of Straloch.<36> The theory, however, is not very probable in itself, and the motive assigned is scarcely sufficient to account for such an act of treason against the interests of literature, on the part of the *good and the grave* Boece.

It is not at all surprising, that, in transcribing from the Ionian Manuscripts, he should have exercised little of the discrimination necessary for separating truth from falsehood. His anxiety to illustrate the high antiquity, and to perpetuate the fame of his country, made him a ready listener to tales which a writer of a less sanguine temperament would have rejected. But it does appear a harsh inference, that these must have originated entirely in his own imagination, or to conclude, with Mr Pinkerton, that he filled up every interval of authentic detail, with an expedition from the isles, headed by a Donald, the "constant ghost of his pages."

Every person who has looked with any degree of attention into Boece's *History*, must be satisfied that the narrative is conducted with simplicity, although the statements are enforced with zeal. They obviously come from an author who appears to be not only deeply impressed himself with the truth of what he writes, but anxious to convey the same impression to his readers. There is no apparent exertion of skill in devising incidents. Every circumstance is related as it appears to have been reported to the writer. Many of his statements, too, are made with the hesitation of a man anxious to be accurate. *Quis rem tam vetustam pro certo affirmet*,<37> is an expression we frequently meet with in the course of his History.

These views are strongly supported by the favourable opinion entertained of his moral character by his contemporaries. We have already seen that he was the intimate friend of Erasmus, who had ample opportunities of observing his personal character. They studied long together at Paris, and in after-life maintained a regular

correspondence. Such, indeed, was the opinion which this eminent man entertained of the integrity of our historian, that he says of him, he "knew not what it was to make a lie."<38> His continuator Ferrerius, Buchanan, and Archbishop Spottiswood, speak of him in similar terms; yet the wicked wit of an English antiquary has likened the multitude of his falsehoods to the waves of the sea, and the stars of heaven!<39>

His intellectual attainments were of a high character. He has been represented as skilled in classical and polite literature, divinity, and philosophy;<40> and Erasmus invariably speaks of him as a man of an extraordinary and happy genius, and great eloquence.<41> He drank deeply from the well-springs of ancient learning, and thus acquired a style, which has been said, a little perhaps in the strain of panegyric, to combine the elegance of Livy with the conciseness and simplicity of Caesar.<42> His merit as a restorer of classical literature, has been universally admitted; and, from this source, he imbibed a large portion of that fine spirit of independence, which constitutes the great charm of the Greek and Roman writers.

Respecting the opinions of Boece upon matters of government, the Bishop of Carlisle remarks, "That his principles of polity are no better than those of Buchanan." That Buchanan should be no favourite with this prelate, is not wonderful, considering the freedom with which he treats of kings and of monarchy. On these topics, however, the older historian writes with more caution than his successor; and it is surely much to his honour, that his *History*, written at the commencement of the 16th century, and addressed to the reigning prince, contains not one slavish thought, nor the slightest trace of a servile spirit. He neither disguises the vices nor palliates the profligacy of former monarchs; but paints them in their most odious colours, as objects of avoidance to succeeding princes. Indeed, he dwells with perhaps too much satisfaction upon the detail of royal crimes, and the punishments which generally followed them, during the earlier periods of the Scottish dynasty. In forming a final estimate of the literary character of Boece, we must bear in mind, that when scholar-craft, in this country at least, was rare, he was a scholar, and contributed, by reviving ancient learning, to dispel the gloom of the middle ages;—and that, while the history of his country existed only in the rude page of the Chroniclers who preceded him, or in the fading records of oral tradition, he embodied it in narrative so interesting, and language so beautiful, as to be worthy of a more refined age.

Life of John Bellenden.

This accomplished scholar's name has been variously written, Ballantyne, Ballentyne, Ballendyne, Ballendene, and Bellenden. In the Auchinleck MS. the translator is styled, "Master John Ballentyne, Channon of Ross." At the end of the same MS. the name is spelled "Ballantyne." The accounts given of him are very imperfect, and it is doubtful if materials now exist, from which it is possible to extract any satisfactory history of his life.

It has been generally supposed that he was a man of honourable descent, and in some way connected with the ancient family of Achinoul. The authors of the *Biographia Britannica*, upon the authority of Mackenzie, dignify him with the title of Sir John; and add, that his father, Mr Thomas Bellenden of Achinoul, was Director to the Chancery in 1540, and Clerk Register in 1541.<43> There is no sufficient authority, however, for this account of his genealogy. He appears to have been born in the Lothians, towards the close of the 15th century.<44> His education was unquestionably liberal; and in 1508, we find his name entered, as follows, in the Records of the University of Saint Andrews: "*1508. Jo. Balletyn nac Lau(doniae.)*" It is probable that he remained there for several years, which was necessary before he could be laureated. His education was afterwards completed at the University of Paris, where he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity; and the effects of his residence upon the Continent may be traced both in his idiom and language.

He returned to Scotland during the minority of James the Fifth; and his writings contain internal evidence of his having been early introduced to the notice of that monarch. Sir David Lindsay had been his fellow-student at Saint Andrews, and he seems to have been associated with this eminent person in directing the education of his Prince. He addresses James as "your humble servitor since your first infancy;" and his remarkable letter, recommending to the attention of the King his translation of Boece, is written very much in the tone of a zealous preceptor. It explains the kingly duties with a freedom which no other character could have warranted the writer in using.

There is some reason to suppose, that, about the year 1528, Bellenden held the situation of Secretary to the Earl of Angus, The circumstances under which James the Fifth was detained at Falkland by that nobleman, with the subsequent escape of the Monarch, are well known. Angus lost no time in pursuing the fugitive, but he was met upon his route to Stirling by a Herald with a royal proclamation, declaring that no member of the family of Douglas should, on pain of treason, approach within six miles of the Court. This order was obeyed by the Earl, and from that hour may be dated the fall of his princely house. He retired to Tantallon, and was soon afterwards, along with his principal adherents, attainted in Parliament.

The Rolls exhibit the following entry relative to this subject.

Quarto, September 1528.

In the presence of the King's grace, and Lords, and the estates of Parliament, *Master John Ballentyne*, servant and secretary to Archibald Earl of Angus appeared, and gave in the reasons underwritten. And protested after the form and tenor of the same, of which the tenor follows.—These are the reasons that we, Archibald Earl of Angus, George Douglas his brother, and Archibald Douglas of Kilspindy, argues for

us, why we should not be accused nor compelled to answer at this time to the accusation of treason made on us, at our Sovereign Lord's instance."

There is a subsequent entry on the same day, from which it appears that "*Master John Ballentyne*, Secretary to the Earl of Angus, appeared, and gave security, that the Earl should appear and submit to the sentence of the Parliament."

It would not, however, have suited the purposes of James, to trust the fate of Douglas to the Great Council of the nation. A jury of his sworn foes was accordingly selected, to which the decision of the question was committed. Forfeiture followed as a matter of course, and the broad lands of Douglas were gifted to those by whom he had been condemned, as the reward of their guilty subservience to the wishes of their Sovereign.

Bellenden, in all likelihood, shared at first in the disgrace of the family of Douglas; and this was probably the dismissal to which he alludes in *The Proem of the Cosmographer*. His poetical talents, however, seem speedily to have restored him to royal favour, and in 1530, he is thus celebrated as a Court poet by Sir David Lindsay, in his *Preface to the Testament*, and the *Complaint of King James's Papingo*:—

But now of late has start up quickly,
A cunning clerk, which writeth craftily;
A plant of poets, called *Ballantyne*,
Whose ornate writs my wit cannot define;
Get he into the Court authority,
He will surpass Quintin and Kennedy.<45>

In 1530 and 1531, Bellenden was employed, by the command of the King, in translating Boece's History; and he delivered a manuscript copy of his work to his royal employer, in the summer of 1533. About the same period, he translated a portion of Livy. These dates are ascertained from the following notices in the Treasurer's accounts. In the end of 1530, or beginning of 1531, there is a payment—

"To Master John Ballentyne, by the King's precept, for his translating of the Chronicle, £30."

"1531. Oct. 4.— To Master John Ballentyne, by the King's precept, for his translating of the Chronicles, £30."

"Item thereafter to the said Master John, by the King's command, £6."

"1533. July 26.— To Master John Ballantyne, for a new Chronicle given to the King's Grace, £12."

"Item to him in part payment of the translation of Titus Livius, £8."

"Aug. 24.— To Master John Ballentyne, in part payment of the second book of Titus Livius, £8."

"Nov. 30.— To Master John Ballentyne, by the King's precept, for his labours done in translating of Livy, £20."

The literary labours of Bellenden were still farther rewarded by his royal master. The Archdeanery of Moray having become vacant, while the See of Moray was also vacant, the patronage devolved upon the King. Sir John Duncan, parson of Glasgow, Alexander Harvey, a churchman, and Sir Patrick Muir, chaplain, having endeavoured to purchase from the Pope the appointment of Mr James Douglas to the Archdeanery, they were put under prosecution for this misdemeanour, about August

1536. In the subsequent year, Duncan and Harvey were found guilty, and denounced rebels; upon which, the following grant of the escheat<46> of their benefices for 1536, was given to Bellenden.

1537. Sept. 9.— Grant to Master John Bellendene of all the fruits of the parsonage and chantry of Glasgow, and other pensions and benefices, pertaining to Sir John Duncan parson of Glasgow, for the year last past, and of all other property which pertained to the said Sir John, and to Alexander Harvey, with the fruits of the said Alexander's benefices and pensions for the said year, all escheated to the King, by their being denounced rebels on a decree of the Lords of Council, for having broken the Acts of Parliament, in purchasing the Archdeanery of Moray, in the Court of Rome, in prejudice of the King's privilege and patronage of the said Archdeanery, the See of Moray being vacant.<47>

Bellenden paid for this grant a composition of 350 marks.

He got a similar grant of the escheat of the benefices and pensions of these two persons for the year 1537, and of all their other property, forfeited to the King. This second grant is dated the 8th of April, 1538; and Bellenden paid a composition of £300 Scots for it.<48> He was afterwards presented by the King to the vacant Archdeanery of Moray, and he also got a Prebend in the Cathedral of Ross; but the date of these appointments is uncertain.

Mackenzie, in his *Life of John Leslie, Bishop of Ross*,<49> has given a very indistinct and erroneous account of Bellenden, in which he is followed by Goodall.<50> These writers confound the translator of the *Chronicles*, with Sir John Bellenden of Achinoul, who was Justice Clerk in the reign of Queen Mary. Mackenzie states that our author was nominated a Senator of the College of Justice in 1554, by the title of Lord Achinoul. Lord Hailes justly remarks, that, laying aside the similitude of names, the only reason for identifying Lord Achinoul with the translator of Boece, arises from the following lines in the *Proem of the Cosmography*:

And first occured to my remembering,
How that I was in service with the King,
Put to his Grace in years tenderest.
Clerk of his Accounts.

"Dr Mackenzie," continues Lord Hailes, "gravely says that *Clerk of the Accounts, is Clerk Register*."<51> Indeed the whole of Mackenzie's account of Bellenden must be received with distrust. It is at variance with that of Dempster, and other writers, who state the period of his death to have been four years before the date of Lord Achinoul's appointment.

Bellenden appears to have enjoyed the royal favour for a longer period than generally falls to the lot of those who devote themselves to the service of princes. But he at length, excited, and suffered from the envy of his competitors. Subsequent to his disgrace at Court, he became, in conjunction with Dr Laing, an active opponent of the Reformation, and so deeply involved in the disputes to which it led, that he resolved to retire to a country, where his opinions were likely to be more generally popular than they were, at this period, in his native land. The ardent spirits with whom the Reformation in Scotland originated, were unwearied in their exertions; and the conflict which their opponents had to sustain, was fierce and relentless. To escape from these troubles, Bellenden went to Rome, where he died in 1550. Both Bale and

Dempster attest this fact,—the latter, however, who misnames him James, with some hesitation: *Obiit Romae, anno ut puto, 1550.*<52>

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The writings of Bellenden justify our regret that so little is known of their author. That he was a man of genius, and great acquirements, is indubitable. Dempster celebrates him as skilled in every department of divine and human learning.

Laboriosa cura, et incredibili studio artes omnes, humanas atque etiam divinas percepit.<53> The commendation of the Bishop of Ossory is equally ample; and there can be no doubt that he was held in respect amongst his contemporaries, as a poet, a historian, and a scholar. The first of these characters recommended him, as we have seen, to James the Fifth, and secured his advancement to situations of honour and emolument. His poetry abounds in lively sallies of imagination, and discloses the workings of a rich and exuberant fancy. According to his early biographers,<54> he wrote many poetical pieces, consisting of *Visions* and *Miscellanies*, which are now lost. Those which have reached us, are principally proems prefixed to his prose works. They are generally allegorical, and distinguished rather by incidental beauties, than by the skilful structure of the fable. The story, indeed, is often dull, the allusions obscure, and the general scope of the piece unintelligible. These faults, however, are pretty general characteristics of allegorical poets; and they are atoned for, in him, by the striking thoughts, and charming descriptions in which he abounds; and which, "like the threads of gold, the rich arras, beautify his works quite through."

The most considerable of his Poems is the *Proem of the Cosmography*, which the reader will find reprinted in the present Work. The principal incidents of this piece are borrowed from the classical allegory of the *Choice of Hercules*. Its original title was *Virtue and Vice*, and it was addressed to James the Fifth. The Poet feigns, that worn out with the fatigue of study, he retired to a flowery meadow, to meditate upon the vanity of human pursuits, and upon the vicissitudes of his own fortune. His first disgrace at Court, which, as we have seen, was probably consequent upon the fall of the family of Douglas, is attributed to the baleful and malicious influence of the stars. Wearied, at length, with his melancholy musings, he sinks into a profound slumber, during which, the vision of a young and glorious monarch, seated upon a throne, rises to his fancy. Two Goddesses appear, sparkling with beauty and rubies, and contending for the favour of the prince,—the name of the one Delight, and of the other Virtue. After exhibiting opposite views of the sources of human happiness, and while they are waiting the decision of the monarch, the poet awakes, afraid to violate truth, by disclosing the royal selection. The *Choice of Hercules* is not closely followed, and the merit of the poem, as we have it, may be almost entirely attributed to Bellenden. It must have been written between 1528 and 1530, when James the Fifth was in his nineteenth year. The piece is, throughout, full of fancy and poetry, and the metaphors are generally drawn from the most agreeable objects in nature. The transitory character of human happiness is illustrated, by comparing it to the early decay of the rose, the lily, and the violet; and the utter nothingness of an inactive life is likened to the trackless path of a vessel, which leaves no print upon the waves; or of a bird, whose busy wing pierces the air, leaving no trace of its course. The effect of virtue upon the mind of man, is compared to the healing influence of precious balm upon disease,—to the breath of flowers,—and to the departure of darkness before the resplendent beams of morn.

The *Proem of the history* is of a graver and less poetical cast. Perhaps the most striking passage it contains is the descant on nobility. It appears from this piece, that the translation of Boece's history was not intended for general circulation, but for the young nobles, in whose behalf the Statute of Education was passed in the previous reign.

*Therefore thow ganis, for no catyve wightis
Allanerly, bot unto nobyll men.*<55>

The *Prologue upon the Traduction of Titus Livius*, is of a moral, but not very poetical character. It has been printed in the Dissertation, prefixed to Dr Leyden's edition of the *Complaint of Scotland*. After conciliating Bellona and Apollo, the Poet invokes the accomplished James to be "the Muse and Leader of his pen;" and perhaps the principal interest of the *Prologue*, consists in representing the Monarch as a patron of literature.

An unpublished poem of Bellenden's, on the Conception of Christ, is to be found in the Hyndford Manuscript; but the poetical merit of this piece is inconsiderable.<56>

Bellenden's Chronicle, which closes with the death of James the First, is rather a free version than a literal translation of Boece; and possesses in several respects the character of an original work.<57> Many of the historical errors of the latter are corrected—not a few of his redundancies retrenched—and his more glaring omissions supplied. The general structure of the history, however, remains untouched; and the line of the Kings of Scotland is maintained in all the antiquity and splendour which Boece assigns to it.

Among the more striking passages of the Translation, we may refer to the story of Caractacus. After an interesting detail of his unsuccessful warfare against the Romans, which was closed by the treason of his stepmother Cartumandia, the British prince appears as a captive at Rome, attended by his wife, and all his kindred. His horses and chariots are exhibited before him, as the monuments of his defeat; and the spectacle is gazed upon by the Roman people, with a mixture of triumph and of pity. The heart of the warrior is unsubdued even by the presence of the Emperor. He addresses the Roman potentate with the courage of a patriot king; and Roman magnanimity immediately rewards him by pardon and freedom.<58>

The terror of the Roman army during the first night after their victory over Eugenius, is also powerfully delineated; and the passage affords an admirable specimen of the force and variety of the ancient language of Scotland.<59> It has been often quoted. The animating speech too of the Scottish general to his army, on the eve of the conflict with Maximus, is worthy of notice.<60>

Many characters are described by Bellenden with a vigour and conciseness superior to the original. Of this, his account of Constantine, the third brother of Eugenius, and of "King Culen and his vicious life," afford instances.<61> The unfortunate expedition of the English princes, Osbret and Aella, to the North, with the subsequent terror and desolation of Scotland, exhibits a fine piece of historical painting.

Bellenden is remarkably successful in the translation of Speeches. There are few better specimens of simple and ancient eloquence, than the two orations of

Kenneth:—the first, said to have been delivered to a convention of his nobles at Scone, <62> for the purpose of procuring their assistance in purging "his realm of all misdoers;"—and the second, <63> delivered in a similar situation, in order to induce his nobles to concur in an alteration of the ancient Scottish law, relative to the succession to the crown. The speech of Bruce to his army previous to the battle of Bannockburn, and that of Alexander Seaton's wife, "a wise woman, above the spirit of man," are of a different and higher character, and present fine examples of hortatory eloquence.

The wild tale of Macbeth, and the Fates, to which the genius of Shakespeare has given historical reality, <64> does not lose its interest in the translation of the Archdean of Moray. <65> The tragic poet borrowed liberally from Holinshed's English version of the *Chronicles*, adopting, in many instances, not only the thoughts, but the language even of the Scottish historian. This is particularly observable in Malcolm's feigned account of his own profligacy; in Macduff's pathetic valedictory address to Scotland; <66> and in the circumstances of that fearful conflict, which terminated in the death of the usurper. <67> The character of Lady Macbeth, is but obscurely hinted at in the *Chronicles*; and to Shakespeare alone are we indebted for that splendid personification of guilty ambition. In the structure of his drama, the poet avails himself of incidents which are to be found in Bellenden's account of the murder of Duff by Donald. <68>

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It was not till the beginning of the 16th century that the art of printing was introduced into Scotland. In 1507, Chapman and Millar established a press at Edinburgh, under a patent. They printed a variety of Poetical Tracts in 1508; and the first volume of the *Breviary of the Church of Aberdeen* in 1509. The second volume of this work was printed in 1510. Bellenden's *Chronicle* was certainly the next work of any consequence printed in Scotland. It has been already stated, that the precise date of its publication is unknown. Assuming, however, that there were more editions of the work than one, and that they must have been printed previous to 1541, when Davidson obtained the situation of King's Printer; we may safely conclude, that it is one of the earliest and most considerable specimens of Scottish typography which exists.

It is, besides, the purest specimen we possess of the early prose of Scotland; and it affords a mine, from which the richest ore of the ancient language of the Lowland Scots may be extracted. The invaluable *Dictionary* of Dr Jamieson has rescued that language from the oblivion into which it was hastening; and, in it, liberal use has been made of the stores of Bellenden. That the Lowland Scotch has claims to a high degree of antiquity, seems now generally admitted. The notion that it is derived exclusively from the Anglo-Saxon, has been discarded, while its origin has been successfully traced to the ancient Gothic. It is a rich, varied, and powerful dialect. The mixture of French words is easily accounted for, by the early intercourse which existed between the two nations. Indeed, many families of French and Norman extraction, settled in Scotland as early as the reign of Malcolm Canmore; and at subsequent periods, migrations of this sort became extremely frequent. The natives of France brought their language along with them; and as the dialect of the court and of the provinces of Scotland was the same, the use of Norman-French became prevalent. The language of the Continent was thus directly imported into Scotland; and,

accordingly, we find many French words and phrases in our early prose writers, which at no period have formed any part of the dialect of England. This subject might be farther illustrated by a reference to the similarity between the early Romances of France and of Scotland. Many of the tales collected in the *Fabliaux* of Le Grand, were familiar to the peasantry of Scotland in the early part of the Sixteenth Century. But what has been already stated, goes far to establish, that we are not indebted to our Southern neighbours for the earlier Continental contributions to our language. These came to us directly from France, while the stock upon which they were grafted, was of Gothic origin.

Among the works of Bellenden, Bale enumerates a tract on the *Pythagoric Letter*, and a discourse upon *Virtue and Pleasure*, neither of which are extant. Other writers state that he wrote a *Life of Pythagoras*. With respect to the discourse upon Virtue and Pleasure, it is not at all improbable, that Bale may refer to the *Proem of the Cosmography*, the allegorical character of which has been already explained. The *Epistle to James the Fifth*, which has also been mentioned as a distinct work, is obviously the letter subjoined to the translation of Boece. This sufficiently appears from the first words of it, as given by Bale, *Erasmus Roterodamus, in libro die*. The epistle "Directed be the translator to the king's grace," commences "Erasmus Roterodamus, in his book." Bale seems to imagine that Bellenden composed a piece, *super quondam somnio*^{<69>} but it is more than probable that this too refers to the *Proem of the Cosmography* which assumes the form of a vision. The last article in Bale's Catalogue of the writings of Bellenden, is a book said to contain *diversi generis carmina*.^{<70>} This is not extant; nor is there any satisfactory evidence that such a work was ever published. Dr Campbell states that several of Bellenden's poems were in the possession of Mr Lawrence Dundas, Professor of Humanity in the University of Edinburgh; and others are still supposed to exist in the repositories of private families^{<71>}. Bale mentions it as a report, without, however, giving any opinion as to its truth, that Bellenden continued the history of Boece to the year 1536. This certainly was at one period his intention. After alluding, in the *Proem of the history*, to what he has already done, he continues:

And yet because my time has been so short;
I think when I have opportunity
To ring their bell into another sort.

The classical acquirements of Bellenden are attested by a translation of the first five books of Livy, executed at the command of James the Fifth. A copy of this manuscript work, which is not noticed by our author's earlier biographers, was presented to the Advocates' Library, by the late Lord Elliock, to whom it appears to have belonged in 1730. It is in excellent order; and the hand-writing may be attributed to the early part of the Sixteenth Century; but whether it is that of the Archdean of Moray, must remain a matter of doubt. The notices which have already been quoted from the Treasurer's Accounts, show that the translation of Livy was executed in 1533.

The version of the Roman Historian, seems to be rendered with the same freedom and spirit which distinguishes that of Boece; and it is to be hoped, that at no very distant period, so valuable a relict of our early literature will be rescued from the obscurity in which it at present remains. To the specimens of it which are already before the public in Dr Leyden's Introduction to *The Complaint of Scotland*, may be

added, the appeal of the elder Horatius in behalf of his son, which is very happily translated:

"O the Romans" (said he) "have ze sa feirs and innative cruelte in zoure hartis, yat ze may se him bound under ye galloas with grete torment and punycioun: quhom ze saw laitlie decorit and triumphand, with hie victory over zor inemyies. I believe ye Albanis his unmerciful foes my not behold sa terribil sicht and cruelte done to him. Pass you Burreo, and bynd yai hands, quhilkis latelie quhen yai war armit, obtained sa hie empire to Roman people: Pass you Burreo, and covir ye hede of yat champion, quhilk is ye deliverare of ies city fra thirldome: Lying up his body in a unchancy tree: Skurge him now within ye Pomerie, among ye horaciane Pillars; and spulezeis obtained be him of inemies; or ellis skurge him outside ye Pomerie among ye sepulcuris of Curacianis. Ze can have him to na maner of places within zoure senzeorie; but his grete merits, and glore of victory, shall ay deliver him fra sic shameful and vile punytion."<72>

It appears from the poetical *Prologue* that it was Bellenden's original intention to have translated the whole of Livy; but the following verses subjoined to it in a later hand, in the copy already referred to, lead to the inference, that the translator never completed more than five Books of his task:

Five books are here by Ballantyne translated;
There rest a hundred thirty-five behind,
Which if the same were to be completed,
Would be a volume of a monstrous kind.
Each man completes not all that they intend,
So frail and brittle are our wretched days:
Let some man then begin where he doth end,
Give him the first, take them the second praise:
No, no! To Titus Livius give all.
That peerless prince for feats historical.<4>
— A. Home, St. Leonards.

In giving to the Public this reprint of the *Chronicles of Scotland*, it may be safely stated, that the lover of antique lore will find it rich in barbaric pearl and gold. The former may be rudely set, and the latter coarsely wrought; but the intrinsic value of the gem and of the metal remains the same. The rust of age has not obscured the fancy and imagery with which the work abounds; and if all the inaccuracies of Boece are not corrected, and all his fables not discarded, it can only be said, in apology for the venerable Archdean, that some degree of credulity may be excused, in an age when all men were credulous.

The Excusation of the Printer.

The thought of man has an inclination
To several different leanings, as we see.
Some men are givin to Detraction,
Envy, Displeasure, or Melancholy,
And to their neighbours have no charity.
Some are so noble and full of gentleness
They love nothing but joy and merriness.

Some men are under, and some above for nought
Some men love peace, and some desireth war
One is so blythe in all his merry thought
He has no care but that he persevere
In grace and favour of his lady dear
One holds another in such cruel hate
With lance and dagger runs to kill him straight.

And he that might a hundred well sustain
Yet lives in woe and penance at his table
And of good fellowship counts not a bean,
His wicked mind is so unsociable.
As if heaven and hell were nothing but a fable
He burns all, without sight to good or evil,
And runs with all his bags to the devil.

And I the printer that doth consider well
The several minds of men in their living
Desireth nought but that by my labour well
That I might live, and by my right living
Might first please God, and then our noble King
And that the reader's bosom and intent
Were with my labour and designs content.

And in this work that I have here detailed
And brought to light, most humbly do exhort
You noble readers, wherever I have failed
In letter, syllable, points long, or short
That you will of your courtesy support
And take the sentence the best way ye may,
With God's will I'll do better another day

The Contents of this Book.

In the first, the Proem upon the Cosmography; showing the consequences of vicious and virtuous living, and the reasons why the translator took this work in hand.

The Description of Scotland; divided in rubrics and chapters.

A compendious narration of the old institutions, manners, and living of the Scots; with a moral doctrine, deploring several recent and evil customs brought into this realm, to the great harm to the people now present in the same.

A short recapitulation of all kings of Britain, from the first beginning thereof, to the rule of King Henry the VIII, reigning now with great happiness above Englishmen.

The table of the history; containing every book and chapter separately described.

The names of all kings and governors of Scotland since the realm began; showing, in what books and chapters of the history following, their lives and martial deeds shall be easily found.

The proem of the history; showing, briefly, the contents and most notable things in this book.

The beginning of the Scots, and why they were called with that name; their happy coming out of Egypt to Spain, Ireland, the Isles of Albion, and to that region that was called by them Scotland.

The valiant and warlike deeds of all kings, princes, governors, and chieftains of Scotland; with most dangerous and terrible battles fought, by several chances of fortune, against the Britons, Picts, Saxons, Englishmen, and Danes.

The beginning of the Picts; their confederation with the Scots in friendship, blood, and friendship; their wars long continuing against the Romans, in support of the Scots; their extermination and final expulsion out of Albion by the wars of the Scots.

The beginning of the Britons; their long wars, persevering against the Romans. How they were subdued, and their realm made tributary in the form of a province; and, finally, being driven out of Britain into Wales by wars of the Saxons.

The coming of the Saxons in Britain; their wars, slaughters, and martial deeds, wrought, by several chances, against the Britons, Scots, and Picts.

The wars of Englishmen, after the coming of the Saxons.

Many unknown marvellous and wonderful things, shown always in the same season as they fell; with the names of most notable Clerics and Saints, living for the time in the world.

Many grave speeches, prayers, consultations, and letters, containing very fruitful and moral doctrines; with such resolute and considered responses, that no other book shall be found more profitable or pleasing to the readers.

A letter, directed by the translator to the King's grace, in the latter end of this book; inducing his Highness to frequent reading of this *History*.

The Proem of the Cosmography.

When silver Diana, full of beams bright,
From dark eclipse was past, this other night,
And from the Crab, her proper mansion, gone;
Artophilax contending with all his might,
In the great East, to set his visage right;
I mean, the leader of the Charles' Wain;
Above our head was the Urses twain:
When stars small obscures in our sight,
And Lucifer left twinkling him alone.<73>

The frosty night, with her lengthened hours,
Her mantle white spread on the tender flowers:
When I with ardent labour have
Translated the story of our ancestors,
Their great courage, high wisdom, and honours;
When we may clear, as in a mirror, see
Sometimes the furious end of tyranny;
Sometimes the glory of prudent governors:
Each state appropriately described.

My weary spirit desiring to repress
My empty pen of fruitless business,
Walked forth to take the wholesome air;
When Priapus, with stormy cloak oppress'd,
Requested me, in his most tenderness,
To rest a while amid his gardens bare.
But I no manner could my mind prepare
To set aside unpleasing heaviness,
On this and that contemplating solitare.

And first occurred to my remembering,
How that I was in service with the King;
Put to his Grace in my tenderest years,
Clerk of his Accounts, unworthy though I was,
With heart and hand, and every other thing
That might him please in any manner best;
Until high envy me from his service cast,
By them that had the Court in governing,
As bird just fledged driven from the nest.

Our life, our guiding, and our adventures,
Depend from their heavenly creatures<74>

Apparently by some necessity.
For though a man would be busy and take care,
So far as his labour and wisdom fare,
To fly the inevitable ill-luck;
Though he resist it with great energy;
The cursed destiny yet has him struck,
Given to him first in his nativity.

Of earthly state bewailing thus the chance.
Of fortune good I had no confidence.
So long I swam in her seas deep.
That sad thinking with her thoughtful lance,
Could find no port to anchor her firmance;
While Morpheus, the dreary god of sleep,
For very pity did for my cares weep.
And set his slothful deadly countenance
With snoring veins through my body creep.

Methought I was within a pleasant mead,
Where the maid Flora tender blossoms spread,
Through kindly dew and humours nutritive;
When golden Titan, <81> with his flames red,
Above the seas raised up his head;
Dispensing down his heat restorative
To every fruit that nature made alive,
Which was before for all the winter dead,
From tempests cold and frosts penetrative.

A silver fountain sprung up of water clear
In that place where I approached near,
Where I soon did hear a lively cheer
From courtly gallants in their best manner,
Rejoicing in the season of the year,
As if it was upon the First of May.
Their goodly aspect made me not afeared.
With them I saw a crowned king appear,
Young, with soft hair coming to a beard.

These courtly gallants setting their intents
To sing, and play on divers instruments,
According to this Prince's appetite;
Two pleasing ladies came prancing o'er the bank;
Their costly clothing showed their mighty rank.
What heart might want, they wanted not a bit;
The rubies shone upon their fingers white;
And, finally, I knew, by their consents,
This one, Virtue; that other, called Delight.

These Goddesses arrayed in this way
As reverence and honour would devise.
Before this Prince, fell down upon their knee;
And they were dressed in their best array,
So far as wisdom in their power lay.
To do the thing that might them best report
Where he rejoiced in his heavenly sport;

Delight addresses the King:

"If thou desireth in the seas to float
Of heavenly bliss, then me your lady treat;
For it is said by clerics of renown,
There is no pleasure in this world so great
As when a lover does his lady meet,
To rescue his life from many a deadly swoon.
As highest pleasure but comparison,
I shall you give, into your years sweet,
A lusty hawk with many feathers brown;

"Which shall be found so joyous and pleasant,
If you pay unto her merry flights heed,
Of every bliss that may in earth appear,
As heart will think, you shall no plenty want;
Until years swift, with onward rushing wheels,
Consume your strength, and all your beauty clear."
And when Delight had said in this manner,
As youthful eagerness thought most relevant,
Than Virtue said, as you shall after hear:

"My lands broad, with many a plenteous shire,
Shall give your Highness, if you dost desire,
Triumphant glory, high honour, fame divine;
With such puissance, that them no furious ire,
Nor wearing age, nor flame of burning fire,
Nor bitter death, may bring unto ruin.
But you must first suffer great trouble,
Above yourselves that you may have empire:
Than shall your fame and honour have no end."

The King replies

"My realm is set among my foes all;
Which have with me a war continual,
And ever still do on my border lie;
And, though they may no way overcome,

They lie in wait, if any chance may fall
Of me some time to get the victory.
Thus is my life a constant soldiery.
My constant labour strong as any wall,
And nothing can break me but sluggardy."

Virtue speaks:

"No fortune may against me avail,
Though she with cloudy storms may me assail.
I break the stream of sharp adversity.
In weather calm and most tempestuous hail,
Without any dread, I bear an equal sail;
My ship so strong that I may never die.
Wit, reason, courage, governs me so high,
No influence nor stars may prevail
To reign on me with infortunity.

"The rage of youth may not daunted be,
But by great distress and sharp adversity;
As by this reason is experience:
The finest gold or silver that we see,
May not be wrought to our utility,
But by flames keen and bitter violence.
The more distress, the more intelligence.
Who sail long in high prosperity,
Are soon overset by stormy violence.

"This fragile life, as moment enduring,
Without doubt, shall you and every people bring
To certain bliss, or to eternal woe.
If you by honest labour do a thing,
Your arduous labour shall vanish without tarrying,
Although your honest works do not so:
If you by lust do any thing also,
The shameful deed, without departing,
Remains always, when pleasure is gone.

"As carvel tight fast tending through the sea,
Leaves no print among the waves high;
As a bird swift, with many busy plume,
Pierceth the air, and cares not where they fly;
Like that our life, without activity
Giveth no fruit, although a shadow bloom.
Who doth their life into this earth consume
Without virtue, their fame and memory
Shall vanish sooner than the reeky fume.

"As water purges and makes bodies fair;
As fire by nature ascends in the air,
And purifies with heating vehement;
As flower does smell; as fruit is nourishing;
As precious balm relieves things sore,
And makes them proof against disease;
As spice, most sweet; as rose, most redolent;
As star of day, by moving circular,
Chaseth the night with beams resplendent:

"Thus my work perfecteth every wight
In fervent love of most excellent light,
And makes man in this earth without peer;
And does the soul from all corruption clean
With odour sweet, and makes it more bright
Than Diana full, or yet Apollo clear;
Then raises it unto the highest sphere,
Immortally to shine in Gods sight,
As chosen spouse, and creature most dear.

"This other wench, that called is Delight,
Seduces man, by sensual appetite,
In every kind of vice and misery;
Because no wit nor reason is perfect,
Where she is guide, without harm infinite,
With dolour, shame, and biting poverty.
For she was got of froth of the sea;
Which signifies, her poisonous pleasure
Is mingled always with sharp adversity.

"Duke Hannibal, as many authors write,
Through Spain come, by many difficult passages,
To Italy in furor bellicose;
Broke down the walls, the mountains overcame,
And to his army made an open gate,
And victory had on the Romans all:
At Capua, by pleasure sensual,
This Duke was made so soft and delicate,
That by his foes he was soon overcome.

"Of fierce Achilles, the warlike deeds sprung
In Troy and Greece, while he in virtue reigned;
How lust him slew, it is but pity to hear.
In this way the Trojans, with their knights strong,
The valiant Greeks beat from their town;

Victoriously fought them many year:
That night they went to their lust and pleasure,
The fatal horse did through their walls bring,
Whose pregnant sides were full of men of war.

"Sardanapall,<76> the prince degenerate,
From knightly deeds was degenerate;
Twining the threads of the purple linen
With fingers soft, among the ladies sat;
And with his lust could not be satiated,
While from his foes come the bitter blow.
What noblemen and ladies has been destroyed
When they with lusts were intoxicated,
To show at length, my tongue should never ease.

"Therefore Camil,<77> the valiant chevalier
When he the Gauls had defeated by his war,
Of heritable lands would have no recompense;
For, if his children and his friends dear
Were virtuous, they could not fail each year
To have enough by Roman providence;
If they were given to vice and insolence,
It was not right to give them riches,
To be occasion of their incontinence.

"Some noblemen, as poets do declare,
Were deified; some [as] Gods of the air;
Some of the heavens: as Æolus, Vulcan,
Saturn, Mercury, Apollo, Jupiter,
Mars, Hercules, and other virtuous men,
That glory immortal in their lives won.
Why were their people called Gods then?
Because they had a virtue singular,
Excellent, high above talent of man.

"And others are in reek sulphurous;
As Ixion, and weary Sisyphus,
Eumenides, the Furies very odious,
The proud giants, and thirsty Tantalus;
With ugly drink, and food most venomous;
Where flames bold and darkness are to be seen.
Why are these folk in pains so terrible?
Because they were but vicious shrews,
In all their life, with deeds most horrible.

"And though no fruit were after consequence
Of mortal life, but for this world present
Each man to have only respect;
Yet virtue should from vice be different,
As quick from dead, as rich from indigent.
That one, to glory and honour always direct;
This other, soul and body to neglect:
That one, of reason most intelligent;
This other, of beasts following the effect.

"For he that would not against his lusts strive,
But lives as a beast without knowledge or sense,
Ages right fast, and death him soon overtakes.
Therefore the mule is of a longer life
Than entire horse; also the barren wife
Appears young, when she that's fertile fails.
We see also, when nature not prevails,
The pain and dolour are so severe,
No medicine the patient avails.

"Since you have heard both our arguments thus,
Choose of us two the most delicious:
First to sustain a sharp adversity,
Daunting the rage of youth furious;
An then possess triumphs innumerable,
With long empire, and high happiness:
Or have a moment, sensuality
Of foolish youth, in life voluptuous;
And all your day is full of misery."

By then, Phoebus his fiery cart did drive
From South to West, declining busily
To dip his steeds in the ocean;
When he began cover his visage dry,
With vapors thick, and clouds full of sky;
And Notus filled the South wind,
With damp wings, and feathers full of rain,
Awakened me; that I might not espy
Which of them two was as his lady ta'en.

But soon I knew they were the Goddesses
That come in sleep to valiant Hercules,
When he was young, and free of every lore
To lust or honour, poverty or riches;
When he despised lust and idleness,

The History and Chronicles of Scotland

That he in virtue might his life adorn;
And works did of most excellent glory.
The more increased his painful business,
His high triumph and loving was the more.

Than, through this moral erudition
Which come, as we have said, in my vision,
I decided, ere I further went,
To write the story of this region,
With deeds of many illustrious champions.
And, though the pain appears vehement,
To make the story to the readers more patent,
I will begin at the description
Of Albion, in manner subsequent.

Hector Boece

The Cosmography and Description of Albion.

Chap. First.

How all things are subject to alteration and death; and nothing is permanent on the earth.

I trust no one has such mean intelligence, but knows Cosmography most necessary to the knowledge of history; and yet to describe the same, is a task of no small talent. Also, all the authors, that have written upon the description of the world, are patent and known to each region and people; among whom have been many skillful and resolute men, showing many great things beyond the talents of other men, with such profound writing, that their description is nothing different from the truth, in describing many unknown things in their places, to the great commodity and pleasure of readers. Yet since the matter that they treat is not solid nor permanent in the same form and image as it was first found, it appears both to unlettered people and others who have no consideration of the continual alteration of matters, that the truth is not shown to them in all parts. And since all things which are comprehended within the sphere of the moon, are so subject to death and alteration, that they are either consumed before us, or else we before them; there appears nothing more corruptible, nor yet of more alteration, than the earth and situation thereof; because it changes in so many ways by long age and processes of years.

For we not only may see presently by our eyes, but find by many skilful and profound historians, that where at one time there were most notable cities, or most fertile pasture and meadows, now, through earthquake tremors, or else by continual inundation of waters, nothing remains but either the huge seas, or else unprofitable ground and sands. Also the sea, by flood and press of raging waters, comes in on some lands and goes forth on others, as daily occurs by experience; for both seas and waters give, by unfair exchange, as much to some lands as they rob from others. Wherefore I believe, by several chances and long process of time, that every thing would not be respondent to the same perfection and knowledge as it was described by old cosmographers, in the figure and situation of the earth. Therefore no man should wonder, although recent authors describe the world in some other figure and sort than it has been described before by Pomponius Mela, Ptolomy, and other old cosmographers; for the earth is now more frequent in people than it was in those days, and the passage in all countries more known; through which the situation of all regions, by exact and sharp diligence of authors, is better known. Also, if these old cosmographers were but men as we are, we need not wonder, although they had no certain cognisance and full erudition of all things; and, for that cause, they might not write further than they saw by their own inquiries, or else by experience of other authors who came before them. For these reasons, we do not think it wrong sometimes not to follow all their opinions: for they did not have knowledge or experience of all matters; and, therefore, we dare the more boldly write some things for the common profit, specially concerning the figure and situation of Scotland, with the manners of the people thereof, in some other way than has been said before by other authors: for we have not only seen the same, but have knowledge thereof by long experience and use; through which, this our work shall not be unprofitable nor yet displeasing to the readers, for in it shall be said the manners and condition of the people of Scotland, with the situation thereof. Also, to make the readers more attentive and ready to listen, we promise faithfully to write nothing in this work but only such things as are most patent and known to us, either by our own exact diligence and industry, or else by quoting other very true and faithful authors; and,

therefore, if this our work be found pleasing to the readers, we shall write some other time more largely of other matters, both for their erudition and pleasure.

Chap. Second.

The Description of Albion, and why it was called with that Name. The beginning of the Britons and Scots.

The whole Isle of Albion, which contains both the realms of England and Scotland, as is described by the Latin and Greek cosmographers, is environed on every side with the great ocean; having on the East side, the German Sea; on the South side, the French and British seas; on the West side, the Irish Sea; and on the North side, the Norway seas. This He is extended by long passage from the South-South-East to the North-North-West, and is more extended to the length than broad, not far different from the figure of a triangle. This Isle, by old cosmographers, was called Albion, and remains yet under the same name. Some authors say, this Isle was called Albion, from *albis montibus*; that is to say, from the white mountains thereof, full of chalk: Others say, it was called Albion, from a lady named Albyne; which history is not unlike the fables that are written of the fifty daughters of Danaus, King of Argives. This Albyne, as is said, with her fifty sisters, after they had slain all their husbands, raised sail, and come out of Greece through the seas of Hercules to Spain; and, from Spain, come through the French and German Sea without any impediment to the said Isle; and, after her arriving in the same, named it Albion from her name. This Albyne, with her fifty sisters, after their coming to the said Isle, conversed with devils in form of men, and conceived children by natural commixtion. Their children increased in such huge stature and strength, that they were called by the people giants; and inhabited the said region continually to the time of Brutus, the first beginner of the Britons.

This Brutus was grandson, or else great-grandson, to the great Trojan Aeneas; and, because he was exiled and banished for murder and other great offences done by him in Italy, he was constrained to depart with the remainder of Trojans, his companions, to search for some new dwelling. After long travel by tempestuous and stormy seas, he arrived in Albion, from the beginning of the world 4027 years. This Brutus and his companions, after their coming to Albion, attacked the giants described above in several battles; and, finally, brought them to such great ruin, that both their lands and goods fell prey to Brutus and his companions: and so the country was called Britain, and the people Britons. But the beginning of the Scots was in another manner. It is written by our ancient historians, that Gathelus, a very illustrious and valiant knight, descending by long progression and lineage of the blood royal of Greece, married Scota, daughter to King Pharaoh of Egypt; and, though many rich lands fell to him, as well as great honours, in the realm of Egypt, because of his singular prowess, yet he was so alarmed by many terrible and grievous plagues which occurred as prophesied by Moses, to the great destruction of the realm and people of Egypt, that he thought nothing so good nor profitable as to be remote and distant from there. Gathelus, moved by these causes, come forth from the mouth of the Nile, with his wife, his friends, and servants, Greeks and Egyptians, through the Mediterranean sea; and, finally, broken with long and incredible danger in foriegn parts, he arrived in the North part of Spain: and to obtain more benevolence from his wife, he named his people Scots, after her name. Their common language was called Gathelick. Gathelus, after his coming to Spain, sent a band of warriors to Ireland; which, by singular courage and prudence, so defeated the people thereof, that they got the whole rule of the said Isle, and reigned in it many years after, with great honour and glory of arms.

Chap. Third.

How the Scots and Picts came to Albion. Of their Lineage and Manners; and how the said Isle was inhabited by three different People.

Rothsay, one of the king's sons of Ireland, come, short years after, with a company of young and hardy people, to the Isles of Albion; and, because he found them waste and not inhabited then with any of the Britons, he settled with his remaining companions, wives, and children, in the said Isles, and named them Hebrides, from the name of Hibernia, or else from the name of Hiber, the first son of Gathelus. This Rothsay come soon after, with his friends out of the Isles, to Albion; and, so much as he got possession of, he called it Scotland. The day that Scots come first to Albion, was from the beginning of the world 4617 years. Many years after their coming to Albion, they were called Re-Albinis, that is to say, Kings of Albion; to make them something different from the remaining kings that inhabited the land after or before their coming. Further, though the Scots, by their singular courage and prudence, reigned continually without any interruption both in Spain and Ireland, yet their name has perished in those parts; either by their commixture with foreign blood, or else by decay and long process of years; through which remains no Scots in memory, but they that inhabit the lands of Albion. Also the Spaniards, that dwell yet in the mountains and other remote places of Spain, know nothing of the Roman wars; and are little different from Irish men, both in their manners, habit, and language. The Britons, because they were many years before us in Albion, occupy the South and most productive lands thereof: and we inhabited the North parts, full of mountains; which are not so fertile and commodious as the lands occupied by the Britons. After the coming of the Scots and Britons in this manner to Albion, a foreign people named Picts, otherwise named Agathirsanis, who were banished out of Sarmathia, came to Denmark, where they soon after got ships, with all provision appropriate thereto; and, after their final arriving in Albion, they sat down in the waste and middle lands between Britons and Scots, and covered a wide area between both their realms. The coming of the Picts in Albion was after the coming of the Scots in the same, 250 years; yet among some authors rises a foolish doubt, whether the Scots or Picts come first in this region. Some of their authors say, that Rewther was the first beginner of the Scots in Albion. But this opinion is far different from the truth of our history; for five Scots kings reigned continuously, each succeeding to other, before Rewther; as appears clearly in the history following. And so this Isle of Albion was inhabited, from the beginning thereof, with three several people; that is to say, Britons, Scots, and Picts. The first part of this Isle, because it was inhabited by Brutus and his posterity, was named Britain; the second and middle part, because it was inhabited by Picts, was named Pentland; and the remaining lands thereof were inhabited by Scots, and named Scotland. Yet the Roman historians and Ptolemy, when they treat any thing concerning this Isle of Albion, called the whole isle, Britain; and all the people thereof, Britons. These three people, named all under a name Albians, inhabited the said isle; yet the Romans, in all parts where they come within this isle, named the people thereof with several names: for they named the men of Wales, Tegenians, from Tegenia; the men of Angus, Horrestians, from Horrestia; the men of Cawdor and Callender Wood, Caledonians, from Caledonia; the men of Galloway, Brigantes, from Brigantia; as appears by Cornelius Tacitus, who writes, that beyond the Britons dwell in Allbion, to the great North, two people very different from each other in manners

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and nature; that one, for their yellow hair, called Picts, descending of Albians; and this other, for their black and curling hair, called Scots, nothing different from Spaniards in nature and conditions. This isle, in our days, is inhabited only by two people, Englishmen and Scots; the South parts are inhabited by Englishmen, and the North part by Scots. Now have we said the causes why the Britons were called with that name, and the manner of their coming to Albion; and we shall show, in the end of this cosmography, with what people the realm of Britain has been inhabited continually, unto the time of King Henry the VIII, reigning now with great felicity above Englishmen.

Chap. Fourth.

The Lands of Albion; with the several Advantages thereof in general. Of the great infirmities that fall to the People thereof for their intemperance; and of the Religion used by them in old times.

The Isle of Albion contains, in the whole circumference and compass circular, 2000 miles; having in length 700 miles, and in breadth 350 miles; as appears well by the foot thereof opposite the French Sea. And from the foot thereof it proceeds always the more small, until it comes to the furthest frontiers and last lands both of England and Scotland: for between the Mull of Galloway, opposite the Irish Sea, to Saint Ebb's Head, opposite the German Sea, are scarce 160 miles in breadth; and from thence it gathers always more small, till it comes to the last lands thereof, where it has scarcely 30 miles in breadth. It is a very profitable isle; full of people; and not only very productive of store and cattle, but of all kind of crops in every part thereof, saving only those parts where God, of his singular goodness, has ordained very rich mines of gold, silver, tin, brass, copper, and quicksilver, with such fullness and abundance of metals, that the same are not only sufficient for all manner of necessaries to the people of the said Isle, but are sufficient to all other our neighbours that dwell about us, if our people had perfect craft and industry to win the same. But the overflowing abundance of all other things necessary to the use of man, which nature has produced in our region, makes the people the less industrious and skilful, delighting always more in sloth than any exertion; for beside the great fullness of grass, crops, and cattle in our lands, beside the great abundance of fowls in the air, so great plenty is of fish in all parts of our seas, specially towards the North, that the same is sufficient enough to nourish all our people, even if there were no fruits growing on our land; as appears by experience: for all lands that lies about us, as France, Flanders, Zeeland, Holland, and many of Germany, come with several fleets, seeking fish yearly in our seas; and not only, by their prudent industry, win fish sufficient to sustain themselves, but, by selling their fish, they sustain the people of all other countries; sailing, in the time of Lent, through the Mediterranean seas, always selling their fish, to their great profit and advantage. Many other rich and precious things are to be got in the said isle, held in great esteem by the East people of the world. What may be said of our wool, which is so white and fine, that the same is desired by all people, and bought at a great price, especially by merchants who know it best. Of this wool is made the fine scarlets, with many other grand and delicate cloths. Wherefore I dare boldly affirm, if the people of Albion had such grace that they might live with concord among themselves, or if their realms, by any honest way, might come under the empire and sovereignty of a king; they might not only have all necessaries within themselves, without importing them; but, with little difficulty, might defeat all neighbours and countries lying about them, when any external or foreign warriors happened to attack them. They have such elegant stature, so fair and lusty bodies, that no other people may be preferred to them. They are very ingenious and able, as well in letters as other virtuous and bodily exercise of the hands; very hardy and ready for all dangers both in war and peace, in such a way that nothing would be difficult to them, if they lived temperately. Therefore the provident Beginner of the World has not without great reason made their region naked and bare of wines; knowing, by his infinite wisdom, that wines, although the same are very necessary to all other people, are very harmful to the nature of the people of Albion: for they are given to such unnatural greediness and

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desire of foreign meats and drinks, that they can not refrain themselves from immoderate excess, as appears well by experience; for, through their crapulous and shameful gluttony, they are stricken often with so dangerous and incurable infirmities, that although you knew them well in all their tender age, you shall find them, through their intemperance and excessive diet, grown so loathsome in their mid or latter age, that they appear as unknown to your sight as if you had never known them in their tender age; indeed they shall appear more like misfashioned monsters than any natural people. Several of them, through excessive diet, grow frantic in their latter age, with many sorrowful maladies following them; for, as the proverb says, rarely are men of great gluttony seen to live long days, or be aged with process of years, because their excessive and intemperate diet consumes all the substance of their bodies. But we will return to our purpose. The people of Albion, as writes Caesar, in his Commentaries, and Cornelius Tacitus, were very religious, after the rite that was in those days; for in those days were the priests of Britain, named Druids, very expert both in natural and moral philosophy. By their doctrine, come the first schools of their sect and opinion in France. The principal sect of their priests was in the Isle of Man, which was in that time the source and centre of all honourable erudition and letters; and, from the time their priests were once professed in the Catholic faith, they persevered with great constancy in it, without any stain of heresy.

Chap. Fifth.

The Description of the East, West, and Middle Borders of Scotland; with the most notable Towns and Rivers thereof.

The Picts had once the principal and most productive parts of all the lands that are now under the rule of the Scots; after they had ruled the same, 1151 years, in kindred, friendship, and friendship with the Scots; concurring with them equally in every danger and risk of battle against the Romans and Britons; and sometimes fighting against the Scots, their own allied friends, by unprudence of young and disreputable persons: until at last, by outrageous and excessive hatred, arose such slaughter and murder on all sides, that they were brought to utter ruin, and beaten out of Albion, by the wars of the Scots. And though the Scots have been often broken with most terrible and dangerous wars with many sharp enemies, yet, by divine benevolence, they flourish whole unto these days, and have defeated all their enemies. These advantages, which are now said generally of Albion, are especially obvious, with many other singular virtues, among the Scots in the Highlands: for the people thereof have no requirement for merchandise of foreign realms; and, because they are not corrupted, nor mingled with foreign blood, they are the more strong and rude, and may suffer more hunger, walking, and distress, than any other people of Albion; most hardy at dangers; very agile and active of bodies; very ingenious to every new invention; most conspicuous in craft of warfare; and keep their faith and promise with most strictness and constancy.

Scotland has the Merse, which was once the most productive region of the Picts, for their border, opposite the German Sea. This region, so long as it was inhabited by Picts, was named Deere; and, after the expulsion of the Picts, it was named the Merse, that is to say, the frontiers; for the Scots, after the expulsion of the Picts, extended their frontiers to Tweed, which divides Northumberland from the Merse. On the other side, several small streams descend from the hills of Cheviot, and other mountains lying there about, dividing Cumbria from Annandale, and fall in the Water of Solway. This Water of Solway runs into the Irish Sea, and is the frontier of Scotland, opposite the West borders. The hills of Cheviot, from which spring many small streams on each side, mark the middle frontier of Scotland. The Merse has several frontiers at several parts where it is extended. At the East side it has the German Sea; at the West, East Lothian; at the South, Tweed; and finally, at the North, Forth, for the frontiers. Among many strong castles in the Merse is the town and castle of Berwick, sometimes named Ordolutium, and the inhabitants thereof named Ordoluce. Tweed first springs from a small fountain, and, by augmentation of other waters that fall in it, it descends with broad streams into the German Sea. Beyond Tweed, to the middle frontier under Cheviot, lies Teviotdale, that is to say, the vale of Teviot. Beyond it lies Eskdale, the vale of Esk; for Esk runs through the midst thereof. Against Eskdale, on the other side, lies Ewesdale, named from the Water of Ewes, and falls in the Water of Annan: but Teviot and Esk fall into the Tweed. On the other side, against the Irish Sea, lies Annandale, from the Water of Annand. It borders with the out-lands of Nithsdale, where all the three rivers foresaid, Ewes, Annand, and Solway, descend together, in a stream, into the Irish Sea. In Annandale is a loch named Lochmaben, five miles in length, and four in breadth, full of strange fish. Beside this loch is a castle, of the same name, made to prevent the incursion of thieves. For not only in Annandale, but in all the dales described above, are many strong and wicked thieves, attacking the country with perpetual theft, robbery, and

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slaughter, when they see any troubled time. These thieves, because they have Englishmen their perpetual enemies, bordering on them, attack England with continual wars, or else with quiet theft; and live always a poor and miserable life. In the time of peace, they are so accustomed to theft that they can not desist, but attack the country, (although they are always miserably put down,) with constant raids. Many rich and productive parts of Scotland lie waste, for fear of their invasion. Not far from Solway are many sinking sands, so perilous, that no people may transport themselves through the same, without great difficulty and danger of their lives. This vale of Annan was once named Ordovitia, and the people named Ordovices; whose cruelty was so great, that they abhorred not to eat the flesh of captured prisoners. The wives used to slay their husbands, when they were found cowards, or defeated by their enemies; to encourage others to be more bold and hardy when danger occurred: until at last they were finally destroyed by the wars of the Romans. On the West borders, to the North, lies Nithsdale, named from the Water of Nith. It begins with a narrow and tight neck, and increases more broad, to the middle frontiers of Scotland. In Nithsdale is the town of Dumfries, where much fine and delicate white cloth is made, held in great esteem by merchants of foreign realms.

Chap. Sixth.
***The Description of Galloway, Kyle, Carrick, and
Cunninghame; with the notable Towns, Lochs, and Rivers in
the same.***

Above Nithsdale is Galloway, named sometimes, Brigantia, and the people thereof named Brigantes. This region is divided by the Water of Cree in two parts: the part that lies nearest to Nithsdale, is called Nether Galloway; the other part, that lies above Cree, is called Upper Galloway. In Nether Galloway is Kirkcudbright, a rich town, full of business. In Upper Galloway is the Abbey of Whithorn, dedicated to the holy bishop Saint Ninian; where his blessed body rests greatly venerated by the people. Above Whithorn is the town of Wigtown; and not far from it, is the loch of Myrton. Half of this loch freezes by natural congelation, as other lochs do; the other half never freezes. In Galloway there are two other lochs, Soulseat and Newtramen, of similar length and breadth as Loch Myrton. Galloway runs, with a great rocky snout of crags, a long way into the Irish Sea. This snout is called by the people, the Mulis Nuk [angled headland]; and, by the looping of it in the seas, it makes two great lochs, named by the people Loch Ryan, and Luce. One of these lochs is 30, and one 16, miles in length. They are both full of oysters, herring, conger eels, mussels, and cockles, with many other fish. Some men hold, that Brigantia was the same region of England that is now called Wales, where the Britons lived many years after they were beaten out of Britain: but this opinion is false; for the Roman authors say, the Isle of Man lies opposite Brigantia, and is mid-passage between it and Ireland, as yet appears by experience. And although the shores, by flood and flux of seas, are worn, and more distant from each other than they were before, yet the same latitude and elevation of the pole that Ptolemy assigns to Brigantia, corresponds well to the elevation of the pole above Galloway, which is distant and severed by long journey from Wales; for the Isle of Man lies three hundred miles from Wales, in sight of Galloway. Also, by testimony of several authors, we say, that out of Brigantia, the town of Spain which is now named Compostela, came a new company of people to Ireland, and were named Spaniards; and out of Ireland came a great company of the same people, with King Fergus, to Albion; and, in remembrance of the city of Brigantia, which they once inhabited in Spain, they were all called Brigantes. To this opinion agrees Cornelius Tacitus, saying, the Brigantes were descended of the Spaniards, and dwell in the remote and last lands of Britain; for he calls the whole Isle of Albion, Britain. The regions described above, that is to say, Annandale, Nithsdale, and Galloway, not only abound in fine wool and store of cattle, but are very profitable in all manner of crops, except wheat.

Above Galloway is Carrick, a part of Siluria; for Siluria is divided in three parts, that is to say, Carrick, Kyle, and Cunninghame. In Carrick there was once a rich city under the same name; whose ruinous walls show the great magnificence thereof. In this country are many strong castles, very powerful both by nature and craft of men. In this region are many fair cows and oxen, of which the flesh is very delicious and tender; the tallow of their bellies is so sappy, that it freezes never, but by its nature always flows, of itself, like oil.

Beyond Carrick is Kyle, named from Coyll, King of Britons, who was slain in the said region. In Kyle is a stone, not 12 miles from the town of Ayr, 30 foot in height, and three ells in breadth, called by the people the Deaf Stone; for when a man

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is at the foot of it, he may neither hear what is said nor done on the other side, although a cannon were shot at it; nonetheless, the further away he stands from it, he hears it the better. Next to Kyle is Cunninghame, the third part of Siluria; whose people were most troublesome to the Romans. In Kyle is a loch named Doon, from which descends the water of the same name, and runs into the Irish Sea. In Cunninghame is a loch named Garnock, not unlike to Loch Doon, full of fish; and not far from it is the town of Largs, where once King Alexander the Third fought, with great glory of victory, against the Danes.

Chap. Seventh.

The Description of Renfrew, Clydesdale, Lennox, Lomond, Argyll, Lochaber, Lorne, and Kintyre; with all notable things contained in the same.

The Water of Clyde divides the Lennox, on the North side, from the barony of Renfrew; and rises out of the same mountain within the Wood of Caledonia, from which rises Annan; and descends by a long passage into the Irish Sea. Not far from the source of Clyde springs the source of Forth, which descends, through fertile and broad lands, into the German Sea. On the other side, the Water of Clyde, after it has run long towards the North, bends always inward, until it come to the mountains of Grampian; then descends with long passage to the South, when it falls into the Irish Sea. The country, where it runs, is called Clydesdale. Between Clyde and Lennox lies the barony of Renfrew; in which are two lochs, named Whynsouth and Leboth, some 20 and some 12 miles in length, very productive and full of fish. Above Renfrew, to the ocean seas, lies Lennox, named, by Ptolemy, Lelgonia; in which is a great loch named Lomond, 24 miles in length, and 8 miles in breadth. Within this loch are 30 isles, well provided with churches, temples, and houses: and in this loch are three notable things; fish swimming without any fin; very dangerous and stormy waves, without any wind; and an isle that floats here and there as the wind blows. This loch stands at the foot of the mountains of Grampian, which were once the great frontiers between the Scots and Picts, and goes from Loch Lomond to the mouth of Dee. The Picts had no lands beyond the mountains of Grampian, nor yet lying to the Irish Sea; for their lands were always inhabited by Scots. 8 miles from Loch Lomond is the castle of Dumbarton, named sometimes, Alcleuch; where the Water of Leven falls into the Clyde. Beyond Loch Lomond is Argyll, a country full of rocks, crags, and mountains. In it are two lochs, Loch Fyne and Loch Awe. The land is divided in three parts; the land that lies in the middle thereof is called Knapdale. In Loch Fyne there is more plenty of herring than in any other sea of Albion. In Loch Awe are many fish, such as live in fresh water. In Argyll are two castles, Glenurquhart and Enconell; and in it are 12 isles: but they are more profitable for raising cattle, than any crops. In Argyll are many rich mines, full of metal; but the people thereof have no craft nor industry to win the same. It is said, in this country there is a stone of such nature, that if it is covered with straw or flax, sets it on fire. In Argyll are 7 other lochs; some are 30 miles in length and breadth, and some less. It was said by Sir Duncan Campbell to us, that out of Garloch, a loch of Argyll, the year of God 1510 years, there came a terrible beast, as big as a greyhound, with feet like a goose, and struck down great trees with the blow of her tail; and slew three men who were hunting with three strokes of her tail: and had not the remaining hunters climbed up strong trees, they had been all slain in the same manner. After the slaughter of these men, she fled speedily to the loch. Several prudent men believed great trouble would follow in Scotland, from the appearing of this beast; for she was seen before, and always trouble followed thereafter. Bordering Argyll is Lorne, which was once but a part thereof; for it lies in manner of a tongue within the Irish Sea, with a long neck, 60 miles in length and breadth. This tongue, that runs so far into the sea, was once named Novantia; but now is it called Kintyre, that is to say, the Head of Lorne. The outermost part of this tongue is not 16 miles from Ireland. Some authors say, both Argyll and Kintyre were named Novantia; for Ptolemy makes no mention of Argyll in his cosmography. In Lorne barley grows in great plenty. Beyond Lorne is Lochaber,

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which was once a part of Morayland. It is full of mines, such as iron and lead, and very profitable in store of cattle. In it are many woods, lochs, and rivers, full of salmon and other fish, swimming so plentifully, that they taken without any difficulty. The principal rivers of Lochaber are Lochy and Spean; although the reason it is so called is uncertain. Lochy rises not 8 miles from Loch Ness, and falls, under the same name, into the German Sea. Beside it is a rocky crag, dipping with a long neck in the seas, named Ardnamurchan.

In the mouth of Lochy was a rich town named Inverlochy, where once there was great trading with foreign merchants; but at last it was so utterly destroyed by wars of the Danes, that it never recovered to the honour and magnificence that it had before: and whether this comes from the sloth of our people, or the envy of some evil men, who may suffer no walled towns in this country, it is uncertain. Beyond Lochy is the castle of Dunstaffnage, sometimes named Evonium. Beyond Dunstaffnage is the mouth of the Water of Spean, where it falls in the German Sea.

Chap Eighth.

The Description of Ross, Strathnaver, and Moray; with the Lochs, Rivers, and Notable Towns thereof.

Beyond the Water of Spain lies Ross, formerly named Luffia: rising with a strait narrow neck, and thereafter comes forth, with broader pasture, valleys, and mountains; surrounded, both on the one side and the other, with the ocean. This country, where it lies most approaching to the Irish Sea, has very difficult passage, and is more suitable for raising cattle than any habitation of man. It is best cultivated opposite the German Sea: very productive both of grass and corn; for their salubrious valleys, where the rivers descend, make the crops very delicious and nourishing. In Ross are several lochs, but Loch Broom is the biggest. There are many rivers in Ross, full of fish. In Ross is Cromarty, a firth and certain port to all ships, to save them from danger of tempest, named by the people, the Heil of Schipmen.[Haven of Shipmen] In Ross is the town of Thane, where the blessed bones of Saint Dutho rest, greatly venerated by the people. In a vale of Ross are two houses, round in the form of a bell; and are preserved to our days in memory of some antiquities of our elders. Next Ross lies Strathnaver, the outermost lands of Scotland; of which the sea-coast lies North-North-West, and bends in again against the German Sea, having beside it, on the North, Caithness; on the East, Sutherland; on the South, Ross; and, on the West, the North-North-West seas. Three great crags lie on the outermost side of Strathnaver, named Hoy, Holburn, and Duncansby; and because these three rocks shoot far in the sea, they make two great firths and lochs, severed from each other. Beside Caithness lies Sutherland, a profitable country both for livestock and corn. On the far side of it lies Moray, formerly named Vararis. But it has not the same frontiers now as it had than; for all the lands between Spey and Ness to the Irish Sea, were named Moray: but now it lies sometimes beyond the Water of Spey and Kessock, until it come to the Irish Sea. Between Ross and Moray, the land bends in with a great descent ainto a valley, in which falls five rivers, Ness, Nairn, Findhorn, Lossie, and Spey. Spey runs with so fierce and violent stream, that the sea tide, when it come in most swiftly, may not resist the violent force and volume of this water, but is, with the force and volume thereof, borne down perforce to the seas. Ness rises from a loch of the same name, not 8 miles from the same loch that Lochy come from, and runs into the Irish Sea. The Water of Lochy never freezes, nor yet the loch that it come from, in any storm of winter; and, even more remarkably, any frozen thing that is cast in it, melts quickly: it is, therefore, very useful to all frozen beasts. In the mouth of Ness stands the town of Inverness; where once was great plenty and catch of herring, although they are now vanished, because of an offence that was made against some Saint. The truth is, when avaricious and wretched men fight for the fish that God sends, by his infinite goodness, for the support of the people, and defile the sea by their blood; many years after, no fish swim in that place. Beside Loch Ness, which is 24 miles in length, and 12 in breadth, are many wild horses; and, among them, are many martens, beavers, weasels, and foxes; the furs and skins of them are bought at a great price by foreign merchants.

In Moray there is not only great abundance of wheat, barley, oats, and suchlike corn, with great plenty of nuts and apples, but in it is great abundance of fish, and especially salmon. In this country there is a crude manner of fishing: for the people make a long basket, narrow at the end, and wide at the mouth, with many pointed spurs inside, made with such craft, that the fish are caught in it, and can not

get forth again; and as soon as the sea ebbs, the fish are taken dry in the creels. In Moray is a loch named Spynie, where there is a great number of swans. The cause why the swans multiply so fast in this loch, is through an herb named sweetgrass, which burgeons with great fertility in the said loch, and the seed of it is very nourishing and delicious to swans. This herb is so prolific, that where it is once sown or planted, it can never be destroyed; as may be proven by experience: for, though this loch is 5 miles long, and was once, within the memory of man, full of salmon and other great fish, yet, from when this herb began to burgeon in it, the water is grown so shallow, that a man may wade through the most parts thereof; and, therefore, all manner of great fish are quite vanished out of it. The Church of Petty is in Morayland; there the bones of Little John remain, to great admiration by the people. He was fourteen foot of height, with straight limbs corresponding thereto. 6 years before the coming of this work to light, we saw his coccyx, as big as the shin bone of a man; for we put our arm in the mouth thereof: by which appears how strong and square people grew in our region, before they were become degenerate from lust and gluttony. In Moray is the town of Elgin, not far from the mouth of Spey; in which is the noble cathedral church of Moray, decorated richly with the college of Canons. There are several rich abbeys in Moray: as Kinloss, of the order of Cistercians; and Pluscardyn, of the order of Cluny.

Chap. Ninth.

The Description of Boindie, Enzie, Buchan, Mar, Mearns, Fife, and Angus; with the Lochs, Rivers, Abbeys, Towns, and other notable things thereof.

Bordering Moray, are Boindie and Enzie; two productive regions for cattle, reaching, with fertile and wide lands, to the seas. These regions are full of sheep and cattle, in the several pasture and woods in the same; and through the midst thereof runs the Water of Deveron. In the mouth of this water stands the town of Banff. Under these two regions before named, lies Buchan, a profitable land for sheep; for it passes all countries, lying about it, in riches of white and delicate wool. Many waters are in Buchan; all full of salmon, except Rattray, in which there are none. In Buchan is the castle of Slains, the Constable of Scotland's house: beside which is a marvellous cave; for the water that drops in it, grows, within short time, like a hard white stone; and, were the cave not emptied often, it would be filled soon with stones. No rats are seen in this country; and, as soon as they are brought there, they die. In Buchan oats grow without any cultivation or sowing. When the people come intending to reap their oats, they find nothing but empty husks; yet when they come without any premeditation, they find their oats full and well ripened. These things come not by nature, but rather by illusion of devils, for the deceit of blind and superstitious people. Under Buchan lies Mar; a productive region in store of cattle, 60 miles in length and breadth, from the German Sea to Badenoch. In it is the city of Aberdeen, the bishop's seat; with a general University, flourishing in all sciences; it was founded by the noble Bishop William Elphinston, with a rich and magnificent college. This city lies between two rich rivers, Don and Dee; in which are more salmon, than in any other part of Albion. Bordering Mar lies the Mearns, as far as the sea; a rich country for store of cattle: in it is Dunottar, the Marshal of Scotland's house. In the Mearns is the town of Fordoun; where the blessed bones of Saint Palladius rest, greatly venerated by the people. On the out-frontiers of Mearns runs the Water of Esk, otherwise named Northesk; a dangerous river, where many travellers perish for want of a bridge. Bordering with the Mearns lies Angus; which was once a part of Horrestia, and is divided by three rivers, Northesk, Southesk, and Tay. In Angus there is a high mountain, dipping in the German Sea, called the Red Head. The Tay rises, far beyond the mountains of Grampian, from Loch Tay, which is 24 miles in length, and 10 miles in breadth; and descends, with great plenty of fish, until it comes into the German Sea, beside Dundee, the town where we were born; where there are many virtuous and hardworking people making of cloth. In Angus are many other good towns, as Montrose, Brechin, and Forfar; with such great number of castles, that it were over-tedious labour to write them all. In Angus are many lochs, full of fish: and in it are many abbeys; as Restennet, of Canons Regular, after the order of Augustine; Arbroath, and Cupar: the first, of the order of Tiron; and the next, of the order of Cistus. In the Vale of Esk is such white and fine wool, that it has no compare in Albion. Beside Tay is Fife, once a part of Octolyne. In it grow all manner of crops, with as great plenty as in any part of Albion; and, where there are no crops, it is very profitable in store of cattle. In Fife are mined black stones, which have such intolerable heat, when they are kindled, that they soften and melt iron, and are therefore very profitable for operation of smiths. This kind of black stones are mined in no part of Albion, but only between Tay and Tyne. In Fife is made great plenty of white salt. In Fife there are many noble towns; as Saint Andrew's, the archbishop's

seat of Scotland, Kircaldy, Dysart, Kinghorn, Cupar, and Dunfermline; where a rich abbey is decorated with the tombs of kings. Many other abbeys are in Fife, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin; as Culross, Balmerino, Portmoak, and Pittenweem. In Fife are several lochs; as Loch Torre, Loch Leven. In Loch Leven is a castle, with many isles; and in one of them is the church of Saint Fillan. Fife is divided from Lothian by the river of Forth, which runs, by a broad firth, into the German Sea. This firth is very productive of cockles, oysters, mussels, seals, porpoises, dolphins, and whales; with great plenty of white fish. Among many other isles in this firth is the Isle of May, decorated by the blood and martyrdom of Saint Hadrian and his companions. In the middle of this isle, springs a fountain of fresh and pure water out from a rocky crag; to the great wonder of the people, considering it is in the midst of the sea. Beside this isle is a wonderful crag, rising within the sea, with so narrow and tight a neck, that no ship nor boat may land except at one part of it only. This crag is called the Bass; unconquerable by any effort of man. In it are caves, as profitable for defence of men, as if they were made by skilful industry. Everything that is in that crag is full of admiration and wonder. In it are incredible number of solan geese; not unlike to those fowls, that Pliny calls sea ernes, and are seen in no part of Albion, but in this crag and Ailsa. At their first coming, which is in the spring of the year, they gather such a great amount of brushwood and sticks to build their nests, that the same might be sufficient fuel to the keepers of the castle, if they had no other provision; and though the keepers take from their fowls their sticks and brushwood, yet they take little indignation thereof, but quickly bring again as much from other places where they fly. They nourish their chicks with most delicate fish; for, though they have a fish in their mouth above the seas, where they fly, yet if they see another better, they let the first fall, and dive, with a violent rush, in the sea, and quickly bring up the fish that they last saw; and though this fish be taken from her by the keepers of the castle, she takes little upset, but flies at once for another. The keepers of the castle forsoid, take the young geese from them with little impediment; thus comes great profit yearly to the lord of the said castle. Within the bowels of these geese, is an oil which is a singular medicine; for it heals many infirmities, especially such as come by gout and catarrh descending in the haunches or limbs of men and women. In this crag grows a very delicious herb; but when it is transported or planted in any other place, it is of little flavour or scent. In this crag there once was a stone, full of eyes and hobs, like a water sponge, hollow in the middle; of such nature, that all salt water that is poured into it, becomes immediately fresh and delicious to the taste. We hear, now, that this stone is in Fast Castle. In one isle of Forth, is the abbey of Saint Colm, of Canons Regular, after the order of Saint Augustine. Many other isles are in this firth, full of rabbits. Often are seen in this firth unknown and wonderful fish, with cowls hanging over their heads, like monks; and this always signifies great mortality of men and beasts where they are seen.

Chap. Tenth.

The Description of Lothian, Stirling, Menteith, Caledonian Wood, Strathbogie, Garioch; with the notable Cities, Castles, and Rivers, thereof.

On the South side of Forth lies Lothian; called by that name from Loth, one of the principal kings of the Picts. Lothian is most productive ground of Scotland. In it are many abbeys, castles, and towns; as Haddington, Dunbar, North Berwick, Leith: but Edinburgh passes them all, both in administration, improvements, wisdom, and riches: and above it is the castle of the same name, once called the Maiden Castle, and still retains the same name. Not two miles from Edinburgh is a fountain, dedicated to Saint Catherine, where gouts of oil spring continually with such abundance, that, although the same be gathered away, it springs immediately with great abundance. This fountain arose through a drop of Saint Catherine's oil, which was brought out of Mount Sinai, from her sepulchre, to Saint Margaret, the blessed Queen of Scotland. As soon as Saint Margaret saw the oil spring continually, by divine miracle, in the said place, she had a chapel built there, in the honour of Saint Catherine. This oil has a singular virtue against all manner of canker and scabs. Not far from the mouth of Forth is the castle of Dunbar; which, by nature and skilful industry of man, is the strongest house, this day, of Albion. Dunbar was once the official dwelling of the Earls of March. Not far from it is a town under the same name, with a magnificent and rich college of Canons, founded and honourably endowed by the said Earls. On the East side of Lothian lies the Merse; the country which is first described by us. Under the Merse lies Teviotdale; and above it lies Tweeddale. Under Tweeddale lies Dryfesdale, WHaakonpdale, Douglasdale, and Clydesdale. All these dales bear the name of that river that descends through them. The principal town of Clydesdale is Glasgow, the archbishop's seat; where a noble church is richly established in honour of Saint Mungo, and built with great magnificence. In Glasgow there is a University, where all liberal sciences are studied. In Clydesdale there is a rich mine of gold and blue stone, won without any labour: sometimes there are found in it, several precious stones of various hues. This golden mine was found in the time of King James the Third; who had so many singular virtues, that he would have decorated his realm with infinite riches by this mine, if God had allowed him to have more days. Now, by sloth and negligence of unskilful people, this mine does small profit.

From Glasgow, North, lies Menteith, and Stirlingshire, bordering Argyll and Lennox. In Stirlingshire is the town of Stirling; and above it stands the castle of the same name, sometimes named the Sorrowful Mountain. At this town began the great Wood of Caledonia. This Wood of Caledonia ran from Stirling through Menteith and Strathearn to Atholl and Lochaber; as Ptolemy writes, in his first table. In this wood there once were white bulls, with crisp and curling mane, like fierce lions; and, though they seemed meek and tame in the remaining figure of their bodies, they were more wild than any other beasts, and had such hatred against the society and company of men, that they come never in the woods nor pasture where they found any work or hand thereof; and, many days after, they ate not of the herbs that were touched or handled by men. These bulls were so wild, that they were never taken but by deceit and skilful labour; and so impatient, that, after their taking, they died for insufferable sorrow. As soon as any man attacked these bulls, they rushed with such terrible force on him, that they forced him to the earth; having no fear of hounds, sharp lances, nor any other dangerous weapons. It is said. King Robert Bruce, after his coronation, went

hunting in this wood, having but a small company with him, and escaped narrowly with his life; for one of the bulls, after he was sorely wounded by the hunters, rushed fiercely on the king, although he had no weapons in his hand to defend himself from the blow thereof: Immediately, a man of great spirit, who was standing near by, leapt before the king; and not only cast the bull by manifest force to the earth, but held him, until the remaining hunters slew him with their weapons. This man, that rescued the king, was called Turnbull, and was rewarded with rich lands by the king. And though these bulls were bred in several lands of the Wood of Caledonia, now, by continual hunting and lust of insolent men, they are destroyed in all parts of Scotland, and none of them left except in Cumbernauld.

On the East side of Menteith lies Strathearn; and borders on the same side with Fife. Out through the valleys of this region runs the Water of Ern, and falls into the Tay. And, not four miles from the place where Ern falls into the Tay, is a stone of small size, although it be of marvellous nature; for there is neither force nor talent of man that may transport it out of the place where it lies: whether one man, or a hundred, try to move it. On the other side of Tay, beyond Angus and Gowrie, lies Strathalmond; a productive region, both of grass and crops. Not far from Strathalmond lies Atholl; in which are many lusty valleys, and rivers, full of fish; and the ground so rich, that it bears crops without any labour. In it is a town named Lude; of which the land is so productive, that, if it be well cultivated, it bears good barley without any seed. In Atholl are other lands, of more contrary nature; the wheat that is sown in it degenerates, and turns into rye. Under Buchan and Boindie, to the West, lies Strathbogie, and Garioch; very productive regions, both in grass and crops. In Garioch is a hill named Dunideer, that is to say, the Golden Mountain. The sheep that goes on this mountain are yellow; their teeth are coloured like gold; their flesh red, as it were dyed with saffron; their wool is of the same kind. In this region is a small cairn of stones, lying together, like a crown; and they ring, when they are beaten, like a bell. A temple was built, as some men believe, in the said place, where many old rites and superstitions were made to evil spirits. There are many other regions in Scotland; such as Breadalbane, Strathbraun, and Badenoch, with several other small lands and rivers; although they are not so notable as the lands that we have described.

Chap. Eleventh.

Of the great plenty of Hares, Harts, and other wild animals in Scotland. Of the marvellous nature of several Scots Dogs; and of the nature of Salmon.

Because we have described all regions of Scotland in detail, we will show something concerning them in general. And, first, we say, that in all the lands of Scotland, except those parts where continual habitation of people prevents it, there are great plenty of hares, harts, hinds, does, roes, wolves, wild horses, and foxes. These wild horses must be taken by craft: for, in time of winter, the country people put certain tame stallions and mares among these wild horses; and, by their commixtion and frequent company, make them so tame, that they may be handled. The wolves are very troublesome to the tame livestok, in all parts of Scotland, except a part thereof named Glenmore, in which the tame livestock get little damage from wild animals, especially from foxes; for each house of this country, raises a young fox for a time, and then mixes its flesh, after it has been slain, with such feed as they give to their fowl, or other small beasts; and so many as eat of this feed are preserved two months after from any damage from foxes: for foxes will eat no flesh that tastes of their own kind; and, if there is only one beast or fowl that has not tasted of this meat, the fox will choose it out among a thousand.

In Scotland there are dogs of marvellous nature: for above the common nature and condition of dogs, which are seen in all parts, there are three kinds of dogs in Scotland, which are seen in no other parts of the world. The first is a hound, both strong, hardy, and swift. These hounds are not only fierce and cruel to all wild beasts, but to thieves and enemies to their master, in the same manner. The second kind is a hunting dog, that seeks its prey, both fowls, beasts, and fish, by scent and smell of their nose. The third kind is no bigger than any hunting dog; red coloured, or else black, with small sprinklings of spots; and are called by the people, sleuth hounds. These dogs have such marvellous intelligence, that they seek out thieves, and follow them only by scent of the goods that are taken away; and not only find the thief, but attack him with great cruelty: and, though the thieves often cross the water, where they pass, to cause the hound to lose the scent of them and the goods, yet he searches here and there with such diligence, that, by his foot, he find both the trace of the thief and the goods. The marvellous nature of these hounds will have no faith with foreign people; although the same are very frequent and rife on the Borders of England and Scotland: therefore it is statute, by the laws of the Borders, he that denies entry to the sleuth hound, in time of chase and searching of goods, shall be held participant with the crime and theft committed.

Of birds, such as live by prey, are several kinds in Scotland; as eagles, falcons, goshawks, sparrowhawks, merlins, and such like fowl. Of water fowls there are such a great number, that it is wonderful to hear. Many other birds are in Scotland, which are seen in no other parts of the world; as capercaillie, a bird bigger than a raven, which lives only on tree-bark. In Scotland there are many more cocks and hens, which eat nothing but seed, or crops of heather. Similarly, there are a great number of black cocks and hens, not unlike to a pheasant, both in quantity and flavour of their flesh; but they have black feathers and red eye-brows. And beside these three strange kind of fowls, is a other kind of fowl in the Merse, stranger still, named bustards, as big as a swan; but in the colour of their feathers, and taste of their flesh, they are little

different from a partridge. These last fowls are not frequent, but few in number; and hate the company of man so much, that if they find their eggs breathed on or touched by men, they leave them, and lay eggs in another place. They lay their eggs on the bare earth. All other kind of fowl are in Scotland, in the same manner as they are in any other realms.

Of fish there are more plenty in Scotland, especially of salmon, than in any other part of the world. And, because the procreation and nature of salmon is unknown and strange, we have inserted the manner thereof in this book. These salmon, in the time of harvest, come up through the small waters, especially where the water is most shallow and calm, and spawn, with their bellies pressed to each other. The he-fish spawns his milt, and the she-fish her eggs, and immediately covers them over with sand in the river; and, after their spawning, they grow so lean and small, that nothing appears on them but skin and bone; and have such an insipid taste, that they are unprofitable to eat. Some men say, all other salmon that meet them after their spawning grow lean in the same manner as they are; for several of them are found lean on the one side, and fat on the other. Further, of these eggs and milt, which are hidden, as we said, under the sand, grow, at the spring of the next year, small tender fish, no greater than a man's thumb; and, if they be handled, they melt away like a blob of water. Always, at the first stream of water that rises, they descend to the sea; and, within 20 days after, they grow in marvellous quantity, and, with most fervent desire and appetite, return to the same places where they were hatched. Further, because many of the waters of Scotland are full of waterfalls, as soon as the salmon come to the waterfall, they leap; and so many as are strong, or leap well, they get up through the waterfall, and return to the place where they were bred, and stay there until the season comes for their mating. Others, which leap not clear over the waterfall, break themselves by their fall, and become measly. Others are caught in cauldrons; for the country people often set cauldrons, of boiling water, at the bank of the waterfall. Thus, when the salmon fail their leap, they fall straight into the said cauldrons, and are then most delicious to the taste. It is forbidden by our laws, to kill any salmon from the 8th day of September, to the 15th day of November. No man knows on what these fish live; for nothing is found in their belly, when they are opened, but a thick gross humour.

Chap. Twelfth.

Of the several kinds of Mussels and Cockles in Scotland. Of the Pearls that are got in them. Of several unknown and strange Fish. Of the nature of Heather.

Now we will show the nature of mussels and cockles, of which there are many kinds among us. Some are small, with the meat thereof very delicious to the taste: others are larger, not unlike, in form and quantity, to the same mussels that give the purple dye; and, although they have nothing thereof, they are yet very delicious to the taste: others are long and greater, called Horse Mussels, and are got in several rivers, especially in Dee and Don; and in these mussels are generated the pearls. These mussels, early in the morning, when the sky is clear and temperate, open their mouths a little above the water, and most greedily swallow the dew of the heavens; and, after the measure and quantity of the dew that they swallow, they conceive and breed the pearl. Their mussels are so very acute of touch and hearing, that although the voice be never so small that is made on the bank beside them, or the stone be never so small that is cast in the water, they duck quickly at once, and go to the ground, knowing well in what estimation and price the fruit of their belly is to all people. As soon as the fishermen find these mussels, they seize them at once. The manner of their taking is as follows: First, four or five persons go in the river together, and stand in manner of a round circle within the water to their shoulders. Each one of them has a staff in their hand, that they shall not slide; and since they look and see through the clear and pure water, then they see the mussels; and, because they may not take them up with their hands, they catch them up with their toes, and sling them to the banks. The pearls that are got in Scotland are not of little value; for they have a clear shining whiteness, round and light; and sometimes are as big as the nail of a man's finger: of which we have had one. It was said to us, by them that come from Saint James, [Compostela] that there are similar mussels in Spain; but they have no pearl, for they live in salt water. In all the sea-coasts of Scotland are cockles and mussels in the same manner; though they are more profitable to be eaten, than any procreation of pearls.

Many unusual kinds and figures of fish are in Scotland: some of them armed with shells; some with hard scales; and some of them are round as a ball, spiky like a hedgehog, having but a single channel both to purge their belly and receive their food. To show every kind of fish that is in Scotland, it were but a troublesome and vain labour; for the same are known to all countries. Of all other kinds of fish there is so great plenty through all parts of our seas, that, although infinite number of them were taken away today, nothing thereof shall be missed on the following day. Also a thing is seen, which shows the singular providence of God; for always the more dearth and shortage of food there is in Scotland, the fish swim with the more abundance and plenty.

Also in all the unpopulated places and moors of this realm grows an herb, named heather, without any seed, very nutritious both to beasts and fowls; especially to bees. This herb, in the month of July, has a flower of purple hue, as sweet as honey. The Picts formerly made of this herb, a very delicious and wholesome drink. However, the manner of the making of it is perished, by extermination of the said Picts out of Scotland; for they never showed the craft of the making of this drink but to their own blood. Also there is no part of Scotland so unprofitable, but it produces

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either iron, or else some other profitable kind of metal; as may be notably proven through all the Isles of Scotland.

Chap. Thirteenth.
The Description of the Isles of Scotland; and of the most notable things thereof.

Since we are now falling in common of the Isles,<79> we will describe the same, in manner and form as follows. Against Scotland, in the Irish Sea, lie 43 isles; of which some are 30 miles long, others 12 miles, others more, and others less. These Isles were called by some authors, Ebonia; and by others are called Hebrides. The principal isle is the Isle of Man, which lies against Galloway, and was once the principal seat of the priests named Druids; as Cornelius Tacitus, Caesar, in his Commentaries, and many other Roman authors testify. North from the Isle of Man lies Arran, otherwise named Botha. This second name was given to it by Saint Brendan; for he built some time a house in it, named Both. Near Arran lies Holy Island, and Rothesay, named from the first Scot that brought the Scots out of Ireland in Albion. Not far from these Isles is Ailsa; where are plenty of solan geese, as we described before on the Bass Rock. Near Ailsa lie many other isles, known by their own names, full of mines; such as iron, tin, lead, and other metals: Yet the most notable isle of Scotland is Islay, which lies, beyond the tongue of Lorne, in the sight of Lochaber; a rich country, 30 miles in length, very productive of corn, and full of metals, if there were any skilful and industrious people to win the same.

Not far from Islay lies Cumbrae, and Mull, as big as Islay, both in length and breadth. In this Isle of Mull is a clear fountain, two miles from the sea: from this fountain descends a little burn, or stream, running full of fish eggs to the seas. These fish eggs are round and white, shining like pearl, full of thick humour; and, within two hours after they come to sea, they grow into great cockles. A short distance from these Isles is Iona, otherwise named Colmkill; in which is an abbey, full of devout religious men. This abbey was the common sepulchre of all Scots kings, from the time of King Fergus the Second, to the time of King Malcolm Canmore, who built the abbey of Dunfermline; where the most part of our kings lie, since the foundation thereof.

Passing on to the North-North-West seas, against Ross, is an isle named Lewis, 60 miles in length. In this Isle is but one river. It is said, if any woman wade through this river at the spring of the year, there shall no salmon be seen for that year in the said river: otherwise, they shall abound in great plenty. Beyond Lewis lies two isles, named Skye and Rona. In this last Isle is incredible number of seals, porpoises, and dolphins, astonishing to the sight of men. The last and outermost isle is named Hirta; where the elevation of the pole is 63 degrees. And, since the elevation of the pole above the Isle of Man is 57 degrees, each degree extending to 62 miles and a half in distance, as Ptolemy and other astronomers calculate, I conclude, that from the Isle of Man, the first isle of Albion, to Hirtha, the last isle thereof, are 377 miles.

This last isle is named Hirtha, which, in Irish, is called a sheep; for in this isle is a great number of sheep, each one bigger than any billy goat, with horns longer and thicker than any horn of a bugle, and have long talis hanging down to the earth. This Isle is surrounded on every side with rocky crags; and no boats may land at it except at one place, in which is a strait and narrow entrance. Once there might no people pass to this Isle but extreme danger of their lives; and even now there is no passage to it but when the seas are calm without any tempest. In the month of June, a priest comes out of Lewis in a boat to this Isle, and ministers the sacrament of baptism to all the children that has been born in the year before. As soon as this priest has done his

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office, with certain masses, he receives the tithes of all their produce, and returns home the same way he came.

In the Isle of Lewis there are two churches; one dedicated to Saint Peter, and the other dedicated to Saint Clement. There is a story, that as soon as the fire goes out in this Isle, the man that is held of most clean and innocent life lays a wisp of straw on the altar; and, when the people are given most devoutly to their prayers, the wisp kindles in a blaze. Beyond this isle is yet another isle, but it is not inhabited with any people. In it are certain beasts, not far different from the figure of sheep, so wild that they can not be taken except in a snare: their hair is long and tatty, neither like the wool of sheep nor goat. Between these isles is often a very dangerous passage: for the sea, by contrary streams, makes collision; once drawing out the tide, and once swelling and sucking it in again, with such forceful violence, that when the ships are sailing through these dangerous channels, often they are either drowned, or else broken on crags. The greatest of these channels is named Corryvreckan; for it will either sink, or else draw a ship to it, although it be distant from there a mile.

Chap. Fourteenth.

Of the nature of Barnacle Geese, and of the unique manner of their procreation; and, of the Isle of Thule.

Now we must speak of the geese generated of the sea, named barnacles. Some men believe, that these barnacles grow on trees by the beaks; but their opinion is false. And, because the nature and procreation of these barnacles is strange, we have made no little labour and diligence to search the truth and truth thereof. We have sailed through the seas where these barnacles are bred; and find, by great experience, that the nature of the seas is more relevant cause of their procreation than any other thing. And although their geese are bred many different ways, they are bred always only by nature of the seas: for all trees that are cast in the seas, by process of time appear first worm-eaten, and in the small bores and holes thereof grow small worms: first, they show their head and feet, and last of all they show their feathers and wings; finally, when they are coming to the just measure and quantity of geese, they fly in the air as other fowls do: as was notably proven, in the year of God 1490, in sight of many people, beside the castle of Pitsligo. A great tree was brought, by flood and flux of the sea, to land. This wonderful tree was brought to the Lord of the area, who soon after had it split by a saw, then there appeared a multitude of worms throwing themselves out of several holes and hollows of this tree. Some of them were rude, as if they were but new shaped; some had both head, feet, and wings, but they had no feathers; some of them were perfectly shaped fowls. At last the people, having each day this tree in more admiration, brought it to the church of Saint Andrew's, beside the town of Turriff, where it remains yet to our days. And, within two years after, there happened a similar tree to come in the Firth of Tay, beside Dundee, worm-eaten and hollowed, full of young geese in the same manner. In this way, in the port of Leith, beside Edinburgh, within few years after, happened a similar case. A ship, named the Christopher, after she had lain 3 years at anchor in one of the isles, was brought to Leith; and because her timber seemed to be in very poor condition, she was broken down: there immediately appeared, as before, all the inward parts of her worm-eaten, and all the holes full of geese, in the same manner as we have said. Also, if any man would allege, by vain argument, that this Christopher was made of such trees as grew only in the Isles, and that all the roots and trees that grow in the said Isles, are of that nature to be finally, by nature of the seas, resolved in geese; we prove the contrary thereof by a notable example, shown before our eyes. Master Alexander Galloway, Parson of Kinkell, was with us in the Isles, giving his mind, with most earnest diligence, to search the truth of these obscure and misty doubts; and, by adventure, lifted up a sea-tangle, hanging full of mussel shells from the root to the branches. Soon after, he opened one of their mussel shells: but then he was more surprised than before; for he saw no fish in it, but perfectly shaped fowl, small or great always depending on the size of the shell. This cleric, knowing that we were very desirous of such unknown things, came quickly with the said tangle, and opened it to us, with all circumstance described above. By these, and many other reasons and examples, we can not believe that these barnacles are produced by any nature of trees or the roots thereof, but only by the nature of the ocean sea, which is the cause and production of many wonderful things. And because the rude and ignorant people saw often the fruits that fell of the trees, which stood near the sea, converted within short time into geese, they believed that these geese grew upon the trees, hanging by their beaks, in the same way as apples and other fruits hang by their stalks. But their opinion is not to be

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sustained; for, as soon as these apples or fruits fall off the tree into the sea, they grow first worm-eaten, and, by short process of time, are altered into geese.

Now we have said sufficiently enough of the isles of Scotland, if we had said anything; that is to say, not only was the Isle of Thule, with all the remaining isles of Scotland seen by us, but also were seen by many Roman authors: for Cornelius Tacitus says, the Roman navy, which was sent about the Isles by command of Julius Agricola, saw this Isle of Thule, with the remaining isles lying thereabouts. And though Ptolemy writes, that the Isle of Thule lies among the Isles of Scotland, yet his writing, by proven experience, may have no faith: for Thule is many miles distant from Shetland; for Shetland lies beyond Orkney, approaching to Norway. Some authors say, that Thule is the same isle that we call Iceland: for these authors say, that Thule is the last isle of the ocean sea; and so is Iceland; which lies in the cold and frosty seas beyond the Arctic Circle to the North Pole. The people of Iceland, because no crops grow in it, live only on fish. They grind dry fish as small as meal, and bake these with water at the fire, and use it in the same way as bread.

Chap. Fifteenth.

The Description of Orkney, Shetland, and several other small Isles; and of the manners and conditions of the People thereof.

Beyond all the Isles of Scotland lies Orkney; between the North-North-West seas, and the German Sea. The principal Isle of Orkney is Pomona, the bishop's seat, in which there are two strong castles. In Orkney no wheat grows; and it is naked of wood: all other crops grow in it with great plenty. Orkney has no venomous beasts, just like Ireland; no beast, enemy to the nature of man, may live in Orkney.

And since we have now spoken of Ireland, although it pertains nothing to the purpose we took on hand, we will show a wonder thereof, which passes all wonders that ever we read before in any other books. In Ireland is a loch, and around the same, by many miles, grows neither herb nor tree. And, if any tree be fixed and held down in this loch, within the space of a year after, this tree alters: for so much of it as is hid within the earth, turns into a hard stone; that part which is hid in the water, turns into iron; and so much as is above the water, keeps the nature of the tree: and so the tree, stone, and iron, are joined together in one piece.

But we will return to Orkney, to show no fewer wonders there. And, first, although the people be given to excessive drinking, and, having plenty of barley, make the strongest ale of Albion, yet none of them are seen crazy, daft, or drunken: as they come healthy and sound in these bodies to extreme age, without any use of medicine, with strong and fair bodies. The ewes of this country have always two lambs, or else three, at once; and of wild fowl, and tame, there is more plenty in Orkney than in any part of Albion. Their horses are little bigger than asses; but they may endure more labour than any other horse. To speak of fish, there is a greater abundance thereof than any other people may believe. In Orkney there is a great fish, bigger than any horse, of marvellous and incredible sleep. This fish, when she begins to sleep, fastens her teeth fast on a crag above the water. As soon as the mariners find her asleep, they come with a strong rope in a boat; and, after they have bored a great hole through her tail, they fasten her by the same. As soon as this fish is awakened, she tries to leap with great force into the sea; and, when she find herself fast, she writhes out of her own skin, and dies. Of the fatness that she has, is made oil in great quantity; and of her skin, because it endures long, is made strong ropes.

A hundred miles beyond Orkney lies Shetland; of which the riches are only in fish, dried by the sun. Many hides and skins of oxen, sheep, goat, and martens, dried by the sun, come from this country into Scotland; and, in the same manner, the merchants of Holland, Zeeland, and Germany, come yearly to Shetland, to exchange other merchandise with the people thereof; who are of the same nature and conditions as the people of Orkney. Beyond Shetland there are many isles, whose people live in the same manner as those in Shetland do. And, though the people of these isles be poor, yet they live longer, and are better content with their lives, than they that have more wealth and riches of the world.

No contention is among them for personal profit. Each man provides for so much fish, in the summer, as may sustain his house during the winter. These people are naked of all ambition and vice, and never troubled with foreign wars. Among all pleasures, which are enjoyed by mankind, they think nothing so good, as to live in concord and peace, having a quiet life without any other displeasure. This perfection of life comes to them only through their simplicity; and follows, by the same, the

footsteps of Christ. Once each year, a priest comes to them out of Orkney, and administers to them the sacrament of baptism; and, after he has done his duty, he receives his tithes justly, and returns the same way he come, to Orkney. Further, if any gifts of nature may be numbered among worldly goods, I say these isles have more happiness and goods than any other countries: for the people thereof are fair, lusty, and strong of body; blessed with many gifts of nature; and have good health of body, which may be preferred to all riches, as men well know who have experience of long infirmities. Further, if the people be most rich, who are so content with their own goods, that they covet no others, I say these people are as happy as any other people of the world. Further, if any man would say these things that I write are vain, considering I was never in these isles; I say, I was well informed of them by a nobleman, Edward, once Bishop of Orkney: for to this Bishop came a man out of these Isles, and not only showed these things, with all circumstance described above, but verified them by himself; for he passed the common stature of men, and was so strong, that no man dared contend nor wrestle with him; and he was fairer of face and skin, than was any lady of the world. By these reasons it appears, that the authority of those authors is no worth, that say, all people far from the sun are barbarous and miserable; for there is no happier creatures in the world than these people of these lands forsaide.

Among the rocks and crags of these Isles grows a manner of electuary<80> and gum, coloured like gold, and so attractive of nature, that it draws straw, flax, or hems of clothes to it, in the same manner as does an adamant stone. This gum is generated of sea froth, which is cast up by continual repercussion of waves against the sea walls; and, through continual motion of the sea, it grows as tough as glue, always more and more; until, at last, it falls down off the crag into the sea. It is said, by them that have experience thereof, that this gum, when it lies on the crag, is like a froth and blob of water; because it is not then sufficiently worked by the motion of the sea. Often the sea-tangle is found involved with this gum; because it is beaten here and there so many ways by flood of water, and, so long as it floats, it is soon combined with any thing that it meets. Two years before the coming of this book to light, there arrived a great lump of this gum in Buchan, as big as a horse; and was brought home by the herders, who were keeping their beasts, to their houses, and cast in the fire. And, because they found a smelling odour therewith, they showed it to their master, that it was suitable for the incense that is used in the churches. Their master was an ignorant man as they were; and took but a little part thereof, and left the remaining behind him, as matter of little effect. All the parts of this gum, when it was broken, was of the hue of gold, and shone like the light of a candle. The most part of this gum and electuary was destroyed by ignorant people, before it come to any wise man's ears; from which may be verified the proverb The sow cures no balm. As soon as I was told about this, I made such diligence, that a part of it was brought to me at Aberdeen. These are the most notable things that we could find concerning the Isles of Albion, Orkney, and Shetland.

Thus, it were needful to put an end to our Cosmography, were not an unknown and wonderful History tarries our pen a little. Master James Ogilby, with other noblemen, were sent as ambassadors from the most noble prince King James the Third to the King of France; and, by tempest of sea, they were constrained to land in Norway, where they saw, not far from them, many wild men, naked and rough, in the same manner as they are painted: and, at last, they were informed by country people, that they were dumb beasts, under the figure of men. In time of night, they used to

come in great companies to country villages; and, where they find no dogs, they break up doors, and slay all the people that they find therein. As soon as they hear the noise of dogs, they vanish, and dare not abide there. They are of such huge strength, that sometimes they pull up trees by the roots, and fight among themselves with them. The ambassadors were daunted by these monsters, and kept strong watch, with great fires burning all night; and, on the next day, they raised their sails, and departed. Further, these Norway men showed to the said ambassadors, that there was not far from them a people that swam all the summer like fish in the sea, living always on fish; and in the winter, because the water is cold, they live of wild beasts that descend from the mountains; and sometimes bring these beasts home to their caves.

And so ends here the Cosmography and Description of Scotland.

Chap. Sixteenth.

A prudent doctrine made by the Author, concerning both the new Manners and the old of the Scots.

Because several noblemen have desired me to show the old manners of the Scots, which are scattered in several parts of this book, in one place, so that it may be known, how far we, in these present days, are different from the manners and living of our old fathers: and though I know nothing better, but the showing thereof will draw to me the hatred of several great personages; for there are few, that may suffer these vices to be condemned, or themselves to be reprov'd; yet, because I stand some part under the reverence of these noblemen foresaid, I have complied, as I may, to these desires. For they say, it will be profitable to the readers; especially to such men, that are not given over immoderately to their own affection, nor yet too much steeped in sensual pleasure; for such men may be recovered from these errors. And, therefore, I intend, first, to show, what manners there have been among our elders, both in time of war and peace; and by what talent, wisdom, and courage, they have struggled against so many strong enemies, although these enemies came often in this realm with most dangerous incursions: and, finally, we will show, how the notable strength, vigour, and sovereign virtue, deteriorated steadily among them, so that they declined from the virtues of these elders: until at last, it has come to these days, in which we live in great tranquillity; although the same is more by benevolence and sloth of our neighbours, than by any manly prowess of ourselves. Now I will show, the shortest way I may, how we, in these present days, are drowned in all manner of avarice and lust. Yet I believe, that such men as are of austere life, following the temperateness of these elders, shall rejoice to hear the honourable manners of these elders; others, that are of more brutal and vicious life, seeing these vices condemned with such dishonour, shall be gently moved to turn from these evil and shameful deeds, to a better life. First, I hope, that the thing that I say, in reprov'ing corrupt manners of the world now present, will not be taken in reproof of every man; except to such men that live intemperately: for such men deserve more reproof than I may give them at this time. And if any man find his bile opened for purgation by me, let him not hide his infirmity, but rather seek the best remedy he may, to amend his life.

Our elders, although they were very virtuous both in war and peace, were most exercised with temperance; for it is the fountain of all virtue. They were of temperate sleep, meat, and drink, and such meals as were prepared with little labour or cost. Their bread was made of such stuff as grew most easily on the ground. These grains were not sifted into white flour, as we do now, to make them delicious to the taste; but were all ground together into one mixture. The flesh most frequent among them, was either wild flesh, won on the fells by hunting, which made them of incredible strength; or else it was of their own tame cattle, especially beef, as we do yet in our days: although we are very far different from the use and custom of all other nations. The male cattle, when they are but young calves, are either killed, or else castrated to be oxen, to till the land; but the young cows were never slain until they were with calf, for then they are fattest, and most delicious to the taste. The common food of our elders was fish; not for the plenty of it, but rather because these lands lay often waste, through continual exercise of warfare, and for that cause they lived most on fish. They breakfasted early in the morning with a little food, and sustained their lives with this until the time of supper; through which their stomachs were never filled to excess, to hinder them from other business. At the supper they were more generous; although

they had but one course. When they cast themselves to be merry, they used most aqua vitae; not made of costly spices, but of such natural herbs as grew in their own gardens. The common drink that they used was ale; and, in time of war, when they slept in their camp, they used nothing but water. Each man had as much meal as might suffice him for the day, and made bread thereof at the fire; in the same manner as the Romans did, especially the Emperor Antonius Caracalla. They seldom had meat in their camps, unless it were won by plunder from their enemies. They usually ate their meat half raw; for the juice is most nourishing that way. Also, they had always with them a great vessel, full of butter, cheese, meal, milk, and vinegar, mixed together; by which they saved their lives many days from extreme hunger, sucking the juice and humours thereof, when no victuals, because of the incursions of enemies, might be found. And, although they had peace with their enemies, they did not allow their bodies to be corrupt with sloth; but exercised themselves either in continual hunting, for in that there was great honour among our elders; or else they had exercise of running, once from the plains to the mountains, and from the mountains to the plains; or else they took part in wrestling, or other bodily exercise.

They had their heads always cropped, as the Spaniards do; without any bonnet or cover, unless they were troubled with illness. None of them, through continual cropping of their heads, grew bald. They walked commonly barefoot; and, if they had any shoes, they dipped them first in the water before they put them on, especially in winter when most sharp and piercing storms appeared, so that their soles, which were hardened with the heats of the summer and snows of winter, should be the more able to sustain labour. Their clothes were not made to stand out by being different, but rather after the general fashion of the country. Their hose was made of fine linen or wool, and never went above their knee, to make them the more agile and supple. The cloaks that they used in winter were made of coarse wool; and in summer were made of the finest wool that they might get. They slept on benches, or bundles of straw, without any cover; and taught their sons, from their earliest years, to avoid ease, and to sleep in the same manner.

Each mother nursed her own child. It was a suspicion of adultery against any woman, where her milk failed. The women thought they were not tender nor kindly to their children, unless they were nourished as well with the milk of their breast, as they were nourished before with the blood of their belly. Also, they held that their children were degenerate from their nature and kind, if they were nourished with any other milk.

They were so accustomed to continual toil and labour, that they cared neither for the fervent heats of the summer, nor yet the sharp frosts in the winter. They travelled mostly on foot; and, in the time of war, they had their baggage and victuals packed with them on their horses: and, when danger occurred, they refused no manner of business nor labour that might pertain to stout champions. If it happened them, by mischance, to be vanquished, they fled with such speed to the mountains, that no horsemen might overtake them. The injury done to any one of them, was reputed common to them all, so that they would never lose the displeasure thereof out of their hearts, until the same was recompensed with the blood of their enemies. He that was most noble, desired first to fight in the vanguard, where his honour and manliness might be most known. The nobles and commoners contended who should be most faithful to the other; and when the captain, through his fierce spirit and hardiness, appeared in any extreme danger from his enemies, all the band that was loyal to him, rushed so fiercely to his defence, that either they delivered him out of that present

danger, or else all at once lost their lives with him. The tombs of all nobles were decorated with as many high stones, rising about the same, as enemies he had slain in his life. He that was found in the army without flint and steel, or without his sword belted fast to his sides, was shamefully scourged; and he that sold his sword, or pawned it, was degraded of authority, and banished, as an unworthy creature, out of their company. He that fled to time of battle, or departed from the army without permission of the captain, was slain, without any trial, wherever he might be apprehended; but his goods were given to his son. The women were of little less honour and strength than were the men; for maidens and wives of all ranks, if they were not with child, marched to battle as well as the men.

As soon as the army was going forward, they slew the first living beast that they found; and not only bathed their swords with the blood thereof, but tasted it with their mouth, with no less religion and faith, than if they had been than certain of some felicity following. If they saw their own blood in battle, they were not weakened; but, filled with the most ferocious anger, set themselves to avenge it. In all battles they fought, they sought never victory by treason, falsehood, nor deceit; and thought it always degrading to their nobility, to defeat their enemies by anything other than force of fighting. They held it great feebleness to revenge any displeasure, hatred, or slaughter, by treason; on the contrary, sincerity and simplicity were equally honoured among them all. When they set out to fight their enemies, each man went, as we do now, at his own cost, except some mercenaries who were paid.

He that was troubled with the falling evil, or fallen daft or insane, or having such infirmity as succeeds by heritage from the father to the son, was castrated; that his infected blood should spread no further. The women that had leprosy, or had any other infection of blood, were banished from the company of men; and, if she conceived a child under such infirmity, both she and her child were buried alive. All drunkards, gluttons, and consumers of victuals, more than was necessary to sustain men, were taken, and first commanded to swallow their fullness of what drink they pleased, and immediately thereafter were drowned in a fresh river. Further, although they had no administration of justice in time of war, yet such justice was administered in time of peace, that often they were over-severe in their punishment; for they knew well, because these people were drawn from battle to peace, they should be given to so many enormities, that the same might not be deterred but by great punishment. For the people were of such nature, as soon as they knew themselves guilty of any offence committed against the king's majesty or the common good, they tried to raise divisions among the great princes of the realm: nonetheless, when they are treated with soft and moderate rule, they are found very humane and meek people, very obedient to reason; and not only keep their faith after the letter of their contract, but give a handful, or something more, above the just measure that they sell. This custom is so strictly kept, that if the same be not done, the buyer will not stand to the contract of merchandise. They used the rites and manners of Egyptians, from whom they took their first beginning. In all their secret business, they used not to write with common letters used among other people, but rather with cyphers and figures of beasts made in manner of letters; such as their epitaphs, and inscriptions above their tombs, show: nonetheless, this skilful manner of writing, by what sloth I can not say, is perished; and yet they have certain letters proper among themselves, which were once vulgar and common. Further, they that speak with the old tongue of that country, have their aspiration, their diphthongs, and their pronunciation, better than any other people. The common people are not exercised therewith; except they that dwell in the high parts of

the land: and, because these men have their language more eloquent and proper than the common people have, they are called poets; and are made poets, depending on their erudition and science, with many great ceremonies. Beside many crafts and science, which they have translated into their own tongue, they profess most the science of medicine, and are very excellent in it; for they know the nature of every herb that grows in their country, and cure all manner of maladies therewith.

Wherefore I say, there is no region in the world so barren nor unfruitful, by distance from the sun, but, by providence of God, all manner of necessaries, for the sustenance of man, may be got easily in it, if there were such people that could work it, according to the nature thereof. Nonetheless, as our elders, who dwelt continually bordering with the realm of England, learned the Saxon's tongue, by frequent invasions and battles, sustained many years against them; so the people, now present in Scotland, have lost both the language and manners of writing used once by our elders, and have now a new manner of writing and language: although, the Highlands have both the writings and language as they had before, more ingenious than any other people. How may there be a greater talent, than to make a boat of a bull's hide, bound with nothing but wands? This boat is called a curragh; with which they fish salmon, and sometimes pass over great rivers therewith; and, when they have done their fishing, they bear it to any place, on their backs, where they please. But we will return to the manners of our ancient friends.

About the time of King Malcolm Canmore, all things began to change. For when our neighbours, the Britons, were made degenerate by long sloth, and beaten out of Britain by the Saxons into Wales, we began to have alliance, because of the proximity of the Romans, with Englishmen; specially after the extermination of the Picts: and, by frequent and daily company with them, we began to establish their language and extravagant manners in our breasts; through which the virtue and temperance of our elders began to be of little estimation among us. Then we were given, after the arrogance and pride of Englishmen, to vainglory and ambition of honours, and began that time to seek new names of nobility; although, before those days, he was most noble, that was decorated more with virtue than riches, esteeming himself more in his own deeds, than in any deeds of his elders. Then began, in Scotland, the manners of Dukes, Earls, Lords, and Barons; for before those days, the principal men of Scotland under the king were called Thanes, that is to say, Gatherers of the King's Taxes; and were always rewarded by the king, as their faith and virtue deserved.

But now I believe no one has such eloquence, nor fullness of language, that can sufficiently declare, how far we, in these present days, are different from the virtue and temperance of our elders. For where our elders had sobriety, we have drunkenness; where they had plenty with sufficiency, we have immoderate courses with superfluity; as if he were most noble and honourable, that could devour and swallow most: and, by extreme diligence, choose so many delicate courses, that they provoke the stomach to receive more than it may sufficiently digest; through which we gorge and fill ourselves, day and night, so full of meat and drink, that we can not abstain; while our bellies be so swollen, that we are unable to follow any virtuous occupation. And not only may surfeit at dinner and supper suffice us, above the temperance of our elders, but as to continue our shameful and immoderate voracity with double dinners and suppers; through which many of us have no other business but to fill and empty our belly. Moreover, to continue this shameful intemperance, above the necessary sustenance of nature, we give ourselves to such unvirtuous

labour, that no fish in the sea, nor fowl in the air, nor beast in the wood, may have rest; but sought here and there, to satisfy the hungry appetite of gluttons. Not only are wines sought in France, but in Spain, Italy, and Greece; and, sometimes, both Africa and Asia sought, for new delicious meats and wines, to the same effect. Thus is the world so utterly corrupted, that all manner of drugs and ointments, that may nourish the lust and insolence of people, are brought into Scotland, at the most extravagant price, to no less damage than perdition of the people thereof: for, through this immoderate gluttony, our wit and reason are so blinded within the prison of the body, that it may have no knowledge of heavenly things; for the body is involved with such clouds of fatness, that, although it be of good complexion by nature, it is so oppressed with extravagant meats and drinks, that it may neither control nor maintain itself; but, confessing itself vanquished, gives place to all infirmities, until it be miserably destroyed: as appears by several experience.

For many of our people, in remote and in most cold regions, are stricken often with most vehement fever, their inward bowels blazing as if they were in a continual fire; which comes of such spicery and foreign drugs, brought out of remote countries into this region. Others of them are so swollen, and grown full of humours, that they are stricken quickly dead by the apoplexy; and, although they recover for a short time after, they are but a dead people; living, and buried in the tomb, having but a shadow of life. The young people and children, following these sinful customs of their fathers, give themselves to lust and insolence, holding all virtuous occupation and crafts in contempt; and, because they are long accustomed and occupied in this way, when time comes of war to defend the country, they are so degenerate and soft, they ride horses like heavy oxen; and are so fat and gross, that they may do nothing to compare with the sovereign courage of their elders. As soon as they are returned home, because their goods are not sufficient to nourish them in voluptuous life and pleasure of their belly, they are given to all manner of avarice; and either set themselves to be strong and masterful thieves, or else sowers of dissension among the nobles.

These, and many other enormities following them, proceed originally from the fountain of voluptuous living and intemperance. Nonetheless, if we would refrain us from these things, I declare there is no region under the Sun more healthy, nor less subject to pestilence; nor yet more commodious and nourishing of the life of man. Yet I am not so despairing, but trust, that within a short time, all corrupt manners of our people shall be repaired to a better fashion: for not only, in several parts of this realm, there remain yet the footsteps of many old virtues used once among our elders, but there rises every day a new fervent devotion, to the ornament of the Christian faith. A thing I will say, with respect to other realms; there were never a people more certain in the Christian faith, nor yet more constant in their faithful promise, than the Scots have been, always since their first beginning; and, therefore, I say a thing finally, not only for love of them, but in exhortation of their perseverance: As much as our people, presently living in this region, pass their elders in sumptuous and extravagant clothes, so they are more elegant and honourable in their houses and letters, and more magnificent than before in ornament of their churches and temples. Thus want they no manner of virtue that their elders had, except the temperance of their bodies: to which may the blessed Lord bring them quickly! Amen.

Chap. Sevententh.

A compendious Recapitulation of all Kings of Britain; since the first beginning thereof, to the time of King Henry the VIII.

The history of Scotland is so much involved with the history of England, that it is difficult to separate. And because the crown of England has been enjoyed by several people, by several chances and frequent changes, I thought expedient, for the use and pleasure of my readers, to number their genealogy first from Brutus; by whom the Britons were brought out of Greece to this Isle of Albion, from the beginning of the world, 4027 years; and enjoyed the crown of Britain for the space of 1116 years. At which time, they were attacked cruelly by Julius Caesar; and not only vanquished, but their realm made tributary, in the shape of a province. And although these Britons had kings in name of the Britons' blood, yet their realm was governed always by the Romans, to the year of God, 432 years: and at that time they were subjected to the Scots and Picts; and not only made tributaries to them 30 years, but gave over most of their lands to the empire of the Scots and Picts: as Paulus Diaconus, Bede, Sabellicus, and many other recent authors, show at length in their histories. Nonetheless, these Britons, reluctant to endure the rule of barbarous people, because they were before accustomed to Roman pleasures, chose Constantine, the son of Androenus, Duke of Brittany, to be king, in hatred of the Scots and Picts. This Constantine come with an army of such strength to Britain, that he delivered the Britons of all servitude, and recovered that realm, from the time of Christ, 465 years. After Constantine, Constantius his son reigned; and after Constantius, Vortigern reigned for the space of 22 years. In the meantime, the Scots and Picts attacked with such force, that they almost subdued the Britons again to servitude. Because of which, Vortigern was constrained to seek the support of the Saxons; and, by these wars, resisted for certain years, all invasions of the Scots and Picts: until, at last, he was taken by the deceit of Hengist, and brought to extreme servitude; and banished, with all the Britons, into Wales.

Thus came the remaining lands of Britain under the empire of Hengist, and called Hengisland, and the people thereof Hengist's men; but now, by corruption of language, the realm is called England, and the people Englishmen. The Britons were not brought to despair by this trouble, but, many years after, fought against Englishmen under King Arthur, with much good luck; but, after his death, they were subjected again, and content to be called Englishmen, under one name with the Saxons. From the death of King Arthur, which was in the year of God 542 years, to the year of God 1016 years, the realm of England was ruled by Englishmen; although soon after Arthur's time it was divided into 7 separate kingdoms; but was then brought again under the rule of one king, under the same frontiers that it has now. And not long after, it was subjected and conquered by Danes, and 5 kings of their blood, succeeding one after another; of whom the last was named Hardicanute; who made many proud laws over the Englishmen, and reigned with such tyranny, that the Englishmen finally rebelled, and slew all the Danes within the space of one night. Hardicanute, attacked on all sides, slew himself in desperation. The Englishmen, after his slaughter, created Edward, the son of King Ethelred, their king; for this Ethelred reigned above them before the coming of the Danes. Nonetheless the Englishmen, after the death of King Edward, who was added, for his holy life, to the number of the Saints, feared that the Danes should come on them with new battle, and therefore created Harold their king; for he was descended both of the lineage of Englishmen

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and Danes. Thus was Edward, nephew to Saint Edward, and brother to Saint Margaret, the holy Queen of Scotland, disinherited of the crown of England. This Harold, given to rage and insolence of lust, married the daughter of William, Bastard of Normandy, and, within few days after, brought her into England. At last, he took such hatred against her, and her blood, that he caused her to be shamefully defiled by vagabonds and scoundrels of his country. William, the Bastard and Duke of Normandy, refusing to tolerate this odious offence, came to England with a great army, and deprived King Harold both of his life and realm at once, in the year of God 1066 years; after the first conquest made on them by the Danes, 50 years. William, the Bastard and Conqueror of England, took the crown after the death of King Harold; and caused the Normans and Englishmen to increase together under one blood, without any memory of the name of Danes. The posterity of this William continues yet, with great honour and victory, to these days: reigning above Englishmen at this time is King Henry the VIII; who, for his illustrious and valiant deeds, shall by put in great renown and memory by our posterity.

Chap. Eighteenth.

Here begins the names of all Scots Kings, since their realm began; showing briefly in what book, and chapter, in the history following, their lives and martial deeds shall be easily found.

Fergus, the First King of Scots; in the First book, Chap. VI.
Ferithais, the second king; in the Second book, Chap. II.
Maynus, the third king; in the Second book, Chap. III.
Dorvidilla, the fourth king; in the Second book, Chap. IV.
Nathak, the fifth king; in the Second book, Chap. V.
Rewtar, the sixth king; in the Second book, Chap. VI.
Rewtha, the seventh king; in the Second book, Chap. X.
Therius, the eighth king; in the Second book, Chap. XII.
Josyn, the ninth king; in the Second book, Chap. XII.
Fynnane, the tenth king; in the Second book, Chap. XIII.
Durstus, the eleventh king; in the Second book, Chap. XIV.
Ewin the First, and twelfth king; in the Second book, Chap. XV.
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Alpine, the sixty-eighth king; in the Tenth book, Chap. VIII.
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Donald the Third, and seventieth king; in the Tenth book, Chap. XIII.
Constantine the Second, and seventy-first king; in the Tenth book, Chap. XV.
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Culen, the seventy-ninth king; in the Eleventh book, Chap. VI.
Kenneth the Third, and eightieth king; in the Eleventh book, Chap. VII.
Constantine the Third, and eighty-first king; in the Eleventh book, Chap. XI.
Grime, the eighty-second king, in the Eleventh book, Chap. XII.
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Macbeth, the eighty-fifth king; in the Twelfth book, Chap. IV.
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Robert the First, and ninety-seventh king; in the Fourteenth book, Chap. VIII.
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Robert the Second, and ninety-ninth king; in the Sixteenth book, Chap. I.
Robert the Third, and hundredth king; in the Sixteenth book, Chap. IX.

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James the First, and hundred-and-first king; in the Seventeenth book, Chap. I. to the end thereof.

James the Second, son to James the First, was the hundred-and-second King of Scots. He had great trouble, certain years in the beginning of his reign, from a conspiracy of his principal barons against him: but, at last, he defeated them all. And after he had reigned 24 years, and brought all his subjects to great tranquillity and peace, he was slain at Roxburgh, by splinter of a gun, that broke by overcharging, the 17th day of August, the year of God, 1460. And for certain reasonable causes moving us, we have left the history unwritten, both of James the Second, Third, and Fourth, until time more suitable occur.

James the Third, son to James the Second, was the hundred-and-third king; very different from the chance and fortune of his father, in governance of his realm: for he began with great tranquillity, with peace and justice; but, at last, by conspiracy of the most part of his barons, against him, he was slain, the 11 day of June, the year of God, 1488.

James the Fourth, son to James the Third, was the hundred-and-fourth king; and had his realm many years in great tranquillity, by equal administration of justice, through all parts of his realm: all theft, robbery, and slaughter, deterred by his sovereign justice. Until, at last, fortune began to envy his great happiness, and caused him to move war against England, for the good only of France, that he might, by his attack, draw the King of England out of France, who was invading it, for the time, with most awful and dangerous wars; and come to the Borders with an hundred thousand armed men. And after he had won the castle of Norham, with many other strongholds of the Borders of England, he stayed 20 days, without any battle, until the two parts of his army were scattered from him. At last, rushing over-fiercely on his enemies, without order, was slain at Flodden, with many of his nobles, the 9th day of September, the twenty-fifth year of his reign, the year of God, 1513.

James the Fifth is the hundred-and-fifth King of Scots, reigning now, with great happiness and honour, above us; the most noble and valiant prince that ever reigned before his time: whom God conserve, and grant him grace to persevere in justice, with long empire, and good succession of his body! Amen.

Here ends the names of the Kings.

**The Proem of the History.
The Translator says to his Book.**

You martial book, pass to the noble Prince,
King James the Fifth, my Sovereign most renowned.
And if sometime you get audience,
In humble wise, unto his grace declare
My watchful nights, and my labour sore:
Which constantly I did for his pleasure take;
While golden Titan, with his burning chair,<81>
Has passed all signs in the Zodiac;

While busy Ceres, with her plough and harrow
Has filled her granaries full of every corn;
And stormy Chiron, with his bow and arrow,
Has all the clouds from the heavens shorn;
And shrill Triton, with his windy horn,
Overwhelmed all the flowing ocean;
And Phoebus turned under Capricorn
The same degree where I first began.

Since you havet drawn so compendious,
From flowing Latin into vulgar prose;
Show now what princes were most vicious,
And who have been of warlike deeds the rose:
Who did their kingship in most honour hold,
And with their blood our liberties have bought;
Fearing not to die among their foes,
So that they might to memory be brought.

Show, by what danger and difficult ways
Our predecessors, with their utmost might,
Have brought this realm with honour to our days;
Always fighting, for their liberty and right,
With the Romans, Danes, Englishmen, and Picts:
As well-bred readers may through your process ken.
Because, you worked for no low-bred wights;
Instead, only unto noblemen

And to such persons as desire to hear
The valiant deeds of our ancestors;
And how this country, both in peace and war,
Was governed unto these present hours:
How forceful chieftains, in many bloody fights,
(As is described here by my vulgar pen,)

Most valiantly won lands and honours;
And, for their virtue, are called noblemen.

For nobleness sometime the loving is,
That come by merits of our elders gone.
As Aristotle writes in his Rhetorics,
Among nobles, whoever wishes to recall,
Must dress their life and deeds one by one;
To make them worthy to have renown,
For honour to their prince or nation,
To be in glory to their posterity.

Another kind there is of nobleness,
That come by infusion natural;
And makes a man so full of gentleness,
So courteous, pleasant, and so liberal,
That every man does him a noble call.
The lion is so noble, as men tell,
He cannot rage against the beasts small,
Except on those who against his majesty rebel.

The awful churl is of another kind.
Though he be born to vilest servitude,
There may no kinship sink into his mind,
To help his friend or neighbour with his goods.
The bloody wolf is of the same breed:
He fears great beasts, and rages on the small;
And lives in slaughter, tyranny, and blood,
Without mercy, where he may overthrall.

This man is born a noble, you will say,
And given to sloth and lust immoderate;
All that his elders won, he casts away;
And from their virtue is degenerate:
The more his elders fame is elevated,
The more their life to honour does approach,
Their fame and loving always interminate;
The more it makes unto his vice reproach.

Among the host of Greeks, as we have heard,
Two knights there were, Achilles and Tersete;
That a most valiant, this other most coward.
Better to be, says Juvenal the Poet,
Tersete's son, having Achilles' spirit.
With manly force his purpose to fulfil

Than to be lord of every land and street
And still most coward, though offspring of Achilles.

Man, called always most noble creature,
Because his life most reason does assay,
Always seeking honour with his busy care,
And is no noble when honour is away.
Therefore, he is most nobleman, you say,
Of all estates, under reverence,
That valiantly doth close the latter day,
Of native country, dying in defence.

The glory of arms and of forceful deeds,
When they are worthy to be memorialised,
No less by wit than courage always proceeds.
As Pliny wrote in Natural History,
A herd of harts is stronger against all,
Having a lion leading them before,
Than herd of lions arrayed in battle,
Having a hart to be their governor.

When fierce Achilles was by Paris slain,
The Greek warriors each began to plead;
Who was most noble and prudent captain,
Into his place and armour to succeed;
Who could them best in every danger lead,
And save their honour as he did before:
Ajax despite his courage and his deeds,
Lost to wise Ulysses who the vict'ry bore.

Courage without prudence is a fury blind,
And brings a man to shame and indigence.
Prudence without courage comes oft behind,
Although it has no less intelligence
Of things to come, then gone, by sapience.
Therefore, when wit and courage doth concur,
High honour rises with magnificence;
For glory to nobles is a sharpened spur.

Since you contain more valiant men and wise,
Than ever was in any book, no doubt;
If any churl or villein you despise,
Drive him away: he is not of this rout;
For here are kings and many nobles stout,
And none of them pertaining to his clan.

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You are so full of nobleness all out,
I would none read you, but a nobleman.

Thus to all nobles since you art dedicated,
Show briefly how, by my great diligence,
Each story by thyself is animated
To make them pleasant to your audience.
Shrink not, therefore, but bide at your sentence,
Since you art armed with undefeated truth.
Of gentle readers, take benevolence,
And cure of others no envy nor ruth.

Pass now to light, with all your sentence high;
Grounded, without fear or flattery
In natural and moral philosophy;
With many a grave and pregnant oration.
Made for the readers' erudition,
By the renowned Hector Boetius;
Supported oft with Scoticonicon,<82>
To make your matter more sententious.

Bring noble deeds, of many years gone by,
As fresh and recent to our memory,
As if they were in our own days done;
That noblemen may have both praise and glory,
For their excellent deeds of victory.
And yet, because my time has been so short,
I think, when I have opportunity.
To ring their bell into another sort.

Teach kings to hate all people vicious,
And no such persons in their house receive;
And suffer no servants avaricious,
To make harsh exactions on their subjects;
Do nothing that does not their honour save:
Seeking nothing got by unworthy means.
Show many reasons, how no king might have
His barons' hearts and their possessions.

Show how the king's life and governance,
The mirror of living to his people be;
For as he lives, by his ordinance,
The same manners are with his people seen:
And, therefore, kings have no open reign
To use all pleasures as they like best.

Hector Boece

The higher honour and office they sustain,
Their vice is always the higher manifest.

Show now what kind of sounds musical
Is most becoming to valiant knightly deeds:
As thundering blasts of trumpet warlike,
The spirits of men to hardy courage steer;
So singing, fiddling, and piping, not does not suit
For men of honour nor of high estate,
Because it spouts sweet venom in their ears.
And makes their minds all degenerate.

By many reasons of great experience,
Show how nothing into this earth may be
So good, so precious, as a virtuous prince:
Which is so needful to this realm, that we
Without him, have naught but death and poverty.
Show how no guard, nor armour, may defend
Wretched life and cursed tyranny,
If they continue, without wretched end.

Persuade all kings, if they have any sight
To long empire or honour singular,
To obtain favour and love of every wight,
And every wrong in their realm repair:
For when their subjects are oppressed sore,
And find no justice in their actions;
Then rises noise and rumour popular,
And the nobles split in several factions.

Show what punishment, by reason of justice,
Deserve those wretched creatures
That encourage kings in corrupt vice.
And show what trouble, what vengeance, and injuries
Continually into this realm endures,
When men obscure and avaricious
Have of the king the guidance in their care,
And make the nobles to him odious.

Show how great barons, for their evil obeisance,
Against their prince, making rebellion;
Ejected have been from their high governance.
And brought to final humiliation.
Show how no house of great dominion,
No men of riches nor powerful mightiness,

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May long continue in this region;
Because the people may not suffer haughtiness.

Show how of churches the superfluous rent
Is enemy to good religion,
And makes priests more slothful than fervent
In pious works and devotion;
And not only, perdition
Of common welfare, by bulls extravagant,
But to evil prelates great occasion
To rage in lust and life most vicious.

Show how young knights should be men of war,
With hardy courage at every danger,
Like as their elders were so many year,
Always to defend their realm and liberty;
That they not, by their sloth and cowardice,
The fame and honour of their elders disgrace.
Apprise each state into their own degree,
Always as they live in moral discipline.

Show forth each king, up until the prince
That reigns now in great happiness:
Whose ancient blood, by high preeminence,
Decorated is in most excellent degree,
Without compare, of high nobility;
With more gifts of nature to him given,
If none abused in his youth be,
Than ever was given to noble under heaven.

Thus you pass forth, as winged bird, to light,
His gracious ears to my work implore:
Where he may see, as in a mirror bright,
So notable story is both of vice and glory,
Which never was seen into his tongue before;
Whereby he may, by prudent governing,
As well his honour as his realm adorn,
And be a virtuous and a noble king.

Hector Boece

Credits
From the Bellenden Edition

Hereafter follows the History and Chronicles of Scotland.

Compiled and newly corrected by the reverend and noble cleric, Master Hector Boece, Canon of Aberdeen.

Translated lately by Master John Bellenden, Archdeacon of Moray, Canon of Ross.

At the command of the right high, very excellent and noble prince, James, the fifth of that name, King of Scots.

And printed in Edinburgh by Thomas Davidson, dwelling opposite the Friars Wynd.

BOOK I.

Here Begins the First Book of the Chronicles of Scotland.

Chap. First.

How Gathelus, our first progenitor, left the land of Greece, and came to Egypt, and married Scota, daughter to King Pharaoh; and of his coming to Spain.

After the manner of other people, the Scots, desiring to show their beginning very ancient, this present *History* shows them descended of the Greeks and Egyptians. For, as old chronicles testify, there was a Greek, named Gathelus, son of Cecrops, King of Athens, otherwise son of Argus, King of Argives.

Gathelus, by his insolence, made many raids in Macedonia and Achaia, which were certain lands of Greece; and, because he could not suffer the correction of friends, he left his native country of Greece, and came to Egypt, with a company of similar young men, fugitives, as he was, from their country. In this time Pharaoh reigned in Egypt, the scourge of the people of Israel: whose son, following his father's iniquity, was drowned afterwards, with all his army, in the Red Seas, by the punishment of God. Gathelus was the more welcomed in Egypt, because he appeared, by his company, to support King Pharaoh against the Moors and people of India; who, by unexpected and sudden incursions, wasted all the lands and towns of Egypt as far as Memphis, the principal city of his realm. Thus Pharaoh would have seen a miserable ruin of all his realm, had he not changed the governance of the empire of Egypt by the advice of Moses, to whom, by command of God, the army of Pharaoh was committed. Pharaoh, with the reinforcements of Gathelus, won a most dangerous battle against the Moors, and brought them to such great ruin, that he took their principal city called Meroy. Gathelus, after this fortunate victory, returned to Egypt; and, because he was a lusty person, strong of body, with great spirit, he acquired the favour both of the king and his associates.

This pleasing victory generated more envy than glory for Moses; for the Egyptians hated all the blood of Israel: and, therefore, Moses, knowing the hatred of Egyptians pursuing him each day to the death, fled out of Egypt into India, to save his life. Gathelus, for his victorious and valiant deeds, was made general-lieutenant to all King Pharaoh's army; and, because he was a lusty person, seemly, and of the blood royal of Greece, with prudent talent, he got King Pharaoh's daughter, named Scota, in marriage, with as a heritage part of the lands which lately were taken by force from the people of Israel. For these causes the Greeks began to rejoice, seeing their captain in such familiarity with the prince; trusting thereby to have a certain dwelling-place in Egypt.

A few years afterwards Pharaoh died: after whom his son, Bochoris Pharaoh, succeeded to the crown of Egypt, who oppressed the people of Israel with more servitude and tyranny than did his father. There appeared thus no hope of liberty to the said people, when Moses returned from India to Egypt, to show the command of God to this Bochoris Pharaoh, for delivering of the said people out of servitude. After this, Egypt was punished with frightful plagues, because they held the prophecy of Moses in derision. Thus were the Egyptians so struck down, that they inquired of their Gods for a remedy; who answered that the present plagues, which afflicted them at that time, were nothing compared to the terrible and grievous plagues which would come suddenly on them.

Gathelus, dismayed by this response, and seeing the people tormented with frightful plagues, decided to leave Egypt, and rather to try the chance of fortune for

some other dwelling, than to abide the manifest vengeance of God; and, therefore, made provision of all things necessary to sailing: and come out of the mouth of Nile, with his wife, his friends, and servants, Greeks and Egyptians, for fear of the said plagues, the year from the beginning of the world, 3644. After long and weary travel through the Mediterranean Sea, he arrived in the land of Numidia; where he was prevented from landing by the inhabitants. After this he put up sail, and, after a long and laborious journey, he arrived in a part of Spain, called then Lusitania, which was after, by his arriving there, called Portugal, that is to say, the Port of Gathelus. Who may surely affirm a matter of so great antiquity?

Gathelus, worn out by long travelling, and having nothing to refresh his company, landed his people, to seek food and other necessaries, to comfort them after their weary labour. In the meantime, the inhabitants of that region gathered against him with battle array; nonetheless they were defeated, and put to flight. Through this victory, Gathelus and his people grew in hope of good fortune; trusting, after so long and storm-tossed a journey, to put an end to their labours, and have a stable and permanent dwelling in the said region. After this victory, the inhabitants made a treaty of peace with Gathelus, and assigned to him certain lands, where he should have his dwelling in times coming. A short time after, he built a town upon the river of Minho, which was called that time Brachara, but now it is called Bracha. Nonetheless, the inhabitants dreading that these new people of foreign blood should increase rapidly in riches and strength beside them, were penitent of the contract by them made; and, therefore, by assistance of their neighbours, arrayed them in battle against Gathelus: and first sent certain armed men to interrupt their building; and then made themselves ready to advance to battle. Gathelus, well informed that this battle moved against him, might suffer no delay, arrayed his people to meet his enemies, exhorting them to do valiantly for their lives and honour, and to have certain hope of victory, since the battle was to be led by those which were victorious against their vanquished enemies, which had no experience nor knowledge of warfare. The inhabitants seeing these strangers come in battle with mighty courage and spirit, in an foreign country, feared, if they were vanquished in the said battle, they should by brought to perpetual servitude, and therefore asked Gathelus to a parley. In which they gave to him, by new appointment, certain lands in the North part of Spain, called now Galicia; for they had a prophecy, that a strange people should come some time to dwell in those parts: and commanded him to pass with his people in the said parts, which should by allowed by them without any impediments in times coming; and promised, if any people happened to attack him, to come to his support.

Chap. Second.

How Gathelus built the City of Brigantia, and named all his people Scots. How he sent his two sons to Ireland. And of his death.

Having ratified the treaty described, Gathelus made sacrifice, as the custom was in those days, to his Gods; then went to the North parts of Spain, and there, in confident friendship with the inhabitants thereof, built a town called Compostella; where he, residing in princely dignity, made laws, to cause his subjects to live together in justice. After this, he called all his people Scots, because of the affection that he had for his wife Scota; on whom he got two sons, Hiber and Hemecus. The Spaniards, not rejoicing in the prolific spreading of the Scots, feared they would at some time rise to their disadvantage: thus they decided to bring the Scots to utter destruction. Gathelus, knowing well their plans, brought forth his people arrayed for battle. Then there followed a very dangerous and uncertain battle; but at last the victory succeeded to the Scots. Neither side was glad of the outcome of this battle; for the most forceful and valiant captains were slain on either side. Thus were they constrained on each side to seek peace; which was finally agreed under these conditions: Both their people in times coming shall cease their wars, and every one of them shall live by their own laws, and occupy the same lands, without interference, which they possessed before this last battle, without any further persecution. Through which it happened, that some of their people, some time later, were sent to Ireland. Certain peace thus standing among the two people, Gathelus, sitting in his chair of marble, within his city of Brigantia, governed his people in justice. This chair of marble had such a destiny, that it made every land, where it was found, native to Scots; as these verses show:

The Scots shall claim that realm as native ground,
If destiny fail not, wherever this chair is found.

Through which happened, that the said chair of marble was afterwards brought out of Spain to Ireland; and out of Ireland to those parts of Albion, which were afterwards called Scotland. In this chair all kings of Scotland were always crowned, until the time of King Robert Bruce: in whose time, beside many other cruelties done by King Edward Longshanks, the said chair of marble was taken by Englishmen, and brought out of Scone to London, and put in Westminster, where it remains to our days.

Gathelus, seeing his people increase in Brigantia to a greater multitude than might be sufficiently nourished, thought it more expedient to bring his people to some other part, where they might be easily sustained, than to violate his treaty; and, therefore, by advice of prudent men, he sent scouts, to spy if any lands were within the ocean sea, to which he might bring a part of his people. For it was said, opposite Spain, to the North, was an isle, inhabited with rude people, having no laws nor manners. Such things known to Gathelus, he brought all the ships he might get to the next port, in which he put both his sons, Hiber and Hemecus, with seamen, warriors, and other things necessary thereto; and commanded Hiber, as admiral, to pass to the said isle, which is now called Ireland. These two sons of Gathelus raised sail, and, with favourable winds, arrived, the fifth day after, in the said isle. And, after they had landed their people, they affixed their camp on the nearest strong points. The rude

people of this isle, daunted by the coming of these warriors, fled, with their cattle and goods, to their caves. Hiber, after his coming, sent certain armed men to see what people inhabited this isle. The warriors who were sent for this purpose, happened to come upon the said people, fleeing, as was said, with their goods; and slew a part of them, and others brought as prisoners to their admiral. Hiber, knowing by several signs the land was plentiful, commanded, if the people would be easily subdued, that no further invasion be made on them. The people seeing him merciful, surrendered themselves and their goods; and he received them with such benevolence, that he suffered them to increase with his people under the same name and laws; and left his brother to govern them by his authority and justice.

Such things done, he made sacrifice in the honour of his Gods, to send happiness to his people: then returned to Spain, leaving behind him a strong garrison, with wives and children, to inhabit this land, and to keep the same under obeisance of his brother Hemecus. Hiber, at his return to Spain, found his father Gathelus deceased. After whose death he was made king; and began to increase the lands of his empire; and won several towns from the Spaniards: having with him at all times a strong guard of men; by whose strength and warfare he daunted the people in such manner, that he was held in great estimation and reverence among the said people. Thus they were constrained to seek his peace.

After this last treaty of peace, the Scots grew in Spain, which was named then Hiberia, from Hiber, with such friendship, that both the people grew under a name and blood, with such tender and friendly benevolence, that, without any memory of old injuries, each man set himself to defend his neighbour as his brother or father, both in war and peace. Of this Hiber descended, by long progression, a great posterity, after him lineally succeeding; among whom were many noble and famous princes, as Metellius, Hermoneus, Ptolemy, Hibertus, and Simon Brechus.

Chap. Third.
***How Hemecus governed Ireland; and, how Simon Brechus
was made King after his death.***

While such things were done in Spain, Hemecus, who was left, as we have said, by his brother Hiber in Ireland, governed the same in great happiness, and named the same Hibernia, from Hiber, which is called in our language, Ireland. This isle was inhabited in those days by two people: the Scots; and the old inhabitants of it, which were got, as some authors say, by giants. Hemecus governed both these people in great justice, having no less respect to the season, as the time occurred, than to the manners of the people under his obedience; knowing well, nothing might bring the people sooner under a friendship and agreement than such doings: and yet he was unable to accomplish this. A short time after, Hemecus deceased. After whose death rose an odious debate, who should be governor; each nation contending to have the lord of their own blood. So at the last they created two governors: between whom arose continual battle and slaughter on either side, through ambition and burning desire to be governor of the said isle. After long battles, these two people, broken by so many conflicts, were constrained to make peace: although the same endured but a short time; each one of them pursuing the other with battle. And yet they dwelt many years together in war and peace alternately. Until at last the Scots, broken each day with more injuries, sent their ambassadors to Metellius, who was that time reigning over the Scots in Spain; desiring, by their lamentable complaints, to have support against the old inhabitants of Ireland; and saying they were a wild people, refusing to tolerate foreign rule above them; through which the Scots might have no tranquillity, unless the said people were more quickly defeated. The message of the Scots was the more acceptable to Metellius, that it concerned the welfare of both the Scots of Spain and of Ireland, descending, by long progression of a lineage and blood.

King Metellius did not refuse their desires; trusting the same to succeed no less to the honour and glory of himself, than to the profit of his friends: and, therefore, sent his three sons, Hermoneus, Ptolemy, and Hibert, with an army of valiant men to Ireland; where they, in a very dangerous battle, vanquished the old inhabitants of the said isle. Such things done in Ireland, Hermoneus, the eldest brother, returned to Spain; leaving behind him his two brothers, Ptolemy and Hibert, who governed the people of that land many years after in great tranquillity and justice, and made laws according to the custom of those days, and instructed the priests to make incense and sacrifice to the Gods, in the same manner as the Egyptians used. Thus the people increased many years after in great happiness and riches. But, as the nature of men is, over-great prosperity engenders evil manners, and causes men to work frequent damage on themselves, when they find no enemies to attack them at home; the people, after long peace, were divided in two opinions, contending for the governance and administration of this realm. These two parties had all utterly destroyed other, were not they were reconciled together by a nobleman named Thanaus, principal man under the king; who was sent as ambassador to the said isle, and rejoiced in the happiness succeeding to his friends, when he caused them, by his prudent consultation, to increase together in agreement. This Thanaus, by his honourable behaviour, was held among them of great prudence, having neutral affection to both the parties; and persuaded them, at their convention, to remove all contentions rising among them, and to choose one, whom they thought most expedient, to be their king, and be obedient to him in all their governance; for nothing could be in earth so good as a good king.

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Through this persuasion, the people took such fervent desire to have a king, that, all injuries being repaired, they commanded Thanaus to choose him king whom he thought most expedient. Then said Thanaus, "I know your minds so divided in several factions, that no man that is participant therewith may be easily your king. And, since your mind is to have a neutral person to reign above you, there is now in Spain a nobleman, of great severity and justice, named Simon Brechus, well accustomed with your laws, and lineally coming of Metellius, your ancient progenitor; whose sons in the past not only supported you when the greatest danger occurred, but governed you many years afterwards, in great tranquillity and justice; whose posterity yet remains among you in great honour. I think this Simon most suitable to be your king." The parties, hearing the name of Simon Brechus, were glad to have him king, because that name was held very fortunate in those days. And, without any long delay, they sent their ambassadors in Spain, to cause this Simon to come to Ireland, to receive the crown thereof. Simon knowing, by advance news, the intent of these ambassadors, provided a flotilla of ships; and, finally, by favourable winds, arrived in Ireland, where he was solemnly received, and crowned in the chair of marble, which was brought out of Spain as a most rich jewel in these days.

Simon was the first king that reigned over the Scots in Ireland: from the beginning of the world, 4504 years; from the flood of Noah, 2208; from the beginning of Rome, 60 years; from the empire of Brutus in Albion, 472 years; before the Incarnation of God, 695 years. This Simon governed Ireland in great prosperity, by counsel especially of Thanaus; to whom he gave several lands, lying in the South parts of Ireland, beside the river of Birsus, which lands are now called Dowdale; where the said Thanaus dwelt after, with the people that he brought with him out of Brigantia, the famous city of Spain. These people were called Brigantes; from whom after, by process of time, descended many noble and valiant men, which come after with Fergus, the first King of Scots, in Albion: by whom all those lands of Scotland, which are now called Galloway, were called Brigantia; whose inhabitants were found always full of courage, and strongest enemies to the Romans and Britons, as we shall show after here.

This Simon governed Ireland in good happiness, and died in the fortieth year of his reign.

Chap Fourth

Of the great Posterity of the Scots reigning in Ireland after Simon Brechus. Of the first coming of the Scots and Picts into Albion; and how the Picts were allied with the Scots.

Simon died, as we have said, and his son Fanduf was made king. After him, succeeded Ethione. After Ethione, succeeded Glaucus. After Glaucus, succeeded Nathasyll. After Nathasyll, succeeded Rothesay. This Rothesay was the first king that sent any Scots to the Isles of Albion. The first isle that he inhabited, he called it Rothesay, from his name. The remaining isles were called Hebrides, from Hiber, the eldest son of Gathelus. This Rothesay when he heard of the death of his father, Nathasyll, returned to Ireland; where he, by general voice of the people, was made king. The year that Scots were brought out of Ireland in Albion, was from the reign of Simon Brechus in Ireland, 216 years; from the beginning of the world, 4618 years. The Scots coming out of Ireland in this manner, spread in several isles of Albion, lying to the great North thereof, and divided them into several tribes. The first isle that they took possession of, as the Chronicles say, was named Ardgæll, from Gathelus; which now, by corruption of language, is called Argyll. The Scots, divided by this manner in several tribes, choose certain captains for every tribe, to govern them in time of both war and peace; having the name of their captain in such reverence, that whosoever took the same in vain were no less punished than they had blasphemed their Gods: Also that they made invocation thereto, when great trouble occurred; as some divinity were in the same, to preserve them from all danger. This custom continued, many years after, in the Isles.

Not long after, a banished people, named Picts, come forth from Denmark, to search a dwelling place; and, after they were prevented from landing both in France, Britain, and Ireland, they landed in Albion. Some authors say, they come first in Orkney; and, soon after, in Caithness, Ross, Moray, Mearns, Angus, Fife, and Lothian: and expelled all the people, that inhabited that region before their coming. Their people were called Picts, either for their seemly persons, or else for the variant colour of their clothing; or else they were named Picts, from the Picts named Agathirsans, their ancient fathers. In proof hereof, Orkney was called the old realm of the Picts. In this way, the seas between Caithness and Orkney were named Pentland Firth; and all the lands, which are now called Lothian, were called then Pentland. Some authors say, these Picts were the remainder of Huns, banished by Flemings; and came first in Britain to seek a dwelling, where they, by sorrowful battle, lost Humber, their king, by Lotrine and Camber, sons of Brutus, who began the empire of Britain. This opinion would be specious, were not the date of years discordant to the history; for Brutus, and his sons, lived many years before their coming to Albion. Of these Picts many old and recent authors write, with whom Cornelius Tacitus agrees, in the *Life of the Roman Agricola*; where he names the Scots coming from Spaniards, and the Picts, from Germans. Of whatever nation they were descended, the truth is, after their coming into Albion, they were a civil people, very ingenious and skilful both in war and peace. Soon after their coming to Albion, which was from the beginning of the world, 4867 years, they appointed a king to govern them in justice, and began building fortifications, towns, and castles. And, because they knew that all people without successors were liable to perish, they sent their ambassadors to the Scots, desiring to have their daughters in marriage: and said, though they were of foreign blood, they should not be regarded with contempt, since they, with no less prudence

than courage, had overcome incredible dangers both by sea and land; and had lately conquered, through the benevolence of the Gods, very plentiful lands, with such peace and tranquillity, that no other people may have a reasonable claim to them: expecting surely, if the Gods support them, by their own industry, to be equal to any of their neighbours both in peace and war. Further, if the Scots condescended to their honorable desires, it might happen that the two people would increase together so strong in kinship, that they might the better resist the fury of any enemies, whenever it happened that they were attacked.

This legation was unwelcome, at first, to the Scots, thinking it unworthy to have any society or dealings with a foreign and banished people; yet, after some consideration, they found they were not rising to such strength, that they might resist the Britons, who hated them since their first beginning. Wherefore, to augment their forces, and to make them the more strong against the Britons, they were profoundly resolved to have alliance with the Picts, and to give their daughters in marriage, under these conditions: Each one of them shall enjoy, in time coming, all they lands which they enjoyed before the marriage. And to ally together with their whole strength, as often as they were attacked by enemies. He that made offence to any one of them, shall be regarded as an enemy to them both; and, as often as the crown of the Picts come in play, the king to be chosen from the nearest of the woman's blood. These conditions pleasing all sides, the Scots gave their daughters in marriage to the Picts.

Chap. Fifth.

How the Britons, by their cunning tricks, dissolved the bond of alliance between the Scots and Picts. Of the trouble that fell thereby.

The Britons took no little suspicion of this marriage, dreading that if these two people increased together under one blood, they would be so strong in a short time, that neither might the said Britons at the present time, nor their posterity, be sufficient to resist the strength of the two people; and, therefore, decided to destroy them both, and to attack them rather with deceitful tricks, than any force of battle. And, to bring their purpose to effect, they devised to raise such sedition between the two people, that each one of them should attack other with battle; and from that one would be clearly destroyed, the other, broken with the same wars, might be the easier prey to them. Yet, to cover their deceits more secretly, they delayed their intention for three years, to see if process of time might give any better occasion to make war. The same time, by the affinity before contracted, the Picts multiplied with a prolific succession: whereby the two people grew in equal benevolence; the Picts giving their industry to improvements and labour of their hands, and setting their talent to build fortifications and towns for defence and augmentation of their common welfare; the Scots exercising themselves in craft of hunting, hawking, and nourishing of their cattle; having no other riches except from their livestock; and were daily clothed in habergeons of mail, with bow and arrows, in continual exercise; as ready, at all times, to defend their lives, lands, and liberties, as their enemies were to attack them in set battle.

In the meantime the Britons sent their ambassadors to the Picts: having great wonder why they preferred the Scots to them; since they were a people full of riches and glory; whose famous deeds were known in France, Germany, and other several regions by seas and lands; having a rich realm, full of all mines of metal, so plentiful of every fruit necessary for the use of man, that they might do high pleasure to their neighbours, as well in war as peace. By contrary, the Scots were an untamed people; having rude and wild manners, without any civility; confiding more in their reckless audacity, than any prowess or virtue; and dwelling among trackless and barren mountains, and rejoicing in nothing so much as in murder of men and beasts. Also they had by prophecy, that the Picts should be exterminated and utterly destroyed by the Scots, unless they sought a sooner remedy. For these causes, they desired them to make a new agreement of confederation with the Britons, to that purpose, that the Scots may be either expelled out of Albion, or else brought to utter destruction; by which doings, they might have incredible advantage, occupying both their realms without any fear, in times coming. And, to give them the more provocation to attempt this business, they promised to support them with men, money, and supplies, at their pleasure.

This message had the more credit, because the Picts had before a vehement suspicion, that the prolific spreading of the Scots should some time result in great damage to their posterity: also nothing might have caused them more to make war against the Scots, than the responses of their Gods, concurring to their own suspicion. At last the Picts, after long debate, answered, they contracted affinity with the Scots more of necessity than any heartfelt friendship; whose corrupted manners were very displeasing to them. Nonetheless, such opportunity may come, in process of time, that

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they might have sufficient occasion to move war against the Scots, as they desired: for nothing might be so acceptable to them as the friendship and fellowship of the Britons; providing always, that the said Britons gave them sufficient help, when time required, against the Scots. Such business done, as occurred for that time, the ambassadors were dispatched.

A short time after, the Picts, seeking occasion to make war against the Scots, commanded, by general edict, no Scots to be found within any towns or lands of the Picts, after a prefixed day, under pain of death. The Picts, after this day was past, slew all Scots that were found within their towns, fortifications, and realms, as breakers of their laws. The Scots, very impatient to sustain so high injuries, ceased not until they had slain as many of the Picts as were before slain of the Scots. Immediately, by hasty trouble rising in this manner, there was such lamentable murder on either side, that each one of them slew other on meeting, regarding neither affinity, blood, time, nor place.

Chap. Sixth.

How the Picts and Scots prepared to attack each other in battle. How Ferquhard, King of Ireland, sent his son Fergus, with an army, in support of the Scots against the Picts; and how the said Fergus was made King.

After the peace was dissolved in this manner, the Picts proclaimed war on the Scots: after which there followed continual incursions on either side. Also, so that every thing should be done rather by consultation than by uncontrolled hatred, the Picts arranged all things necessary for battle; in what way, and by what captains it should be led; whether they should await the coming of their enemies, or attack them within their own realms.

The same time, the Scots convened in Argyll; where the captains were divided in several opinions concerning this battle. Some, citing the treacherous deceits of the Picts, desired to attack them quickly, as false and perjured people, breakers of their faith, whose injury was so unbearable, it might suffer no delay. Others thought expedient, since the matter was serious, to attack their enemies secretly and in good order. In the meantime, rose up an aged man, and said: "I know well, my heartfelt friends, this injury of the Picts is so intolerable and odious, that we should rush quickly to arms to revenge the same. Nonetheless, all business is well done that is carefully considered. And, since anger is no help without strength, know well, this war that ye intend to move, shall be no less against the Britons than the Picts; although you have not that craft of warfare nor strength to resist them both. For these causes, I think no business so profitable, as to send ambassadors to our ancient ancestors in Ireland, to have their support in this most dangerous case. Further, since plurality of captains, as oft occurs, raises dissent, best is to choose one among us to have rule above the rest; under whose counsel we shall fight for our lives and liberties, against a false and perjured people, who have attacked us without any occasion of injury." This last opinion was most approved.

The Scots soon after sent their ambassadors to Ireland, complaining of the wicked offence done by the Picts, and desiring support. Ferquhard, who was at that time King of Scots in Ireland, greatly moved, for the harm done to his friends the Scots in Albion, sent his son Fergus, a wise and valiant prince, to their support; and, to give them the more hope of permanent and fortunate destiny, he sent with them the fateful chair of marble. Fergus was the more welcomed by the Scots, that their welfare was approaching to high danger by a most perilous battle. After his coming, a council sat in Argyll, in which Fergus said this: "Most valiant people, you see a company of noblemen, as you desired, coming into your region to resist the fury of your enemies. The fathers are so compassionate to their children, that no offence may be done to their said children, but the same returns to their dishonour and shame. We are under obligation to you as fathers to their children; show you therefore to be our children, as we shall show us to be your fathers. Let an injury be common to us both, since we are conjoined together in blood and friendship; that glory and honour may redound to us, and profit unto you. Yet a thing is necessary to consider; whether the rule of one or of many be more profitable for your welfare. And which of them you think most profitable shall be pleasing to us, since we, by favour and benevolence of the Gods, are happily arrived in your region, and coming only for your singular welfare and support."

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The council, after this speech of Fergus, thought plurality of captains unprofitable; and, therefore, after careful consultation, condescended to be governed by the rule of a king; and this king to have rule over them as well in peace, as in every trouble appearing against their enemies. Also, to remove all suspicion of hatred, because each tribe desired a king of their own lineage, they choose Fergus, both for his noble blood, and his other excellent virtues, to be their king; also he was so proven in courage and justice, that no captain of the tribes might be compared to him. Fergus, chosen king in this manner, was crowned in the fateful chair of marble, which he brought with him, by the will of the Gods, to establish his realm in Albion; and was the first king that reigned above the Scots in that region: from the beginning of the world, 4869 years; before the incarnation of God, 330 years; from the beginning of Rome, 420 years; from the rule of Brutus in Britain, 837 years.

Chap. Seventh.

***How King Fergus came, with great forces, against the Picts.
How the deceit of the Britons was revealed to both the Scots
and Picts. And of the speech made by Fergus to the King of
Picts.***

The Scots rising in this manner, as we have said, in Albion, King Fergus gave his whole mind and attention to resist the injury of this war, started by the Picts; and, after he had called all the captains before him, he commanded every one of them to be ready to go with him, with pack horses carrying forty days' supplies: and, because he knew nothing more odious than sedition among warriors, he made agreement among his people, and commanded them to be obedient to their captains, with such order that none of them waver from their companions, in case they might fall as prey to their enemies. Such things done, he made sacrifice in honour of his Gods, according to the custom that was in those days; praying the Gods, to take vengeance against the party that gave first occasion of battle against the other; and to grant him such happiness in his just defence, that victory may succeed to him without heavy damage to his people.

While the Scots were at their business, the Picts assembled an army, with no little force of the Britons supporting them. There was, on either side, a wicked and unnatural dealing between two peoples, friends and citizens, fathers and sons. The Picts come first in the Scots lands: against whom, with no less courage than courage, went Fergus, with ancient arms displayed in form of banner; in which was a red lion, rampant in a field of gold, with thundering tail, awfully striking his back, as is the habit of the gentle lion, when he turns to wrath. Fergus was the first that bore these arms in Albion; and, after him, they were always the arms of all kings descending of his lineage, up to our days.

While the Scots and Picts were arrayed in each other's sight, the army of the Britons stood arrayed at a distance, not far from them, devising by what deceits they might destroy them both; with firm purpose, when the Scots and Picts were joined together, and one of them defeated, then the victorious party should finally be destroyed by their fresh army: and when their two people were destroyed by this deceit, the Britons might occupy both their realms in Albion, without any fear, in times coming. This subtle deceit was revealed to Fergus by a banished Briton. Through which it happened, that both the armies, moved no less by fear of enemies than by their own proper damage, delayed battle certain days.

In the meantime, King Fergus desired a parley with the King of Picts, upon high matters, concerning no less the welfare of the Picts than of the Scots. The King of Picts refused not the parley, and met King Fergus with a small company of his nobles; the armies standing on each side, arrayed. Then said Fergus: "Often rich towns, and people contending for the mastery, have brought themselves to miserable ruin, and their enemies to great advantages; which things shall not fail to come on us, if we happen to fight this day. The occasion of battle, which you moved first against us, we shall not discuss at this time whether it be lawful or unjust; although, the Scots have sustained great injuries from your people without any redress. Yet, if it be desirable rather to show the truth than any high-flown words, the desire of power, and deceit of the Britons, have moved you to battle. You would never have attacked us, your fathers, had not the Britons, our common enemies, devised the same, by cunning deceits, to both our mischiefs. And whether these things be true or false you may best

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consider; although no reason may persuade me to believe anything else, but this battle shall come, if we continue, to the irrecoverable damage to us both. If we fight, who doubts but victory shall be uncertain? for we are of equal strength. Suppose we are vanquished, which may not succeed without great killing of you, than shall you be an easy prey to your enemies; bringing them to triumph and honour, and yourselves to misery and servitude. What thing may be more odious, or more detestable, than the sons to attack their fathers? We are fathers; you, our sons: your sons are our nephews: and, whether we be vanquished or victorious, you shall defile yourselves with a most terrible offence against the Gods. Wherefore, let us agree peace, as neighbours and friends allied together; and consider what infinite damage this battle shall do to us, and what advantage to our common enemies. And if any injury be done by Scots to your people, it shall be redressed by me; so that we, who are near neighbours and of the same blood, may evade the cunning deceits devised by the Britons to damage both of us, and attack our enemies with the same treason that they devised for us; that reason and justice may seem stronger among us, than hatred or envy: for, I believe, no other way is so sure to establish our people in this Isle of Albion."

Chap. Eighth.

Of several consultations made by the Picts; and how they were reconciled with the Scots.

The King of Picts answered to these words of Fergus, that he might not, by his private authority, dissolve things done by public counsel of his nobles. This battle, that he moved, was decided by public, and not by private counsel: nonetheless, he would gladly discuss with his nobles, whether they would have war or peace; and would return to the same place, with their intentions.

As soon as both the kings returned to their camp, the King of Picts repeated the words of Fergus before his council, and said how the same day would require them not only to fight against the Scots, but against the treason of the Britons; and, to verify his intent, he brought certain Britons in testimonial thereof: also the inopportune solicitation of the Britons, desiring battle against Scots, made the deceit more credible to the Picts. The Picts, considering imprudently in this matter, were divided in two opinions. Some said, the friendship of the Scots was to be refused; for they had pursued the Picts with so many slaughtering raids, the same may not be redressed in this way. Wherefore, all their alliance, all their conditions and peace, ought to be despised; for such things may not endure, where robbery, injury, and hatred, are more esteemed, than faith, reason, and justice. Others said, the friendship of the Scots was both honourable and necessary; because they did many things before which were of benefit to the Picts, and moved no battle until they were first injured. And, since the Britons were common enemies both to the Scots and the Picts, they must be reconciled, or else to be shamefully beaten out of Albion. Also the affinity and blood rising between them should put an end to their wars; since nothing is more detestable to the Gods, nor abominable to mortal creatures, than for a people to make war against another, who are allied under a commixtion of blood. Therefore there appeared nothing so good to the Picts as to have friendship of the Scots; unless they proposed, to render falsehood, hatred, and evil deeds, for faith, love, and good thanks. After many of the Picts were given to peace, one of the Picts, enemy to the Scots, because his brother was slain in this last battle, said this: "How is this blind contention rising among you, most valiant men? Have you not sufficient experience of the falsehood and cruelty of the Scots? Will you hesitate any further to attack, if any agreement may be kept with unfaithful people, full of fierce purpose and cruelty, borne to our utter mischief. Do you believe the response of our Gods to be vain? Should we nourish this pestilential poison, to the final perdition both of us and our realm? This bloody and treacherous people, if our Gods show the truth, shall not fail to raise among us a flame that shall never be quenched." To this wicked man answered another Pict, and said, "You should not be moved by the response of the Gods: for if they be true, they cannot be avoided; if they be false, they should not be feared. Wherefore all injuries, done by any deceit and treason of either parties, should be removed: and, to save our honour, let our oath and agreement never be broken by our default; because we have sufficient experience in our days, what notable vengeance has been taken upon many noble and valiant champions, when they had not their faith nor Gods in reverence. Let us return to the agreement with the Scots, since the same may neither be dissolved without offence to the Gods, nor yet without incredible shame; so that we may persevere in kinship, without offence either to the immortal Gods, or our dear friends: as nature, the mother of every thing, constrains us to love our fathers, for they love our children, their nephews. It is not necessary,

therefore, to have any battle; but rather to love our friends, that we be not in derision to our enemies." As soon as these words were said, the wives of the Picts, who followed the army for love of their husbands, fell on their knees, with pitiful tears, praying their husbands not to violate themselves with shameful slaughter of their fathers: It is better to us and our children," said they, "to die any manner of death, than to see our fathers and husbands slaying each other, with cruel wounds." The Picts, moved partly by love of their wives and children, partly by reverence of their Gods, condescended to have peace with the Scots, under these conditions: Redress made on each side. The Britons, who were instigators of this battle, shall be held enemies to both peoples. All other charges to be at the pleasure of the two kings, whether they wished to have peace under the old conditions or new; and, if these conditions were not sufficient to confirm the peace, with what other conditions the two princes thought most suitable. Soon after, a day was set to confirm the peace. The Britons, who come in support of the Picts, hearing this concord, returned home, fearing that it would succeed, to their little profit. On the day appointed, the Scots and Picts were agreed on all matters, after the tenor of the old agreement, and these new conditions: Each one of the two people shall live content in their own realms; supporting each other, as well in honour as in profit, when high and difficult charges occurs, against their enemies. The injuries done to any one of them, shall be regarded as common to them both; and, when it was necessary to them to fight against their enemies, both the people shall convene together under a mind and ordinance. The peace being confirmed in this manner, both the kings returned home.

Chap. Ninth.

How Coyll, King of Britons, was slain, and his army defeated by the Scots and Picts.

Coyll, King of Britons, hearing at York, that the Scots and Picts were allied as described, was very sorrowful; for he feared these two people would increase in time to his great disadvantage. Daunted by this, and not knowing by what means he might destroy them both, for his deceits before had come to little effect; he decided to see, if the Scots, whom he held for a vagabond and banished people, of foreign blood, strong only in killing beasts, dared fight against his people, full of glory and warfare. Yet he postponed this matter for two years, to see if any proud insolence might generate new division among them, whereby he might find some better occasion to attack them in battle; for he understood that no certain tranquillity nor peace might be had among his people, during the fellowship of the Scots and Picts under a concord and blood. Wherefore, to raise some occasion of battle between these two people, he sent a company of Britons, few in number, to attack the Borders of the Picts with frequent raids; and when the same, under the agreement of truce, was desired by the Picts to be repaired, the Britons said they would never do such corrupt deeds of theft; and said, the same was done by the Scots only. At last the ground of this deceit was so searched and brought to light, that the same was proven clearly on the Britons; through which the two allied people took such hatred against the said Britons, that, after incredible slaughter of their people, they attacked their realm, and brought a multitude of cattle out of the same.

King Coyll, refusing to tolerate this outrage, tried to accomplish by force of arms, what he could not do before by deceit: and assembled soon after a huge number of people, with great array of battle; and entered at the West Borders of Scotland, and affixed his camp on the river of Doon; attacking the country with continual raids, fire, and slaughter. Fergus, well informed of their doings, commanded the cattle and goods to be driven to the mountains; and, with them, commanded the wives, children, and other feeble creatures, to pass to the strong parts of the said mountains, to avoid the fury of their enemies. Such things done, he commanded, by general proclamations, all men fit for warfare to be ready, to resist their enemies at their best ability. However he desired nothing more than to prolong the struggle; so that, by long delay and shortage of supplies, his enemies might be weary and exhausted.

In the meantime, a Scot treasonably fled to King Coyll, and revealed to him everything devised by King Fergus. Immediately, King Coyll sent 5000 Britons to take the said plunder of cattle from the mountains; and that he might, by sudden unexpected action, exercise the more cruelty, he made his army ready to attack the Scots on the next morning. Such things said to Scots and Picts by their scouts, caused no little fear in their army. Then Fergus took consultation with his nobles what was best to be done. Many of them, daunted by the multitude and courage of the Britons, advised against battle. Others exhorted him thereto; saying, they were a sufficient army, and determined to fight for defence of their wives, children, and liberties, to the death, provided he would support them. Also it was no less necessary than honourable to risk the chance of battle; for victory is got rather by courage and prudence, than any multitude of people. After divers opinions, it was concluded, that Fergus, with his people, at the first vigil, should set on the guards of the Britons; and the King of Picts, with his people, should pass over the Water of Doon, where the army of the Britons lay, to come suddenly on their backs, as soon as they heard the noise made by the

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Scots. Such things done with courage and prudence, they submitted the rest to the chance of fortune.

The same night, Fergus, as was devised, slew, at great risk, the guard of the Britons; and not only crossed their trenches, but entered fiercely within their camp, before King Coyll was informed of his coming. Immediately arose a terrible clamour among the Britons, fast rushing to arms, to resist this sudden attack; when suddenly the Picts come on their backs, suspecting nothing less than such an irruption of enemies. The Britons, not well wakened from their sleep, were attacked on all sides, and defeated before they might come to array; among whom King Coyll, inadequately protected by his nobles, was slain. In memory whereof, the place where he was slain was named after Coyll; which region remains yet under the same name, or, little different from there, called now Kyle.

Chap. Tenth.

Of King Fergus' speech to his Nobles; and how the Crown of Scotland was entailed to him and his successors.

After this victory, the Scots and Picts, with banners displayed, convened on a little hill. The remainder of the Britons, who had escaped from this battle, by fleeing at night, hearing their king slain, and their army defeated, sent a herald to desire peace. The Scots and Picts, more insolent after this victory than before, rebuffed the Britons, and denied peace: nonetheless the two kings, who knew well the great strength of the Britons, condescended to their petitions. When the booty of this battle was equally divided among the two people, according to their courage and prowess, the two kings returned home.

Soon after, Fergus convened his nobles in Argyll, and said this: "Ye see, most valiant champions, how you, by special favour of the Gods, have vanquished your enemies, and brought your lands, by wisdom and courage, to certain peace; and, though you were unequal both in number and strength, yet the Gods have been so propitious, that you have vanquished the enemies whom you most feared in this earth. You have put down your troublesome enemy, with all his army, and are enriched with their spoils. They that despised you before, as feeble, banished, and unarmed people, have pitifully desired your peace, more necessary than honourable to them; to be a notable example in times coming, how uncertain it is to confide in any vain strength of man. We know well, how rich, how powerful are the Britons both by sea and land: and the more rich they are, the more shame redounds to them, and the more glory to us; since they are vanquished by us, whom they held most vile and feeble. We have used our victory without any cruelties. We have vanquished our anger, to that end, that the Gods, who have given us so proud victory, shall not find, by our perverse insolence, any occasion to bring us some other time to be mocked by our enemies; since we did not exercise our hatred on their defeated Britons, fleeing our fury be darkness of night, but suffered them mercifully to depart in peace. Thus may we evidently see, that our wives, children, liberties, and lands, which our enemies intended to have bereft us, are saved only by favour of the Gods. We must now decide, by prudent consultation, how we may avoid all danger appearing in times coming. Which things shall succeed the better, if we have the Gods in reverence; keeping our word to the Picts and Britons as we promised; continuing the realm in the same governance as you devised at our first coming: providing always, that we remove sedition, scurrility, and avaricious living, with such things as may induce hatred among you. Further, to make each person live on his own lands, it were best to part all the lands of this region by general consent; so that every one of us, content with his own, may have no occasion to injure his neighbour; for such things shall cause us to increase in glory and honour to our friends, and dread to our foes. And would God I might see you, my dear people, rising in such virtue before my death, that I might, with certain hope, show to your elders the welfare coming to their posterity."

When Fergus had ended this speech, the people showed themselves ready to fulfill his desire; and never to be governed, in times coming, but by the rule of a king; and none to reign above them but King Fergus' blood: and, if they did not, prayed the Gods to send no less vengeance on them, and their posterity, than fell once on them in Egypt and Spain, for transgression of the command of the Gods. King Fergus got a charter of the Crown of Scotland to him and his successors in this way; which charters

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were carved in marble, with pictures of beasts in form of letters, as used in those days; and gave the same to most religious priests, to be observed in their temples.

Chap. Eleventh.

How King Fergus divided the Lands of Scotland among the Nobles of his Realm. And of the Manners of the Brigantes.

A short time after, when the Scots had recreated themselves with hunting and other exercises, King Fergus convened his nobles, and said: "Now is the time, most prudent fathers, since our realm is established in good peace, to divide the lands of this realm, which you now enjoy without order, among you, and others that come with me out of Ireland in this region. To do this more pleasantly, are to be chosen 7 neutral men among us; who shall divide this realm with such reason and prudence, that where the lands are most fertile, shall be given the less; and where the same are barren, to be given the more."

The people, well pleased with this counsel, choose seven prudent men; who considered the lands of Scotland, and divided the same, with frontiers equally referring thereto. These prudent men returned, the fourth month after, to Argyll, where King Fergus was resident for the time: in whose presence all the lands of Scotland were divided by casting lots among the nobles thereof. By the first division, there fell to Cornath, captain, and his tribe, the lands of Caithness, lying against Orkney, between Duncansby and the Water of Thane. Secondly, to Captain Lutork, fell the lands between the Water of Thane and Ness, called now Ross. This Lutork come with a band of valiant men out of Ireland with King Fergus in Albion. This land of Ross lies, in breadth, from Cromarty to the mouth of the Water of Lochty; in this country was the famous castle of Urquhart; of which the ruinous walls remain yet, greatly admired by the people. Thirdly, to Captain Warroch, fell the lands lying between Spey and Ness, from the German to the Irish Sea. The people of this land were called Wares, from the name of their captain; but, soon after, they were so rebellious, that they were beaten out of that country, and the Murrays brought in their place; by whom the lands were called Moray. By the next division, fell to Captain Thalys, the lands of Boyne, Enzie, Bogewall, Garioch, Formartine, and Buchan. Their lands were called then under the name, Thalia, from the name of their captain. By the next division, there fell to Captain Martach, all the lands of Mar, Badenoch, and Lochaber. By the sixth division, there fell to Captain Nouance, the lands of Lorne and Kintyre, with the hills and mountains thereof, lying from Mar to the Irish Sea. By the seventh division, there fell to Atholus, the lands of Atholl; for he was descended of the Scots of Spain, and come out of Spain in Ireland, and out of Ireland he come with Fergus to Scotland; a valiant man, and well proven in feats of arms. By the eighth division, there fell to Creones and Epidithis, two captains of tribes, the lands of Strathbraun and Breadalbane, lying West from Dunkeld. By the ninth division, there fell to Captain Argathelus the lands of Argyll. His people were named Argathelis, from Gathelus, their first progenitor; but now they are called, Men of Argyll. By the tenth division, there fell to Captain Lolgonas, the lands of Lennox and Clydesdale. By the eleventh division, there fell to Captain Silurch, the lands of Siluria; which region is now divided into Kyle, Carrick, and Cunninghame, whose people were very clever and fierce. By the twelfth division, there fell to the Brigantes, the lands of Brigantia, now called Galloway.

These Brigantes were a valiant people; and were devised therefore to dwell near the Britons, to resist their incursions, if any occurred. Some of these Brigantes were banished afterwards for their rebelliousness; which allied them with a company of the Picts, outrageous and wicked scoundrels as they were, and inhabited the lands

which are now called Annandale, and put the Britons out of the same: whose posterity grew so full of fury, that they attacked their neighbours with all manner of cruelties. The women went with their husbands to battle, and fought more cruelly than did the men; having no mercy where they were victorious. They were ashamed to be taken in battle; and rejoiced to die fighting. When they saw their friends vexed with long and irrecoverable illnesses, they slew them by the sword, so that they should not die in their beds. This land of Annandale has a narrow entrance, and surrounded on every side either with seas, moorlands, or quicksands; because of this inaccessibility, the inhabitants thereof dwelt in caves, living on their incursions and theft; regarding neither the rule of the Scots, Picts, nor Britons; and kept continual guard, by night as well as by day. As soon as they were informed of any invaders, they quickly took their weapons; in this way, that any who abstained, or cowardly absented themselves, on such occasions, were afterwards slain by their wives at their returning. They that allowed themselves to be taken as prisoners, were held always slaves to their wives, until they, by some honourable service, recovered their honour. Their wives were held in common; the child was held to be a man's son, to whom he was most like in visage.

All other lands of Scotland were then in the Picts' hands; as the Mearns, Angus, Stormont, Gowrie, Strathearn, Perth, Fife, Stirling, Callender, Calderwod, Lothian, Merse, Teviotdale, with all the remaining Dales, and the Sherifffdom of Berwick.

Chap. Twelfth.

How King Fergus made concord between the Princes of Ireland; and how he perished, returning by the Irish Sea.

When Fergus had divided the lands of Scotland in this manner, and brought the same to certain peace, he decided to nourish his people in good manners: and, to do all things the better, he began at justice; without which no people may live together. He made such laws to punish theft and slaughter, so that all the cattle and goods of Scotland were safe in the fields without any trouble. After this, he built the castle of Beregonium in Lochaber. This castle stands in the West part of Scotland, opposite the Isles; where he exercised his laws, to that end, that his people might be drawn there the more easily, for exercise of justice. He passed the remaining of his days in tranquillity and peace with his neighbours, the Britons and Picts; giving his mind, to cause his people to increase together in benevolence and concord. Until, at last, he was chosen as arbitrator, to consider certain high debates falling among his friends of Ireland.

Soon after, the said Fergus, accompanied with certain of his nobles, went to Ireland, and pacified them of all disagreements. This was the last act he did; for, after the agreement, this noble prince, returning home through the Irish Sea, by a wicked tempest was driven upon a crag; where he perished, with all his nobles, the 25th year of his reign. In whose memory, the crag, where he perished, is named yet Carrick Fergus.

In his time reigned Esdail, King of Britons: and Cruthneus Cameloun, King of Picts; who built after, upon the Water of Carron, the city of Camelon, the principal mansion of the Picts; where once was a good harbour, to receive ships safe from the winter storms, though it be altered now, by negligence of the people, and turned in a meadow. This city of Camelon resisted, many years after, the Britons and the Romans; until, at last, Kenneth, King of Scots, who put the Picts out of Albion, brought it to complete submission. This Cruthneus built the town and castle of Edinburgh, named once the Maiden Castle; for all the noble women of the Picts were nurtured within this castle, in skilful labours of their hands, until they were ready to marry.

And so ends here the First book of their Chronicles: in which we have seen, how the Scots first began; and how Fergus was the first king that brought justice and laws among them. Now we will show the remainder of the kings succeeding after him, in the same order as they reigned.

BOOK II.

Here Begins the Second Book of the Chronicles of Scotland.

Chap. First.

How the Scots, after King Fergus' death, contended for the Crown; and how it was forbidden, that young Children should be Kings.

Fergus having perished in this manner, a day was set by the council to choose the king. When the day came, the nobles were divided in several opinions; for Fergus had two sons, of young and tender age. Some men thought, it was an odious thing, both to God and man, to defraud the heirs of King Fergus, they being minors, of their father's heritage; putting his house to such utter dishonour and injury; he doing, in his time, so many noble deeds, for their welfare. Others said, young children were unable for any public administration. For a king should be a prudent man; having wisdom and courage, both to resist the fury of his enemies, and to punish offenders by his authority and justice; otherwise, no people might live together: for the fame of a noble prince is a great security to his realm. To this answered Sembathis, captain of Argyll, as follows: "No one is among you, good friends, that is not moved, by many reasons, to defend the children of Fergus; since he, by incredible love, brought to us, in our extreme need, a strong army, by which he not only delivered us of most dangerous battle, but made of our enemies friends, and of this land a realm, and decorated us with honourable laws. Has he not defeated the powerful Britons, a people of great riches and warlike courage; and put them both out of the lands of the Scots and Picts; giving to us such institutions, that we may live, as each other's neighbours, without fear of enemies, if we have no dissension among ourselves? Who shall think us worthy to have kinship, if we defraud these children of his just heritage? What displeasure shall we do to our enemies, if we do such unsupportable shame to our prince? Let Fergus' ghost know us to be good men, lovers of virtue, and not unmindful of good deeds; with the same mind, as he left us, to his posterity. Receive, now, his eldest son to the crown, if you have any respect to your faith; if you had any favour to him during his life: otherwise, you shall be odious to the immortal Gods and men." The people were somewhat moved by these words. Then Frauchtaus, chieftain of the Brigantes, said this: "I see you, beloved friends, contending here, whether it be more expedient to have Fergus' young son, unable to reign for his minority, or another prudent man, to be king. I think Sembathis' opinion should be approved, if nothing but kinship should be considered in election of a prince. There is none among you that does not know, how odious and detestable it is to defraud King Fergus' sons of their natural heritage. No such cruelty, as I believe, is in our minds. We are not here to decide if Fergus' sons should immediately succeed, except to see how the crown may be kept intact until their age of maturity. What vengeance, injury, and damage, shall fall on us, and our welfare, if we, according to Sembathis' mind, suffer a child to be our king? First shall rise among us a burning occasion of hatred; for there are many among us equal to the others in power and wealth. Then the rule and governance of this realm, during this young king's minority, shall be given to one of us: and he that governs the realm during the king's minority shall be king for the time, and honoured among us, with authority, reverence, and every other honour that belongs to princely estate. Who is he that will not diligently contend for that honour? Suppose one of us obtain this office, this man shall be king for the time, and shall enrich his own house. And as often as any thing occurs to be done for the common benefit; as, ambassadors of great realms to be rewarded, or armies to be sent upon our foes; this man, that reigns during the king's minority, shall use our wealth only. We shall be constrained

to give him our substance. We must nourish an avaricious company of parasites about him, neither for the benefit of the king, nor his realm. It is a thing to have no approval. A man is pleasant so long as he is private, although he alter his manners when he is clothed with public authority; for good fortune and good manners are seldom granted at once to living creatures. Finally, when this young king is coming to age of 14 years, and takes on him the governance of the realm, he will be surrounded by suspicious people; and if he tries to repair all wrongs done to his lieges during his tender age, and do all such business as is required for the welfare of the people; although he can do nothing that time, for lack of wisdom. Then, when he has most need of wise counsellors, he shall suffer none to be with him but they only that will assist him in his vices. Then shall those corrupt scoundrels, his minions, be saluted as kings, and held in reverence among us, notwithstanding their insatiable avarice, without shame. Who shall have the courage or spirit to punish them for fear of this insolent prince? Further, to behold a young prince reigning above any realm, is in this way as one who would see the public welfare made worse. Then shall we have thieves and oppressors, taking our goods both in city and country without punishment; then, for lack of justice, shall be continual slaughtering, the realm divided, the people without control and governance, and may not live in faith and justice. Therefore said the wise Solomon, 'Vengeance and sorrow shall the people have, that has a young king.' For these reasons, I think the children of Fergus should be given to wise preceptors, to learn laws, good behaviour, and manners; that they may be able afterwards to govern the realm: and, for now, the governance of the realm to be given to Ferithais, their uncle, or to any other able man whom you think expedient, by whose authority the crown shall remain ready to be given to them at their mature age: and, as soon as the king dies, their children to succeed immediately to the crown, if they be able therefor; and, during the king's life, they shall be honoured as immediate successors to the crown after the king's death. By this way, you may keep the children of Fergus undefrauded of their natural heritage. If we desire to avoid the growth of sedition, with innumerable inconveniences following after; if we desire both to defend ourselves, and bring our people to profit; this election of princes should be observed; for it would conform to the intentions of Fergus, who, during his life, would never have sought any singular profit, in damage to the common welfare."

When Ferithais had ended this speech, the council assented wholly to his opinions, and, by plain consent of Parliament, made acts as follows. When it happened their king to die, leaving behind him young children got of his body, the nearest of the king's blood, and ablest to do justice, shall enjoy the crown for his time. After his death, the king's son shall succeed to the crown, without objection, if he were able thereto. It was declared by that same act, that no children be kings. This custom was kept many years after: through which arose big trouble in this realm; for often the father's brother, reigning in the minority of his nephew, made it his greatest business to destroy him; for ambition of the crown: through which occurred continual slaughtering of kings and nobles, to the great trouble of the realm, and damage to the commonwealth.

Chap. Second.
Of King Ferithais; and of his death.

By these acts described above, Ferithais, brother to King Fergus, was chosen king. This prince, after his election, made a speech to his nobles. The effect thereof was, That he would not receive the crown for riches, ambition, or dignity, except to support his nephews, until one of them was able to succeed; and, because he was left executor and guardian by their father, he would leave nothing undone that might advance the common welfare, either in war or peace, with no less affection to his nephews, than if they were his own sons. Then he exhorted the nobles, to make such support and favour to his said nephews, that not he, but they, should evidently govern the public well; having in perpetual remembrance, the honorable deeds done by their noble father, King Fergus. He desired grave and wise preceptors to be chosen for his said nephews; that they might increase as well in virtue and science, as in years, without any damage of enemies. And, finally, declared, he would accept no public authority, until these things were first arranged.

Such things done, Ferithais was crowned in the fateful chair of marble, and received the king's arms; in which was a sharp sword, with sceptre, crown, and tressure, <83> like a military trench, for defence of his realm in liberty, and punishment of transgressors by justice. From thence, these were always the noble arms of Scotland, without any variance, until the time of King Achaus, who made the first treaty of confederation, between us and France, with Charlemagne, King of France, and Roman Emperor: by which confederation there was added to the tressure, <83> four golden lilies, with four golden crosses, set in equal order about the tressure; to signify, the Scots have always inviolately kept the Christian faith, without any spot of heresy, since they first took the same.

Soon after, a convention was made between the two kings of the Scots and Picts; in which were several benefits devised for the wefare of the two realms. New peace was ratified; and punishment made on criminals and movers of sedition and trouble between the two realms; and redress made, on all sides, for observation of the peace in times coming. Such things done, the two kings returned home.

Soon after, Ferlegus, eldest son to King Fergus, by motion of his associates, and other corrupt men, who would not suffer justice, began to hate his uncle, Ferithais, intending to destroy him. At last, seeing his wicked purpose come to little effect, he gathered a company of evil disposed men, and desired the crown to be given to him, as just heir thereof. Ferithais fearing, to be cruelly attacked, if he rejected their desires,, answered, he would gladly give up the crown at the next convention, in the same manner as it was given to him: for he was never of purpose to bear authority longer than any of his brother's sons were able to succeed; and desired nothing so much, as to see one of them enjoy the rule, that he might show, after his death, to Fergus, the certain welfare which would result for his posterity. And, further, he desired his said nephew, to come with him to the convention; in which he should both give up all authority, and do every thing so far as pertained to the good of King Fergus' house.

This pleasing answer so calmed the mind of Ferlegus, that all hatred for that time being removed, they convened both together before the nobles in council, where King Ferithais said: "I trust it be not unknown to you, wise fathers, when it was discussed among you, in what way this realm might be governed in the minority of

Fergus' sons, you gave me the crown, though I was unworthy, not only to govern it by justice, but that the same should remain intact, until the sons of Fergus were able to reign. What labour, what incredible danger, have I sustained, both for your welfare and happiness of this realm, now rising in honours! And, since nothing is more patent to you than such business, I will omit the rest of it, so that you may have no occasion to deem me arrogant, or desirous of pretended glory. I would be very inhuman, since I have no heirs of my body, if I would defraud my brother's sons of their natural heritage, or transfer the same to any foreign blood. Ferlegus, my cousin, and just heir to the crown, claims the same from me with good reason; for he is young, lusty, of high abilities, of strong and lusty body to sustain great charges, and shall be every day more able to govern this realm: by contrast I am enfeebled by great age, and desire to be relieved of heavy duties. I beseech you, therefore, that the public administration, which I received by your authority, be given to my cousin, since he is able, and I unsuitable therefore. Nothing may be so pleasing for me, as to have a private life in times coming, without any public duties, and relinquish the authority, with more gladness than ever it was given to me."

The council, knowing well what irremediable damage would happen to their realm, if this young and insolent prince Ferlegus were made king, continued Ferithais in his rule, and required him to sustain the governance of the realm, as he did before, without any fear of his age; since realms are governed more by wisdom of aged persons, than any bodily strength. The nobles would not abrogate the laws made before against the rule of young children; and took great indignation, that Ferlegus desired such things as were repugnant to the public welfare. And though they received him in their council with reverence and honours, yet they severed him from the people; reproving him why he ignored the council of the wise nobles, his keepers, and desired the crown without their advice; to make it known, that he should obey the counsel of his wise lords. Ferlegus, thwarted in this way from his purpose, made to depart from the council with a scowl on his face. The nobles, dreading several misfortunes to follow by his departing, brought him back again by force, and cast all his corrupt counsellors in prison: among whom was one, that described to the king in what manner his death was devised; trusting, by revelation thereof, to get his life saved. The people, hearing this treason, were so moved, that they would have slain Ferlegus, had not the king pacified their anger in time. And, though the king was informed of this treason devised for his slaughter, yet, to show himself a more compassionate than rigorous prince, he cast his mind to calm the fury of the people, and to keep his nephew from harm. Ferlegus was given in new keeping of the nobles; but his servitors were punished by death.

Ferithais, as soon as this convention was done, rode through his realm for equal administration of justice; until at last he was slain at night, by his nephew Ferlegus, three months after the first conspiracy, in the 15th year of his reign.

Chap. Third.
***How Ferlegus was banished for the slaughter of King
Ferithais; and of King Maynus.***

Ferithais having been slain, as we have said, Ferlegus, the murderer, and all the others that were guilty of the said crime, fled among the Picts; and finding there no security for his life, he fled to Britain, where he consumed the remainder of his days in great misery.

The nobles, after the murder of Ferithais, convened in the castle of Dunstaffnage, in Argyll, for election of the king. On which day, the council, moved by his kinship to King Fergus, choose Maynus, his youngest son, the 24 year of his age, to be king.

Maynus was a noble prince, very different from his brother, holding all vicious men in great hatred. He exercised justice equally in his realm; and gave commission to his lieges to convene, and discuss all disagreements among themselves. The difficult matters, when they occurred, were considered by himself, once in the year; when he went through his realm, holding his court of justice, for redressing of wrongs, and punishment of offenders.

The same time, Crynus, King of Picts, sent ambassadors to King Maynus, rejoicing in his felicity, and desiring the treaty of peace, made before between Scots and Picts, to be renewed. King Maynus, well instructed by his nobles what was to be done, received their ambassadors, and condescended to their petition. The peace ratified in this manner, the Scots began to flourish in certain peace. King Maynus knowing well, no people may increase without justice, peace, and religion; and seeing realms, and every thing in earth, so subjected to the power of the Gods, that no scheme nor talent of man may avail unless the Gods stand propitious thereto, whose benevolence is a certain guard and protection to all people; therefore, to move his lieges to religion, he added certain new ceremonies, to be made in the honour of the Gods within their temples. And, first, he ordained a huge stone to be raised, on the South side of the said temples, on which their sacrifice was made. In memory whereof, there remain yet in our days many huge stones, drawn together in the form of circles, named by the people, the ancient temples of the Gods. It is no small wonder, by what talent and strength such huge stones have been brought together.

The sacrifice used in those days, was a portion of crops, cattle, or any other fruits that grew upon the ground, which was given to priests for their sustenance; and offered to the Gods, when the same was superfluous, or more than was sufficient sustenance to the priests. King Maynus founded as a sacrifice, to be made monthly, in the honour of Diana, the Goddess of woods and hunters; and, therefore, the people made their adoration to the new moon. Which superstition was long used among our ancient fathers, with many other vain ceremonies, after the rite of Egyptians.

When Maynus had governed his people in good justice, and instituted these and other superstitions pleasing to the religion of those days, he resigned the crown to his son Dorvidilla, and deceased, the 29th year of his reign: King Elgane reigning above the Britons, and King Thaar above the Picts.

Chap. Fourth.
Of King Dorvidilla; and of his constitutions, manners, and death.

Maynus haveoiiing died, as we have said, his son Dorvidilla was made king. After his coronation, he renewed peace with his neighbours the Picts and Britons; and showed himself a nurser of tranquillity, detesting nothing more than such business as gave occasion to battle; and delighted in every thing that might draw his people in peace. He took great delight in hunting, scent-hounds, and sight-hounds; and made laws, that young greyhounds should not mate with their mothers, for he found, by experience, hounds begotten in that manner unprofitable for hunting. He ordained, that each noble should keep two scent-hounds and one sight-hound for his hunting; and, when the hounds were injured by mischance in hunting, to be sustained on the common purse. He ordained, the slayer of a wolf to have an ox for his reward. Our elders pursued this beast with great hatred, for the great killing of beasts done by the same.

The Scots having no occasion of civil nor of foreign wars, set their talent to excel all other people in the craft of hunting, and made many laws concerning the same. The first commanded, that whose dog first bit the deer, should have the hide thereof; whose dog bit next, should have the head and the horns: the body cured to be at the pleasure of the master of the hunt; the remainder to be for the hounds. If any contention arose among the hunters, to choose a judge, with the agreement of all of them, in the temple of Diana, to bring them to agreement. These laws were made by general consent of the people, to nourish them in common pleasure, drawing from them all occasion of injuries and hatred. Which laws were kept many years after.

Their constitutions, and others devised before by King Fergus, were collected together in tablets, and given in keeping into the wisest and most profound clerk for the time, to show both to the judge, and to the persons who were to be accused, the punishment appropriate to their faults; that the people might understand, the judge exceeded not his authority in the punishment of crimes: Also, the council would condemn no criminals in those days, until the laws were first stated, according to the act committed. Through which it came in use, that all convicted persons, seeing themselves, by just sentence, condemned to death, took the same patiently: if any punishment was made on them above the laws, they murmured, as oppressed by the judges. This manner of justice remains yet among the Isles of Scotland, and may in no way be abrogated; for there are certain interpreters of the laws, without whom they can give no righteous judgement.

When Dorvidilla had reigned 28 years, he died at Beregonium; and left behind him a young child, named Rewthar, who might not succeed, because of the laws made before against young children.

Chap. Fifth
Of the tyrant King Nathak; and of his murder.

After the death of Dorvidilla, his brother Nathak, a fair and lusty person, and able, as appeared, for public administration, was made king. This prince reigned scarcely two years, when he oppressed his people with such servitude, that he was held for a wicked tyrant. He suffered no laws to be exercised; he despoiled the people of their riches and goods; and pursued his nobles with slaughtering and banishing. These doings made him odious to his lieges, and made his rule very uncertain; and, though he often was counselled by his friends to abstain from such enormities, he desisted not, but grew always the more in vice as he increased in years, like a bloody monster, without shame and mercy. Yet his cruel and sinful deeds were not long unpunished: for Dowall, captain of the Brigantes, whom he thought before to have slain for his over-great strength, by assistance of many other nobles, conspired against him. And, to bring his purpose the sooner to effect, he made Rewthar, the son of King Dorvidilla, to be their governor; to that intention, that if their high attempts succeeded not with such felicity as he desired, the bame thereof should only fall upon to Rewthar.

Dowall, to find occasion that he might bring his purpose to effect, brought this young Rewthar, with a company of armed men, to the place where King Nathak was; and, when he saw that things were, as he had hoped, suitable for argument, he gave displeasing words to King Nathak, saying, he was a false tyrant without shame, and not only usurped Rewthar of the crown, but reigned with most cruel and odious tyranny above the people; and, with his deceits and treason, had slain a great part of all the nobles. Nathak answered again, in his insane fury, that he was king by order of justice; and should, therefore, reign in times coming, contrary the mind of Dowall and all others of his opinion, in such manner; that the said Dowall should never find him more favorable nor gracious than he was before; and declared, within a few days, he would punish him, and all others of his opinion, in the harshest way that might be devised, for their attempts.

Dowall, moved by these scornful words, rushed forward with his accomplices, and slew King Nathak, with all the nobles that were of his mind, the second year of his reign.

Chap. Sixth.

How Rewthar, a young Child, was made King, contrary to the laws. How Ferquhard, Captain of Lorne, was driven by Dowall to the Isles; and of his speech made to the People there.

After Nathak, the tyrant, was slain, Dowall made a convention; and, with the assistance of several nobles who supported him, he crowned Rewthar in the chair of marble. Many of the nobles were not content with these doings; having great indignation, that both their king was slain, and the laws concerning the election of their prince abrogated, by his private authority; and a young child made king, against those honourable laws lately made for their welfare. These nobles, that were of this mind, made a private convention together; and among them was Ferquhard, captain of Kintyre and Lorne, relation by marriage of King Nathak; a man of subtle talent, and having a great ambition for the crown.

This Ferquhard, believing the time suitable to seize the crown, with dishonourable mind, as if he were acting for the public welfare, complained of both the slaughter of Nathak by the cruel Dowall, and a child made king, to the damage of the people and welfare; and exhorted, therefore, the council to provide a prompt remedy to resist the tyranny of Dowall, who intended to usurp the crown in name of Rewther; and, if the same were not done, such sedition and disagreement would soon rise among the chieftains of their realm, that the same would lead to civil strife.

Scarcely were these words said, when Dowall entered, with a band of men, and slew several nobles in the council; but Ferquhard, badly wounded, escaped with a certain of his friends, and fled to the Isles; where he convened all the clans and people thereof to a council, and said this: "Had we observed the laws concerning the election of our kings, most valiant people, it had not been necessary for me to make this speech today; for we might have lived in good tranquillity and peace under the empire of Nathak, our wise and valiant prince, now lately slain by Dowall, the cruel tyrant. Also, to aggravate this unbearable cruelty by greater damage to our welfare, he has not only slain our king, but placed a young child in his place, in plain derogation of our laws; intending thereby, to bring both us and our welfare to utter ruin. I find nothing, most forceful champions, that may disgrace us more, than to lurk here shamefully like degenerate people, hiding from the wrath of our enemies, and regarding neither our honour nor profit; since there is no other way so likely to strengthen our enemies, and to enfeeble ourselves. This most cruel tyrant has not only slain the nobles of this realm, but slain the priests and religious men; and, that no hope should remain in us to withstand his cruelty, he has treacherously put down all the valiant men that favored us in Albion. He holds all the aged men, that might have helped us by their wise counsel, in such captivity, that they are no better than dead. And, so that he may oppress us more strongly, he has married Rewther, a young child, whom he names king, on the daughter of Gethus, King of Picts. This unmerciful tyrant has devised, as we are surely informed, as soon as he has vanquished us, to cut off our ears, and put out our eyes, that we may then remain alive, to our shame and perpetual derision. Yet, if you will concur with courage and wisdom to my opinion, trust firmly, you shall not only avoid such cruelties, by favour of the Gods, but punish him appropriately to his crimes; and believe firmly, that all things shall succeed to us with high happiness, if we, with no less courage than wisdom, defend our right, our liberty, and our faith: for we often see often valiant and great princes expelled from

their honour and imperial dignities, when they approved of treason and falsehood. Wherefore, if we be men, and worthy to be called the posterity of our noble ancestors, who never refused to fight in most dangerous battles in their just defence, let us defend our right, our laws, wives, and children, against this most odious tyrant; and rather risk the extreme chance of battle, than to live in perpetual shame. But doubt not, the Gods shall be propitious to us in our just cause; on the contrary, they shall be repugnant to our enemies for their tyranny. Let us either die with honour, or else have victory with triumphant glory, and revenge the murder of the king and his nobles, recently made by this tyrant."

Chap. Seventh.

How Ferquhard and Dowall, encountering each other in open battle, were both slain, with all the Nobility of the Scots and Picts; the King of Picts slain, and the King of Scots taken.

The captains of the tribes, and people thereof, moved to great hatred by these words, turned all fear of death into most raging fury; and bathed their hands with man's blood, as the rite was in those days; and made their oaths, to revenge the slaughter of Nathak, and his nobles, in the sharpest manner that might be devised. And, without more delay, they gathered an army out of Ireland, Argyll, Lorne, Kintyre, and other parts adjacent; and soon landed, with many galleys and longboats, in Albion. Ferquhard, returning this way, drew many of the people where he came, to his opinion; and took their oaths, either to revenge the slaughter of King Nathak, or else to die all at once.

Dowall, knowing of his coming, met him, with an army, at Beregonium; where it was cruelly fought on all sides: but, at last, Dowall was defeated, and seven thousand men of his army slain; and yet more slaughter had been made, had not the night severed them. On the following day, Dowall, with furious hatred, collected the remainder of his army in a new array, having with him Gethus, King of Picts, and Rewthar, King of Scots, with many of the nobles of both their realms. In the opposing army, was Ferquhard, with the inhabitants of Caithness, Argyll, Moray, and many others of the Isles. Their two armies met finally together in more fury than before, and fought near to the utter extermination of them both.

In this dreadful battle Gethus, King of Picts, was slain, with incredible number both of nobles and commoners; and both the chieftains Dowall and Ferquhard slain, with all the nobility of the Scots. This lamentable and dreadful battle was fought with such perseverant hatred, that there only remained 8 hundred men unslain on both the sides. The remainder of Ferquhard's army, to whom this unpleasing victory succeeded, seeing the field abandoned after such huge slaughter, followed on the chase, with continual slaughter, until they come to the castle of Callender. There, King Rewther was taken.

Through this dreadful battle was made such terrible slaughter, that, many years after, neither Scots nor Picts was left alive, sufficient to inhabit this realm, nor yet to withstand their enemies.

Chap. Eighth.
How the Scots and Picts were beaten out of Albion by the Britons.

The Britons, who were always our enemies, hearing this lamentable destruction of the Scots and Picts, which came on them by imprudent civil wars, trusted the time suitable to make themselves enjoy the whole empire of Albion; and, therefore, raised their army in most warlike array, and attacked several lands of the Picts both with sword and fire. The Picts, broken with the wars described above, and despairing of support, gathered all their cattle and goods, with their wives, children, and friends, and came, by many wearisome and difficult ways, to Orkney; and, after their coming, choose Gethus, brother to King Gethus before deceased, to be their king, and dwelt several years afterwards in the said region in good peace and friendship with the people thereof: therefore, Orkney was always named the old realm of the Picts.

The Britons, hearing the Picts departed in this way, came into Pentland, Merse, and Teviotdale, and replenished all the places thereof with their goods and people; and, not long after, they come into the Scots' lands. The Scots, very afraid of their coming, and seeing no other remedy, drew them to their harness and weapons, and met them in battle array at Calder Wood. Nonetheless, the Scots were defeated, and two thousand of them slain; the remainder fled here and there to different parts. The fame of this dreadful battle made the people no less despairing, when all the noble blood of Fergus had been ended that day in Albion.

The Britons, proud and insolent by their good fortune, hearing, from their scouts, that some of the Scots, who escaped from this last battle, were fled to Beregonium, for defence of King Rewther; (for he was in the said castle, with a few nobles;) and the remainder of the Scots, with their wives and children, fled to the Isles; gathered an army, by the orders of Denus, their king, and laid siege to the said castle. Nonetheless, the Scots defended it for a long time; until at last they were driven to such hardship, because their victuals failed, that they cast lots, who should be first eaten, to sustain the lives of them that were within the house. And, because they saw the most valiant champions fall to be devoured in this miserable way, they devised, the same night, to go out on their enemies, and rather to revenge some displeasure on them, than miserably to die in that sort. And, that the king might go out more easily with his nobles, they devised, that Colane, chieftain of Lorne, should go out with a hundred men to the next mountain. And as it was devised, so followed; for Colane going forth in this way, and fighting to the utter extermination of his foes, was finally slain, with all his people: and in the meantime, when he was most earnestly fighting, King Rewther went out at a secret postern with his nobles, and went quickly to the sea, where ships were ready waiting for his coming. Rewther, escaping in this manner, arrived in the Isles; and, finding there no security for his life, he went to Ireland. The wives of the tribe of Lorne, seeing all their husbands slain before their eyes, slew themselves, so they should not remain in servitude to their enemies.

The Britons knowing finally, how Rewther and his nobles had escaped, were so angered, that they slew the remainder of the Scots in all parts where they were apprehended; and occupied all the strongholds of the Scots with their garrisons. The remainder of the Scots, saved by fleeing, and seeing themselves not strong enough to resist the Britons, fled to the mountains; and lived their miserable lives, by the

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infertility of the ground, with scarce and hard food; living, in the summer, on milk, roots of herbs, and berries; and, in the winter, on wild flesh of the mountains: and sometimes they drove great herds of cattle, stolen by darkness of night, from the Britons, to sustain their lives. Thus stood the Scots and Picts, that stayed in Albion, near twelve years, in servitude to the Britons.

Chap Ninth.

How the Scots and Picts recovered their Lands, and defeated Sysyll, King of Britons; and of the rest of King Rewther's life.

While such things were done in Albion, King Rewther had by his wife, in Ireland, a son, named Thereus. And, not long after, at the request of Gethus, King of Picts, he returned to Albion, and landed at Loch Broom in Ross. As soon as the Scots were returned in this way to Albion, they slew, by the old custom, the first man they met, and bathed their mouth and swords in his blood; then prayed to the Gods to grant them such happiness, that they might suitably revenge the slaughter of their ancestors. Immediately, they went forward towards the South: and, in the meantime, they were informed, that Gethus, King of Picts, was coming within 30 miles of them, with a great army, that was sent to them by their friends out of Albion, to help them to recover their lands. The third day after, both the armies met together with great triumph; and passing forward to the South, they met all the Scots and Picts, who were held the year before under servitude.

Sysyll, King of Britons, hearing this news, gathered quickly an army to confront his enemies. Immediately, the allied people, without any view to overcome any strongholds or take any plunder, entered Britain with an awesome army and attacked it with great injury and cruelties. King Sysyll, to revenge these cruelties, attacked the Scots and Picts with immediate battle. Nonetheless, his army was finally defeated.

The high and sovereign courage of King Rewther was the principal occasion of this glorious victory; and in memory thereof, the country where the battle was fought is called yet to our days, Rethirdale, that is to say, the Vale of Rewther. This battle was so cruelly fought, that both the armies were constrained to make peace under these conditions: The Britons shall surrender all the strongholds, lands, and towns, pertaining to the Scots and Picts; and shall not attack them, in times coming.

The Scots, Picts, and Britons, lived many years after in good tranquillity and peace. The year that King Rewther recovered his realm, was, from the beginning of the world, 4995 years; before the Incarnation, 204 years; from the beginning of Rome, 546 years. King Rewther lived, the rest of his days, without any foreign wars or sedition of his lieges; and died, the 26 year of his reign.

Chap. Tenth.

Of King Rewtha and his laws and governance. How Ptolemy, King of Egypt, sent his Ambassadors, to see the situation of Scotland.

After Rewther died, his son Thereus was of such tender age, that he might not succeed to the crown, by reason of the laws described above; and, therefore, his kinsman Rewtha was made king, for they were brother's children. This Rewtha was the first king among the Scots that put noblemen, for their valiant deeds, in memory, and made rich tombs for the bodies of them that were slain by Britons in defence of this realm. He commanded as many high stones to be set about the tomb of every nobleman, as the number of Britons he slew. In memory whereof, several of them remain yet in the highlands; that the people may know, such men were valiant in their days: through which it came in use, that the tombs of noblemen was held in great reverence among the people. On their tombs was carved images of dragons, wolves, and other beasts; for writing had not been invented in those days, to memorialise the deeds of noblemen.

The common people were given, that time, to keeping livestock, and tilling their land, without any other industry. Thus all ingenious crafts were lacking in this country; and, therefore, King Rewtha brought all manner of craftsmen out of other countries, and distributed them in different parts of his realm, with fees and duties; partly to be taken on the common purse, and partly as they might win by their labours. The head of every ox that was slain, was given to the smith of that shire; the neck, to the forester of the wood; the tongue, to the man of law; half a set of ribs, to the searchers of thieves; as big, to the wright; two ribs of the set, to the physician; as big, to the surgeon: and, besides this, were given to them certain measures of oats and barley, because there was no money in those days. Through the dividing of the ox in this way, arose the annual rents in this land.

After King Rewtha had replenished his realm in this manner with craftsmen, he was informed, that great damage fell often to his people, by the ignorance of evil physicians; and, therefore, he forbade, under pain of death, that any man exercise the art of medicine, without they were found very expert, with long experience thereof. Before this time, no physicians were used in this country; for all persons, that were troubled with infirmities, were brought to the market, or to any other common place, where the people might see them, to give them advice to use such remedies, as they used when they recovered from these maladies. It was a thing very odious in those days, not to care for the patient with comfort and consolation.

About this time come certain ambassadors from King Ptolemy of Egypt, to explore the manners and situation of every people and region. These learned men were welcomed be the king; for they were descended of the Egyptians, his forebears. The king had them taken through both the realms of the Scots and Picts, according to their desires. These learned men wrote in their books the situation of hills, firths, isles, towns, lochs, and castles, within this region; with the length of days and nights, both in winter and summer; as they were commanded by King Ptolemy: who gave his talent to describe the situation of the earth, in every region and isle where any men used to have passage; with description of the mountains, firths, and cities of the same, by divers instruments of astronomy: by whose diligence and labour remains now a very skilful and profitable work, named, *The Cosmography of Ptolemy*, very expert in

mathematics. This ingenious work was completed in the time of Hadrian, the Emperor.

When these learned men had seen and carefully considered this region, they perceived the same rites, the same manner of writings, the same tongue, and the same habit and ceremonies, as were used among the Egyptians; and, for that cause, their learned men were the more pleasantly despatched from this realm.

King Rewtha governed his realm 14 years after, in great justice, without any foreign or civil wars: until at last he began to distrust his long happiness; and, therefore, to prevent all calamity, if any were approaching by mischance of fortune, he resigned the crown to Thereus, son to King Rewther, the 17th year of his reign.

Chap. Eleventh.
Of King Thereus, and how he was exiled for his tyranny. How Conan, Chieftain of the Brigantes was made Governor during his proscription.

Thereus having received the crown in this manner, appeared, for the first six months of his reign, to be a virtuous prince. But soon after, he became a vicious tyrant; involved so with lust, that he had no regard to reason, honour, or justice; and was named among the people, the scorner of religion.

The people, in imitation of this insolent prince, increased every day more and more in corrupt manners; through which followed continual slaughter of noblemen, with robbery and raids in all parts. The strongest thieves, and greatest oppressors, were held in most veneration and honours. The commoners were so despairing for the irrecoverable harms done to them, that they believed it impossible that any tyrant more vicious could reign above them. The captains of the tribes, moved by these insufferable offences, thought it unworthy that any noblemen should be misguided by such a corrupt monster; and, therefore, made a quiet convention among themselves; in which they concluded, both to degrade him of his crown and kingdom. Thereus, when he heard of this conspiracy of his nobles against him, was so daunted, that he fled to Britain. At last, when he had sought for a long time the support of the Britons to restore him to his realm, frustrated thereof, he consumed the remainder of his days in misery at York, the 12th year of his reign.

When Thereus was exiled in this manner, the nobles of Scotland, so that their welfare should incur no damage for lacking of a king, choose Conan, captain of the Brigantes, to be governor. This Conan, after he was made governor, took great labours to calm all dissensions that had arisen before among the nobles by the neglect of Thereus. He punished thieves, robbers, and other criminals, with such severity and justice, that cattle and goods could lie outside without any danger of loss. Until at last King Thereus died in Britain, by whose death his authority expired.

Chap. Twelfth.
***Of King Josyne; and of the experience and preaching of two
Philosophers.***

As soon as the nobles were informed of the death of Thereus, they made a convention at Beregonium; in which, Josyne, brother to Thereus, was made king. This Josyne renewed the peace with his neighbours, the Picts and Britons, and held surgeons and physicians in great reverence; for he was reared, in the time of his youth, with such persons in Ireland. He was a good physician, and had good experience of herbs. Our forebears used no other medicine, in curing their wounds or infirmities, but herbs; and, in those days, there were not so many divers kinds of maladies as now are seen. Few infirmities were seen that time, but stones, catarrhs, and similar maladies, coming through distemperance of cold and wet humours. The people lived with such abstemious and natural food, that they had not only long days, but were preserved from all manner of maladies. Nonetheless, when the abstinence of our forebears was set aside, then foreign and delicious dishes began to multiply so among us, so that, with foreign and strange meats, came foreign and strange infirmities. And, because the ointments and drugs that our forebears used could not cure the new maladies, the people were forced, through unsupportable dolour increasing by the same, to seek remedy from new talent and craft. And, since our time is now so poisoned with foreign and superfluous meats and drinks, we thought it something necessary to describe the temperance of our forebears in their living, with such maladies and remedies as were used in their days; of which shall be said more largely after, when time occurs more expedient.

In the time of King Josyne, were brought to his presence at Beregonium, two venerable clerics, of pleasant visage, but they were almost naked. It is written, that they were priests of Spain; and, passing out of Portugal to Athens, by unmerciful tempest of the seas were shipwrecked at Ross; their ship, and remaining people that were with them, perished, and they only saved: and, because they were philosophers, and men of great experience, they were well treated. At last, when they were 14 days refreshed after their journey and trouble of sea, they were brought again to the king's presence. The king demanded them to show, what they understood of the nature of the ground of Scotland, and of the manners and religion of the people thereof. Their philosophers answered, they could not answer fully to these questions; because they had only a short time to have experience thereof, and as they were partly enfeebled in their perceptions, by the calamity lately falling to them by storm of the seas. Nonetheless, so far as they might conjecture, there were more riches and profit to be got within the veins of the earth of Scotland, than above; for it was more suitable to winning of mines and metals, than any production of crops. They knew this, said their philosophers, by the influence of the heavens. As to the manners and religion of the people, they declared, their religion was not to be commended; for they adored pictures of brutal beasts, in form of living Gods, as the Egyptians used: which should not be; for God was that thing only, that contained lands, seas, and every creature; whose perfect and truthful image cannot be painted nor devised by talent of man. It was necessary, therefore, that the people should leave their idolatries; and adore only the living God, mover of the heavens, with sacrifice and prayer in their temples only, without any images; and, finally, to live in hope of reward, if they lived with clean life and justice: otherwise, nothing was devised for them but sorrow and torment.

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These philosophers preaching in this manner, induced the people to leave their idolatries; making their sacrifice and prayer only to the mover of heaven, the eternal God. Thus were the people brought to that way, that the sacrifice that was wont to be given to Isis and Apis, the Gods of Egypt, was abrogated. Through which the Scots were many years after so religious, that they made adoration only to God, the mover of the heavens: yet others were so fixed in their own errors, that they could not abandon their old superstitions; and believed firmly, that the sun, moon, and the other stars and lanterns of the heaven, were truly the Gods: for they were so obstinate and blinded in the old error of the pagans, that when they saw nothing in earth more bright nor marvellous than the sun, moon, and other lights of the heavens, they believed some divinity therein, and adored them as the Gods.

King Josyne was a virtuous prince, and deceased at Beregonium, the 24th year of his reign.

This history, so far as it is now drawn, is collected out of Veremond, John Campbell, and Cornelius Ireland; whom we have determined to follow, as most authentic authors, to the end of this our work.

Chap. Thirteenth
***Of King Fynnane and his Laws; and of the College of Clerks
in the Isle of Man.***

After the death of Josyne, his son Fynnane, a wise and virtuous prince, was made king. He was so great a lover of justice, that he richly rewarded all the captains of the tribes, where he found them lovers of the common welfare. He gave his whole attention to win the hearts of his people, and made no exercise nor administration of justice without advice of his nobles. He increased the number of his council with more senators than before, to make them the more notable. He made a law, that the king should do nothing, concerning the public administration of his realm, but with the advice of his nobles. He made another law, that the king shall neither declare war, nor make peace, without the advice of the captains of the tribes. By these, and similar constitutions, King Fynna obtained great favour and benevolence of his people. By this manner of governance, he made himself so strong among his lieges, that he was never attacked after with any foreign wars, and grew in great abundance of riches. Finally, he set his mind to repair the religion of the Gods, for it was decayed in his father's time. First, he commanded the pictures of the Gods to be restored to their temples, that the people might have the same in adoration as before: and yet he would not prevent the people from adoring the living God, mover of heaven; for that was instituted before by the philosophers. He suffered his people to adore what God they pleased. He was the first king that instituted prelates and clerics to be in this realm: and, that these clerics should remain together, he gave them the Isle of Man, lying between Ireland and Britain, opposite Brigantia, where their principal seat was ordained to be.

These clerics convened, once each year, at the command of their great master and bishop; especially when any high and serious matters occurred, concerning the defence of their religion or common welfare. These priests were named Druids; and were instituted in this isle, by advice of the king and his nobles, to make sacrifice in the honour of the Gods, and to instruct the sons of noblemen in virtue and science, in the same way as they were taught at Athens. It was commanded, that one of them, as bishop and master, should have jurisdiction above the rest; before whom was borne a torch of fire, as a sign of his honour and divinity: after whose death, another, most approaching to virtue and cunning, was chosen to succeed in his place. These clerics, through their continual exertion, increased soon after very expert in moral and natural philosophy; and were held by the people most just and holy creatures. They made laws, to consider the questions both of public and private actions; and devised not only punishment for all manner of crimes, but ordained appropriate rewards to be given for all good deeds. They excommunicated them that despised their authority. This punishment was ever odious among our forebears; for the excommunicated people were, in those days, cast out from all good company, and could not participate in the reward of honours or dignities, but numbered among the company of infamous and wicked misdoers. These priests were exempted from all charges of war, and any other exactions. Many authors wwrite of these priests; affirming, their order and religion first found in Britain: for they call the whole Isle of Albion under one name, Britain.

Fynnane was a virtuous prince, and no less honoured for his civil than religious manners; by which he adorned his realm. He married his son Durstus to Agasia, daughter to the King of Britons; and obtained, by the same, no small glory

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and benevolence among the Britons. At last, he went to give consolation to the King of Picts, who was lying that time in vehement fever at Camelon, where he died, the 30 year of his reign. His body was brought to Beregonium, and buried among the tombs of his ancestors.

Chap. Fourteenth.
Of King Durstus; and how he was slain for his cruel tyranny.

When Fynnane had died in this way, his son Durstus was made king. This Durstus, by insolent youth, was given to drunkenness and unbridled lust; and so different from his father's governance, that he hated all them that his father loved. He broke the order of law that was instituted before by his ancestors, for the administration of justice. He used no counsel in great matters, except of them that favored his vicious manners, and could find new kinds of lusts for him. He was so wicked a tyrant, that all the noblemen that his father had on his privy council, were by him either slain or banished; or else, by false accusations, made to forfeit their lands and goods. And, finally, he was brought to such cruelty, that not he only slew those who were odious to him, but also slew all those where he expected to get any riches or goods by their death. He repudiated his noble Queen Agasia, the King of Britons' daughter; and had his vicious associates rape her.

While this wretched tyrant was involved with these and similar abominable deeds, the captains of the Isles, Lorne, Argyll, and Ross, in meetings among themselves, made a conspiracy against him. These captains so much hated the rage of tyranny, that they would no longer abide his rule; and so that they should not appear as breakers of the faith that should be kept to their natural prince, they declared themselves, by open proclamation, not assembled to attack the king, except to punish his vicious and wretched counsellors, by whom the realm was brought to such enormities, that, unless remedy were quickly provided, the same would come to utter ruin.

While these captains were preparing their arms in this manner, the commoners, very desirous to destroy this tyrant, arose quickly on either hand to assist their captains. Yet part of the commoners would not agree with their captains, believing them not assembled for any public good, but only to usurp the crown.

Durstus, no little afraid of their assembling, for he knew himself guilty, made to flee; and, seeing no place safe enough to keep him, he sent to the Britons, desiring his Queen Agasia to be sent to him, with a force of armed men, to resist certain of his nobles, who had conspired against him. At last, seeing no support appearing, he began to turn his treacherous mind to falsehood and deceits, and decided to slay these conspirators by some secret treachery; believing in that way only to avoid the danger appearing. Immediately, he sent ambassadors to these captains, and feigned himself so penitent, that he would redress all offences and injuries done by him to the common welfare; and promised, not only to govern the realm in times coming by their advice, but to punish his wicked counsellors, who were the occasion of all damage done by him. It was an odious thing, for a king to fight against his subjects; especially when they are not intending to degrade him of his crown, except to reduce him to better estate. And, for the observation thereof, he would bind himself, in the temple of Diana, under whatever obligations they pleased; and, if that might not be sufficient, he would come to them without any assurance, and submit himself to undergo whatever correction they pleased. And, so that his words might have the more credit, he cast certain of his servitors in prison, as if he were to punish them with death for their assistance to his vices. Others, of small estimation, he arrayed in precious clothing, and sent them to the said captains to be punished at their pleasure.

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The captains giving credence to his words, quickly sent Doron, captain of the tribe of Lorne, to take his oaths after his promise. Thus was Durstus brought into the temple of Diana, and swore before the priest thereof with all oaths that could be devised, to receive their captains to most dear friendship, removing all rancour from his mind, for any manner of crime that might be imputed to them; and not only to hold them as his faithful and dear friends, but to govern the realm in times coming by their advice.

As soon as these captains, in their vain confidence, came to him, he received them so pleasantly, that both his words, visage, and countenance, appeared without any deceit. Thus was general concord and blitheness made on either side. King Durstus, rejoicing in this agreement, called their captains to a banquet, within his castle of Beregonium. As soon as they had entered, this unmerciful tyrant went to a tower of the castle; and, immediately, certain armed men rushed forth from the chambers where they were hidden, and slew the captains, and all their supporters that had entered the castle. The wives and matrons, that followed their husbands to this terrible banquet, seriously hurt and wounded in defence of their said husbands, went out from Beregonium with sorrowful outcries, crying vengeance on this cursed tyrant, for the violation of his faith and promise.

This treachery and falsehood of Durstus was not long unpunished: for all the remaining friends of those captains assembled an army, both of men, and women able to bear weapons, so quickly, that they laid a siege about the castle of Beregonium, before Durstus was informed thereof. Certain of them went immediately to the walls, and said, they should soon find out, whether he was more skilful in treason or fighting. Durstus, despairing of help, came out of the castle, in his insane fury, with a company of evil-arrayed people; and was soon despoiled both of his life and crown, the ninth year of his reign. And, although he was a vicious tyrant, he was buried in a kingly sepulchre, among his forebears.

Chap. Fifteenth.

Of great contention among the Captains. Of the speech made by Charon, Captain of Argyll; and how Ewin, the first of that name, was made King.

Aftet Durstus was slain in this manner, his sons fled to Ireland. Soon after, a convention was made to choose the king. The nobles being all of a mind, concluded to suffer none of Durstus' blood to reign above them, in case some of them should revenge his slaughter; and, therefore, they took long consultation, of what lineage and blood the king should be chosen. Some desired Ragaon, chieftain of the Isles, for he conspired first against Durstus; yet, because he favoured evildoers, he was rejected. Others desired Cormanus, captain of Lorne. Thus were the tribes divided in different opinions.

After long contention, Charon, captain of Argyll, said: "You may have perfect experience, wise fathers, by the civil wars of Dowall and Ferquhard, and now more recently by the empire of wicked Durstus, how dangerous and unthankful is to all people to have a cruel tyrant reigning above them; for by these same wars, this noble realm, which has been debated so many years with great courage, wisdom, and courage, was near brought to final destruction; for by the same wars, our nobles were slain, and our commoners brought to such vile servitude, that, if the same had continued, our name and lineage should have perished in Albion. What misery our fathers endured in Beregonium, when they were forced, by urgent necessity, to save their miserable lives on the food of their bowels! What danger our King Rewther sustained, evading his enemies by most perilous journeying, when his realm was near lost, and Colane, the valiant captain, slain, only in the defence of him and his realm! What fury was in those noble women, that slew themselves at Beregonium, so that they should not live in servitude to our enemies! What has brought our nobles to such misery, that they were banished, and sought help in foreign realms? Nothing but internal sedition among themselves!

"The Britons, for all their riches and warlike prowess, could never have made such incursions and raids on our lands and people, had we not made first a ready way to them by our own dissension. It is, therefore, to be avoided, very valiant men, that this dissension, now rising among you, come not to damage your common welfare. You have now lately delivered the realm from the tyranny of Durstus; you have sufficiently revenged the slaughter of the nobles by his death: now is the time most suitable to help our matters. Lose not, my good friends, by civil dissension, the victory that you have obtained with great labour. You see the people glad of Durstus' death, and desirous to have a king by your election. While they are now of your opinion, make a king that will take your part: otherwise, nothing shall be among you, but civil wars, raids, and slaughter both of nobles and commoners; and, in the meantime, some of Durstus' friends shall not only usurp the crown, but shall punish you for his slaughter." The nobles and commoners, seeing Charon of such excellent wisdom, gave to him power to choose whom he thought best to be king. Then Charon, that the crown should remain always of the same blood, choose Ewin, the first of that name, to be king; for Durstus and Ewin were brother's sons. Thus was Ewin crowned in the chair of marble, at Beregonium. This castle was held certain days against him, by friends of Durstus; nonetheless, it was finally surrendered.

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This Ewin was the first King of Scots that sought the oath of fidelity from his subjects; that is to say, that his nobles and subjects should be loyal and true to him. Through which it came in use, many years after, that all the captains of tribes, at their election, constrained their subjects to give their oaths of fidelity; which rite is yet observed: for the people, dwelling in the Highlands and Isles thereof, at election of their captain, hold up their hands to be loyal and true to him; and, as soon as the captain is chosen, they go to the nearest hill, and decree, under pain of death, that none of them name their captain with any other title, but with the old name of that tribe; and, when they hear his name, to bow and uncover their head, with no less reverence than if he were a God. I believe, therefore, that the people that dwell in the Highlands, or in the Isles, when their highest business occurs, swear by the foot, or hand, or name of their captain, as if some hidden divinity were in the same.

Ewin, to maintain his realm in virtue, commanded the young children of his realm to be nourished with scarce and hard food; and to sleep rather on hard boards, than on feathers or cushions; and to be constantly exercised in swift running and wrestling, to make them the more able to defend his realm, when time required: and commanded them, to abstain from all things that might make them soft or degenerate. This virtuous prince went through all the lands of his realm for administration of justice, and punished criminals with severe punishment: some scourged, and some he punished by death.

The same time, came the ambassadors of the Picts, desiring, by the agreement of confederation, to have support against the Britons, who were lately coming, with great incursions, into the Merse, and intended to besiege their city of Camelon. King Ewin, to support his allied friends, came swiftly with an army against the Britons. The Scots and Picts, assembled in this manner, went forward with no less courage, than if victory had been present in their hands; so far were their minds inflamed to revenge the injuries done to them in the years before. The Britons, nothing afraid of their coming, met them, with no less ferocity, on the other side. There followed, a dangerous and cruel battle, fought a long time with uncertain victory; but, at last, the night separated them, with very sorrowful and uncertain chance of battle. The allied kings, seeing their army broken, fled, under night, to Pentland Hills; and the Britons, broken with similar calamity, and despairing of any new support, fled, in the same manner as defeated people, and left their baggage behind them. As soon as the allied people were informed of this, they returned to the same parts where the Britons were camped before, and divided the spoil thereof by custom of arms. Such things done, King Ewin returned to Beregonium, and rewarded richly the friends of them that were slain in this battle. Some of his captains, for their proven honour, were appointed to public offices; and others rewarded with riches and goods. And, from then on, he concluded to govern his realm in tranquillity and peace. He made certain judges to abide in several regions of his realm, to administer justice to the people. He commanded certain scouts to remain in each shire, that they might search out sorners^{<83>}, thieves, and robbers, and bring them to his laws. And, that these scouts might continue in their office, he endowed them with certain lands. In memory whereof, there remain yet to our days several fiefs of old barons, whose lands were given by virtuous princes for the same cause; although they exercise not the effect thereof.

King Ewin built a castle not far from Beregonium, called then Ewin, after his name; now called, Dunstaffnage; and ruled his realm many years after, to the great benefit of his people; and died, the 19 year of his reign.

Chap. Sixteenth.

How Gillus, bastard son to King Ewin, slew two Sons and two Nephews of Durstus, to make himself King; and how the third nephew, Edeir, escaped.

After the death of Ewin, his bastard son, Gillus, convened the nobles, to bury his father. And, in the time of his obsequies, came Dothane and Dorgall, two sons of Durstus, fast contending for the crown: for they were reconciled with King Ewin before his death. Yet, because they were two twins, born at once, the law could not discern, in those days, which of them had most right to the crown. Thus arose a shameful quarrel between these two brothers; each one of them set on the other's slaughter.

This Gillus was a man of subtle talent; and, seeking occasion to acquire the crown, increased the hatred of these two brothers by many deceits, and armed them to kill each other. At last, by appointment of Gillus, these two brothers were brought together to be agreed, by the counsel of friends, of all disagreements, and one of them to be made king; nonetheless, they were so extreme at this convention on either side, that they parted worse friends than when they met. Not long after, they were brought again by Gillus into a private room. After long discussion it was concluded sometimes to divide the crown between them, and sometimes to make one of them king. Always Gillus inflamed more their hatred than he pacified it: and, in the meantime, certain armed men rushed out of private chambers, as they were commanded by Gillus, and slew them both.

After their slaughter, Gillus ran here and there, with piteous cries, declaring how he escaped a very dangerous adventure, where the king's sons were laid for his slaughter, and both slain; and, immediately, he commanded his friends, that stood about him, to take him to some safe place; for, if he fled not in time, he should be lost. His friends, believing all things that he said to be true, followed him to the castle of Dunstaffnage. Gillus entering in this way within the castle, and finding many who supported him, arrayed his men in several ambushes, and commanded them to slay all them that were repugnant to his desires. Immediately he called the captains of the tribes to a council, and began, in a long speech, to detest the insolence, avarice, and unnatural hatred of the king's sons, who, contending for the crown, has slain themselves. And in the same manner he detested the bloody tyranny of Durstus, their father; showing, by many reasons, his sons unfit for the crown; and gave thanks, therefore, to the Gods, that the country was delivered of their tyranny, and the treason fell on themselves, which they had devised for him. Finally, he declared the great labour, care, and diligence, that he took both for the common welfare, and to bring the king's sons to concord; who then were both slain, he not knowing in what way, but narrowly escaping with his life. And, further, he said, how his father, King Ewin, left him governor by his testament, with power to divide all his treasure and goods among the nobles that loved him during his life. And, that the common welfare might suffer no damage, he desired the administration of the realm to be given to him, until it were clearly decided, who were the just inheritors thereto. The captains, who were at this time within the castle, knowing well his treason, to save their lives, made him king.

As soon as Gillus was made king in this way, to ensure the realm to him with certain security, he took the oaths of his people to be his faithful lieges. Such things done, he divided the treasure and goods of King Ewin, as he had promised; and, in

that way, he obtained their benevolence and favour. Nonetheless, the same ambition and avarice that moved him to seek the crown, remained with him after he was king: for he set his mind, by many deceits, to destroy all the lineage and blood of Durstus, that he might enjoy the crown without any claim by others. And because he was informed, that Dothane, the son of Durstus, before slain, had three sons brought up in the Isle of Man, under the wise clerics thereof; of which the eldest, Lismorus, had 12 years in age; the second, Cormacus, 10 years; and the third, Edeir, not three year of age; he went the nearest way to the said isle, with the pretended purpose, that he would bring these children to his castle of Dunstaffnage, to be fostered their with other nobles' sons of the realm. The eldest two, arrayed in their best, met King Gillus; whom he most tenderly received, and spent the remainder of the night in cherishing these children, that the great master and bishop of the said isle should have no suspicion of his hidden treachery. On the following day, he began to discuss with the bishop and his clerics, concerning their religion, constitutions, and laws. On the third day he made sacrifice to his Gods, with solemn ceremonies; and after he had left certain men behind him to slay the third son, Edeir, he raised sail, and arrived at Dunstaffnage, having with him the two eldest sons of the said Dothane, with their foster-father and brothers; for, in those days, the people had no less affection to their foster-brothers and father, than to their own natural father or brothers.

The youngest son, Edeir, was so infirm, that no man believed he could live. As soon as he began to convalesce, he was brought by his nurse to Argyll, where he was nurtured long time among the desert crags and mountains of that land: for she suspected no good would come to his two remaining brothers that came into Gillus' hands. And, as she conjectured, so it followed: for the first night that Gillus returned to Dunstaffnage, he slew both their sons of Dothane, in the arms of their foster-father and brothers. And, hearing that the third son, Edeir, was escaped, he become so insane and furious, that he slew the men that he left behind him for his murder, at their returning. And, from thence, he set his utmost efforts to pursue Edeir to the death; and ceased not, until he was surely informed of his fleeing to Ireland.

Chap. Seventeenth.

How King Gillus was banished. How Cadal, Chieftain of the Brigantes, was made Governor, and slew Gillus in Ireland. And how Ewin the Second was made King.

Not long after, a council sat at Dunstaffnage; in which Gillus delared, in a long speech, that he had deserved no little favour of his nobles and commoners for the prudent administration of his realm, giving his greatest efforts both to take away all movers of sedition, and to save it from dissension, and wars internal, and from the insolence of a young prince; and, therefore, he desired no suspicion to be imputed to him, although the sons of Dothane were deceased, as appeared, by the will of the Gods; for as they ordained kingdoms and empire to be, so have they commanded no women nor children, but men only of proven virtue, to have the same in governance. Further, there were several seditious men, and movers of discord, who were necessary to be removed from the rest.

As soon as Gillus had said these words, he entered, with certain of his nobles, into the castle of Dunstaffnage. Immediately, he slew all the friends of Durstus, without any mercy, whether they were men, wives, or children. Many of the nobles that stood about him, were very thunderstruck by this cruelty; fearing to be slain in the same manner. Gillus seeing them afraid, made them consolation; for, if they continued to support him, they should live in great happiness in times coming. After this, he cast his wicked mind each day to more cruelty, that he might all utterly destroy all them that favored Durstus.

When this bloody tyrant had reigned a certain time, with these, and similar inhuman cruelties unfitting to a prince, the captains and nobles of Scotland assembled an army of chosen men from all parts of the realm, and conspired against him with such prudence, that this tyrant know not thereof, until they were arrayed before him at Dunstaffnage. Gillus then, destitute of all support, and having none with him but so many as were either held against their will, or bought with his money, got a fishing boat, and fled to Ireland.

After his fleeing, his men surrendered to Cadall, chieftain of the Brigantes, and both his castles, Beregonium and Dunstaffnage, taken. The nobles decided, that this tyrant, Gillus, should be perpetually exiled, and made Cadall governor; who cast his extreme labour to pursue Gillus to the death; and come finally to the Isles, where he found Edeir, the third son of Dothane, who was saved before from the treachery of Gillus by his nurse, as we have said. And because the said Edeir was destitute of friends, (for they were all slain by Gillus,) he was sent to Epiacum, the principal city of Brigantia; to be kept there, until he was of more maturity and age.

Gillus, banished in this way, complained to the princes of Ireland, of the heavy injuries done to him by the Scots; by whom he was exiled, and deprived of his rule and kingdom; through which no place was left certain to him in Albion: and promised, if the said princes would restore him to his realm, to give the Isles of Scotland from the empire of the Scots, to be held perpetually of the dominion of Ireland. The Irish princes, glad of his promise, assembled an army to come to Scotland for the same effect.

Cadall, well informed of their plans, returned to Dunstaffnage, and took consultation of the nobles, how the said Gillus might be easily resisted. Then was it

concluded that Ewin, the second of that name, should be king; for he was nephew to King Fynnane, got of his brother, Dowal.

Gillus, seeing the sea ports garrisoned in all parts of Albion to resist his coming, arrived in the Isles; where he exercised his cruelty without any mercy or pity; and took with him all the goods that might be carried, and the remaining set on fire. King Ewin, refusing to tolerate these injuries, provided a fleet of galleys and ships, with mariners, warriors, and other things necessary; and sent them with Cadall, his admiral, to Ireland. Soon after, Cadall raised sail, and, with favourable winds, arrived in Ireland. At whose arrival there came such confluence of people to him, that he seemed not only to conquer Gillus, but all the people of Ireland.

Gillus soon after arrayed his people, and, with the sound of a trumpet, both the armies joined, and fought with great cruelty on each side; until, at last, many of Gillus' people, weary and overcome, especially those that thought it odious to fight against their native people, fled from Gillus, and surrendered themselves to Cadall. Then Gillus, despairing of victory, took off his insignia, and fled to a thick wood. Soon after, certain armed men were sent to seek Gillus; and found him finally in a dark corner of the wood, near famished with hunger; and immediately they slew him, and brought his head to Cadall.

Thus Gillus made a miserable end, the second year of his reign; confiding overmuch in his tyranny and falsehood.

Chap. Eighteenth

How Cadall, returning from Ireland, lost the most part of his Army by the rage of the Sea. And of the consolation made to him by King Ewin.

After the death of Gillus, Cadall was returning to Albion, over the Irish Sea, with his victorious army: when suddenly arose an unmerciful storm, and turned all his glory of victory to desolation; for, the irrecoverable harms falling by the said tempest, passed all the profit of his victory. The miserable mothers and wives, knowing their husbands and sons perished in the seas, convened to the ships, with hideous outcries and shouts. Among other lamentable sights, Cadall come to land in sorrowful array, raising his hands to heaven, and cursing fortune and the Gods, that destroyed so many noble and valiant men, converting their glory of victory into supreme misery; whose sorrowful condition was so pitiful, that every man had compassion thereof.

King Ewin, very sorrowful for this news, came, with great diligence, to Cadall, and said: "You have brought to me and my realm, most valiant Cadall, no little consolation; returning with your victorious army to Albion, unbroken by injuries of enemies. You have vanquished my enemies in a foreign region, fighting manfully, with banners displayed, for the ease of my realm and welfare. The tyrant Gillus, cesspit of every vice, is vanquished. His shameful flight could be no support to him; whose head, shorn from his body, is brought to Albion, to that end, that he shall not want now, when he is dead, the shame and dishonour that he deserved for his tyranny in his life. My adversaries are penitent of their rebellion, and brought to my opinion. Our army, by your industry, are saved without reproach among their foreign and strongest foes. You have left nothing undone, that pertained to a forceful champion. No cause occurs to complain against fortune nor the heavens; for, though a part of your army be perished, by tempest and rage of seas, yet you, by benevolence and favour of the Gods, are saved, to the high honour of this realm. You arrived in Ireland not without propitious favour of the Gods, returning with so rich spoils, without any injuries from enemies. And, though your enemies rejoice of the mischance falling to your army, yet no glory may succeed thereof to them. For the state of earthly creatures has this condition: after prosperity comes adversity, and after adversity comes prosperity; proceeding by reward of fated destinies, whose effect may not be moved, nor yet avoided, by prudence of mortal creatures. You have, therefore, no cause to lament, but rather to bear your adversity patiently, until you have better fortune. And since no creatures may remedy these misfortunes but the Gods, who govern the empire of men at their pleasure, show now a pleasing expression with us; that your friends and enemies may know you, by firm constancy, no more broken in adversity, than proud in prosperity; that your spirit and courage may appear as invincible, as your body is in battle."

Cadall hearing this consolation of his prince, feigned all the cheerfulness he could: although, he repented sorely, that this unmerciful tempest, that consumed so many valiant men, left him alive, to see their ruin and sorrow. Of this calamity falling to Cadall, is some part described, by the poet Claudian, and other authors.

Chap. Nineteenth.

How the Kings of the Scots and Picts were allied together by marriage. How Balus, King of Orkney, slew himself in despair. Of the wise counsel given by King Ewin to Edeir.

King Ewin, after the slaughter of Gillus, desiring to govern his realm in justice, visited all the lands thereof, and punished malefactors; and gave to Cadall, for the faithful service done by him, the town of Epiacum, with several other lands and towns of Brigantia, in free regality<85>.

Not long after, King Ewin, accompanied by his nobles, met Gethus, King of Picts, on the borders of Brigantia, and renewed the treaty of peace with the Picts. This peace was confirmed by marriage; for King Ewin married Siora, daughter of Gethus the Third, King of Picts. This marriage was solemnised by the bishop and priests of the Isle of Man.

Not long after, he was informed, that Balus, King of Orkney, was coming, with a fleet of ships, through Pentland Firth, and made no little raids and slaughter in Ross and Caithness. King Ewin, to meet these assaults, assembled a fleet of ships with such diligence, that Balus was not informed thereof, until he had arrived in sight. The Orkney men, dismayed by his sudden coming, were constrained to give battle: but they were soon defeated; and were harried and driven to the sea, where a part of them escaped in fishing boats, and the remainder vanquished and slain. King Balus seeing no way to escape, slew himself so that he should not come into his enemies' hands. King Ewin, through this victory, obtained great favour of his people. And, when he was returning home by the Irish Sea, he arrived in the mouth of Lochy, where he built a town, called Inverlochy; and made there a certain sanctuary, in honour of his Gods, forbidding, under pain of death, that any criminals be taken out of the same, notwithstanding whatever crimes they had committed. This town was afterwards a common port for all merchants of France or Spain, for the incredible plenty of fish swimming in those seas. Of this town nothing remains, in our days, save only the ruinous walls thereof; for it was overthrown by the Danes, as we shall afterwards show. King Ewin built another town on the river of Ness, which is yet named Inverness; where once was great repair of merchants, who come out of Germany to seek rich furs; as martens, beavers, and suchlike skins, which abound in that region. This town remains yet, under the old name, full of merchants and goods; although it has been often attacked by evil neighbours lying thereabout.

King Ewin, as a noble and illustrious prince, both in peace and were, passed the remaining of his days without any domestic or foreign wars; and pacified the seditions that arose in the Isles with marvellous wisdom: for he detested always civil wars, as much when he was in private as in public authority. A short time before his death, he went to Epiacum, to bring to agreement the sons of Cadall; who fell into great contention, after their father's death, for his riches and goods: nonetheless, this noble prince brought them to an agreement soon after his coming. And after he had done the obsequies for Cadall, according to the customs of those days, he had a huge stone raised, carved to the life image of Cadall, upon a high mound; and commanded the people to offer him wine and incense: for our forebears were deceived, as well as other people, in their errors.

King Ewin, sorrowful at the death of Cadall, fell into a heavy infirmity; and was so despairing of his health, that he resigned the crown to Edeir, the third nephew

of King Durstus, for he was just heir to the crown, as we have said. And to that end, that Edeir should be a good king, he counselled him, to defend his lieges and subjects from all injuries; and to do no man injury; and to give no man office nor authority, that is enemy to justice; and to address all great matters by himself, and the small matters to commit to his nobles; and to govern himself always in such manner, that he might be worthy to reign above his subjects; and never to come to battle unless he could not do otherwise; and, when it was necessary to give battle, to spare no effort in preparations for warfare; and never to act without mercy, for that virtue was most appropriate in a prince: and, finally, commanded him, above all other business, to have his Gods in reverence, whose favour was a sovereign protection to all realms. And when he had given this counsel to Edeir, he died, the 17th year of his reign. After his death, there was raised an image, skilfully made in his likeness; which was held many years after in great veneration among the people.

And so ends here the Second book.

BOOK III.

Here Begins the Third Book of the Chronicles of Scotland.

Chap First.

Of King Edeir; and how he revenged the raids made by the traitor Bredus in the Isles.

Ewin having died, Edeir was crowned in the chair of marble. And, soon after, he visited all the lands of his realm; this passage was the more pleasing to his nobles, in that he was given to hunting: for he delighted in nothing more than in the chase of wild beasts with sight-hounds and scent-hounds, and especially of wolves, for they are troublesome to livestock. This region, through the cold humours thereof, generates wolves of fierce and cruel nature.

King Edeir brought the people to such tranquillity, that they lived many years without any oppression or injury from neighbours. But at last, Bredus of the Isles, cousin to Gillus described above, arrived with many ships and galleys in Argyll, to revenge the slaughter of the said Gillus, and others of his friends, slain in Ireland. The people, not wanting to suffer the raids and slaughter made by him, complained to King Edeir, who was hunting on the nearest mountains at the time. King Edeir informed whereof, went, that same night, with a company of chosen men to the sea, where the said Bredus had arrived; and, first, he burned all their ships and galleys, that they might have no refuge to fly in Ireland. On the next day, King Edeir pursued this Bredus and his accomplices with such courage, that they were finally taken, and put to death. Having done this, King Edeir went to the Isles, where he punished several conspirators, that followed the opinion of Gillus and Bredus.

Chap. Second.

How the Britons sent Ambassadors to King Edeir, for support against Julius Caesar. Of their speech, and of King Edeir's answer. And how the said Julius was beaten out of Albion, with the support of the Scots.

As soon as Edeir had defeated all the invaders of his realm, he returned to Dunstaffnage. In the meantime, there came to him the ambassadors of Cassivellaunus, King of Britons, desiring support against Julius Caesar, Roman Emperor; whose army was ready, with most awful ordinance, to come into Albion. Edeir welcomed their ambassadors, and commanded them to state their errand. Soon after, a nobleman, named Androgeus, said: "I will say nothing before this famous auditor, in the name of Cassivellaunus, King of Britonis, most noble prince; except what shall pertain both to the welfare of your realm and lieges. Nature, the wise mother of all creatures, has put in this isle of Albion three valiant people; not to that purpose, that they should live in sedition, and attack other as beasts, without reason; but to increase together in benvolence and friendship, so that they may be the more strong to resist foreign enemies whenever it shall happen to them to be attacked. Who may believe or trust the realm to stand certain, when the Britons are destroyed by the Romans? But if some man, by vain hope, would trust the Romans, who take away the sceptres from kings, to be the more pleasing and merciful to you when your neighbours are destroyed, you may know, by the damage done to other people, that this opinion is vain. The Romans, calling themselves, by proud insolence, lords of the world, who are hated by all people for their tyranny, are determined to come shortly to Albion, to subdue the same to their empire. What other thing may we believe the Romans shall do, when they have subjected us Britons, but, with the same avarice and tyranny, to rob from you Scots and Picts your lands, laws, and liberties? What other thing do they desire, but to sit down in our lands, castles, and towns; and either to reduce us to most shameful servitude, or else to banish the most noble and valiant men among us? Their deeds show well their tyranny: as may be well proven to us by the ruin of Cartage, once a rich city, and brought finally to naught, from when it was surrendered to the Romans, notwithstanding that it obeyed their rule and religion. Further, if so remote and foreign history may not move you, behold the Gauls, your neighbours, who, as soon as they were vanquished by the Romans, were reduced to perpetual servitude; their fortifications, and every manner of weapons taken from them. It is not to be trusted, that the Romans shall be more generous to us people of Albion, if we are vanquished, than they have been to others before; for always the more their dominion increases, their tyranny is the more insufferable. Let us therefore resist these common injuries, joining together with all our strength. It will be best to resist this violence of the Romans in the beginning, in case they grow afterwards so strong, when their power is joined together, that they may not be resisted. Girdle yourselves therefore, most invincible prince, with your proven virtue, to support us with these your valiant people. Come, lusty gallants, arrayed in battle against our common enemies. Defend your ancient liberty, and have firm hope of victory; since our common enemies, not content with the remaining lands of the world, by insatiable avarice, and without any occasion of injuries, intend to subdue this Isle, which is severed from all people, to their empire. Further, when you, by favour of the Gods have obtained victory, above many indescribable advantages, you shall enjoy your liberty, and obtain immortal glory both for you, and your realm."

When Androgeus had ended this speech, he was removed aside, while the nobles considered what was to be done. After full deliberation it was concluded, to send support to Britons, to resist the common danger appearing. Then King Edeir made answer to their ambassadors in these words: "You desire a thing, well beloved Britons, both honourable and profitable to our welfare; moving us to defend this realm, which has been so valiantly defended by our ancestors, from extreme danger appearing thereto. The avarice, riches, warlike courage, and proud empire of the Romans have been well described to us by those that have been subjected thereto. And, further, we know well, if the Romans subdue you Britons to their dominion, they will attack us next, and either subject us to vile servitude, or else expel us out of Albion. The harm suffered by Gauls and Spaniards, from whom our ancient fathers descended, shows daily to us, what affliction and misery they sustain that are subdued to the Romans. It would have been more honourable to them, in my opinion, to have fought most strongly to the death in defence of their liberty, than to have preserved their miserable lives in such shameful servitude. We know the Britons will not lose their realm, their liberty, and laws, without strong resistance; and, since our welfare may suffer no danger so long as the Britons stand in certain strength, we are, by careful consideration, profoundly resolved to risk our lives and goods in defence of you; thinking better to die valiantly in that way, if such things be pleasing to the Gods, than to remain at home, suffering you, our dear friends, to be deprived of your lands and liberties; and, finally, to lose our native Gods, wives, and children, into our enemies' hands. For these reasons, we will cause our army, in most warlike array, to be sent quickly to London, in support of Cassivellaunus, King of Britons. We will also require Gethus, our allied brother, the King of Picts, to concur with us, by treaty of alliance, to the same affect. And, we believe, all they that dwell in Albion, by the respect they have to the common welfare, will support us gladly in that behalf; for the love we bear unto our native country, enforces us with invincible bodies to assist thereto." The ambassadors of the Britons, raised in hopes of great felicity by this answer, returned to Cassivellaunus.

As soon as these ambassadors were despatched, King Edeir sent two valiant men, Cadallane and Dowall, captains of the Brigantes and of Lorne, with 10,000 chosen men, to London. The coming of these Scots was the more welcome to Cassivellaunus, in that he was to fight against the most powerful enemy, Julius, Conqueror of the world.

In the meantime, Cassivellaunus was informed, that Julius had arrived within his seas, and brought his army on land; and the people fled that were left to resist his coming on the sea camp; the noblemen, that valiantly resisted, slain; and the Eagle, which is the standard of the Romans, proudly displayed on high. This news caused no little fear among the Britons. Nonetheless, Cassivellaunus made them pleasing consolation, and exhorted them vehemently to battle, for defence of their realm and liberty, their wives, children, and native Gods; who are so dear to mortal people, that without them the life of man is neither pleasing nor certain. "Believe no other thing" said he, "but certain victory; since your enemies pursue you for no occasion of injuries, except by their insatiable avarice." The Britons were raised in great hope of victory by coming of the Scots and Picts; for they had no little confidence in their courage and warlike courage. Immediately, Cassivellaunus went forward with his whole power against the Romans. And first he sent his horsemen, with several mercenaries in chariots, to break the array and ordinance of the Romans. At first encounter, there were two small and inconclusive skirmishes; but, at last, both the

armies joined with their whole power. There followed an uncertain battle, long continuing with uncertain outcome: until at last, by coming of Welshmen and Cornishmen, such a huge noise arose by their warcries, and the sound of the bells that hung on their horses' armour, that the enemies were afraid, and finally put to flight. The Britons, with the Scots and Picts, that came to their support, followed on the chase with such fury, scattered without array, that they got more injury than they did to their enemies. The Romans kept such order in their fleeing, and stayed so fast together at their standard, that they made themselves often to renew the battle, although they were not of power to resist. The Britons, wide scattered in several ambuscades, escaped not without great slaughter in their chase; until, at the last, night severed them.

As soon as Julius perceived the chase had ended, he gathered the remainder of his people together, and sent all the wounded men to his ships, intending to revenge this outrage on the following day. Nonetheless hearing, on the following day, that many of his ships were so broken by violent tempest, that they were not able to do him profit; and dreading that this calamity, fallen to his ships, should bring no less courage to his enemies than discomfiture to his own people; he postponed his intent, until he saw a time more suitable. He brought all his people to a new fortified camp, where the Britons could not attack him, and as soon as he had repaired his navy, he put up sails during the night, and returned to France; leaving behind him a huge plunder of goods, which could not be taken for lack of ships. The year that Julius come first to Albion, was from the beginning of the world, 5139 years; before the Incarnation, 60 years; in the 4 year of the empire of King Edeir.

Chap. Third.
***How Julius returned to Britain, and made it tributary to the
Roman Empire.***

When Caesar was beaten out of Albion in this way, the people of Albion, that is to say, Scots, Picts, and Britons, divided the spoils found in his camp, by custom of arms, rejoicing in this glorious victory; and made sacrifice to their Gods, expecting perpetually to be delivered both of the wars of the Romans, and all other foreign people, in times coming. Cadallane and Dowall, richly rewarded by Cassivellaunus, returned with the army of the Scots; and described to King Edeir all the things done as described above. Edeir, rejoicing in their news, commanded general processions and sacrifice to be made in the honour of the Gods. Then followed such incredible love and kinship between the Scots, Britons, and Picts, that they expected to live in times coming to perpetual peace.

In the year following, King Edeir went to Inverness, where he, by several merchants, was informed, that Julius had pacified France to his empire, and was making provision for a new army to return to Britain, to revenge the injuries done to him in the year before. Edeir, soon after, sent his ambassadors to Cassivellaunus, to show the high dangers appearing to his realm; and promised to send, if he pleased, 10,000 chosen men to his support.

These ambassadors, at their coming to London, gave their message to Cassivellaunus. The Britons, moved by vain arrogance, that the glory of victory should not be taken from them, refused to have any help from the Scots or Picts; and answered, they were not brought to such feebleness, that it was necessary to them to have support all time when enemies attacked them, and they had the same strength as when they defeated the Romans in the year before.

King Edeir, and his nobles, had no little wonder at such vain arrogance, to refuse support against such powerful enemies, the Conquerors of the world; and judged, therefore, the noble realm of the Britons, by proud insolence for a small victory, would sustain great damage. Which thing was well seen in the end of their wars: for Julius returned soon after to Britain. At whose coming, the people, that were left to resist him, frightened by an infinite multitude of ships, fled to their best refuge. Nonetheless, Julius was stoutly attacked by Cassivellaunus, and three separate times put back; but, at last, Cassivellaunus was defeated, and all his valiant captains taken or slain. Cassivellaunus, broken each day with irrecoverable harms, and despairing of support, surrendered himself to Julius; and gave hostages that his realm should remain tributary as a Roman province. Cassivellaunus, having surrendered in this manner, was commanded to pay yearly 3000 pounds of silver to the Roman people, as tribute.

Chap. Fourth.

Of several messages sent by Julius to the Scots and Picts, and of their answer. Of Julius' Hoff; and of several opinions concerning the first Founders thereof.

As soon as Julius had defeated the Britons in this way, he came to London, where he was received with great reverence and honour: and, when he had tarried there certain days to refresh his army, he made provision to pass on the Scots and Picts. The motive of his wars was, because the Scots and Picts made support before to Britons, the first time he came to Britain. Yet, before he made any battle against them, he thought it best to attack their minds by his ambassadors, whether they wanted war or peace: Peace, if they would be subjected to Roman empire; War, if they perversely would reject the same. Immediately, he sent ambassadors to the two kings of the Scots and Picts, to tell them, that all realms, by favour, as it appeared, of the Gods, were subjected to the Romans. For the Gods, at different eras, have given the monarchy and empire of the world to different people; that is to say, to Africans, Medes, Persians, Greeks, and now presently to the Romans. Few places are found in the earth where the Roman warfare is unknown; for they, by favour of the Gods, has brought all realms and lands under their empire. They have vanquished Africa, Egypt, Arabia, Judea, Parthia, Troy, Thebes, Asia, Macedonia, Greece, France, and Spain; and now lately, Britain. All regions surrounded with the ocean seas, are obedient to Roman laws. No people are on earth that know not the name of the Romans. There is no certain nor honourable living, except where the Roman law has dominion; for the senate and people of Rome are the port and certain refuge of all people, whose glory is, to defend their subjects and friends in justice and faith. For these causes, it would be no little honour to the Scots and Picts to have society with the Romans, and be called their allied friends; who have so many cities and realms brought to their provinces, so many kings under their servitude. This is the command of Caesar and Roman people: which should be fervently desired, for the singular advantage, both to the Scots and Picts; otherwise, they will be rebelling against the Gods, who have determined to bring the whole world under the Roman empire.

King Edeir, and his nobles, hearing this message, understood the coloured deceit of the Romans; and, therefore, made answer, saying, They would defend their wives, children, lands, and liberties, with all the power they might, to the utter end of their life; and rather to risk them to most dangerous battle, than to live in servitude. The fame of the Romans was not known to them, but in so far as they were reputed, above talent of man, most avaricious thieves, and robbers of realms; depriving kings by false accusations and deceits, and subduing free people, by unjust battle, to servitude. Further, if the Romans, moved without occasion of injuries, except of corrupt malice, happened to attack them by unjust battle; they took the Gods, who are punishers of injuries done to innocent people, as witnesses, that they would fight to the death for defence of their lands, while one of them was left alive. The ambassadors, having the same answer from the Picts, returned to Britain.

When Julius had heard this answer of the Scots and Picts, he sent to them his second message, more contemptuous than before; as after follows: "The great Caesar, Roman consul, urges the King Edeir, and you Scots, to submit yourselves to the Romans, the most powerful people of the world, otherwise you will bring yourselves, by imprudent fighting, to utter extermination. Take heed of the irrecoverable harms

which have fallen to other peoples for their vain rebellion. Behold the majesty of Roman people! Consider the magnitude of their name! Will you attack them with chance of battle, as the Britons, your neighbours, have lately done; who, by their foolish actions, are either slain, or taken and brought to perpetual servitude? What strength have you to set against the Romans, the Conquerors of the world? Have you that vain confidence, that the Romans, the defeaters of all people, may be vanquished by you, the most remote people thereof? Or, do you believe, that the world may be delivered from servitude under the Romans by you? Would your power, which is nothing compared to the Romans', restore the rule of so many kings destroyed? Know you not, that there are many Roman champions, no less active than Caesar, both in wisdom, courage, and warfare, whose illustrious deeds have decorated all regions where the sun shines? And yet it is more difficult to defeat Caesar, him alone, than to defeat all the world. How has this presumptuous folly come to you? To despise the Gods, who, by their propitious favour to the Romans, have ordained all regions to be subdued to them? Do you believe, the Romans will be so irked by difficult passage of your crags, mountains, or marshes, or by penurite of victuals, that they will not abide in your regions? Do you expect, to be safe in your said mountains, with your goods? You are deceived, if you have such vain confidence; for such impediments shall no more move the Romans from their purpose, than if your lands were plentiful, and full of every fruit necessary to sustain their wars. For the Romans have experience above talent of man in warlike courage: so agile of their bodies, that they may overcome all tortuous and difficult journeys; swift to combat, and ready for every kind of risk; needing little food and sleep, and acquainted with every danger that may occur in battle; and so provident, that they shall cause victuals, if needs be, to be brought to them out of all adjacent regions: for Caesar has a ripe wit for every case that may occur. Wherefore, if you have any regard to your welfare, if you are prudent,—avoid bellicosity; so that you do not, by foolish and imprudent acts, bring yourselves, your wives, friends, and children, to irrecoverable damage. You may now have fair conditions of peace before the victory: which you shall not obtain when you are defeated by force of battle; for then you shall, for your rebellion, be deprived both of your lands and honours; and, finally, be brought to such desperation, that you shall never have any hope of recovering your liberty."

As soon as these words were said, such fury and noise arose among the Scots, for they were impatient of servitude, that these ambassadors would have been most cruelly slain, had not the law of the people, which our forebears had always in most reverence, saved them. Nonetheless, answer was made to them by Cadallane, in the king's name, as follows: "Suppose the Scots, by some opinions, are reputed not to be circumspect; but of foolish and dull talent; yet they are not moved more by Caesar's pleasing and deceitful words, than by his awful threats, to lose their lands and liberties without risking battle: for they are not accustomed to obey tyrants, and seizers of realms and kingdoms; except to obey their native prince. And, therefore, by carefully considered advice and counsel, they are definitely resolved to have no friendship nor alliance with the Romans, because their fair words are nothing but hidden treachery and falsehood: and as to their false and unjust wars, they hold the same in defiance; committing them in their just actions, to the protection of the Gods."

Julius, greatly angered by this answer, made his preparations, without delay, to defeat their rebellion. In the meantime, he received letters from Labienus, his admiral, that the Normans and Picards, who were pacified at his departing, had rebelled: also, the Carnutes had raised great trouble in France, and had slain a man named

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Transegerius, who was chosen by the Romans to be King of France, and to hold the same under the empire of the Romans. Julius, for fear of this news, left off his coming to Scotland; and, because victuals were scant in his army, and no possibility of new victuals to come to Britain, (for it was the winter season, when tempestuous seas allow no passage for merchants,) he gathered the remainder of his army together, and returned to France, leaving behind him Britain tributary to his empire, and the Scots little dismayed by his wars.

This history of the coming of Caesar to Britain, and subduing of it to his empire, not much different from the words of his *Commentaries*, are drawn by us out of Verimond, Campbell, and other authors. But it is said in our vulgar chronicles, that Julius came to the Callendar Wood, and cast down Camelon, the principal city of the Picts, after the same was surrendered to him; and left behind him, not far from Carron, a round house of square stones, 24 cubits in height, and 12 cubits in breadth, to be a memory of his coming to the place. Others say, he used this house as his tent in all his voyages, and had it always carried with him; and, for that cause, it was called Julius' Hoff. Yet, because no famous authors makes mention of any wars led by Julius against the Scots and Picts, we let them pass, and will infer nothing in this work, except what may not be denied. As to this house of Julius, it is round, as we may yet see, having no windows but above, in the manner of the ancient temples, which are yet seen in Rome, with benches of stone round about within. The pavement has been of ashlar stones, and the Eagle, which is the Roman standard, skilfully carved in it; but now, by the decay of years, is worn away. In it was a huge stone, standing to the South, on which the pagans made their sacrifices. Others authors write, this temple was built by Vespasian, in honour of Emperor Claudius, and the goddess Victory, as the title thereof shows. But it was cast down by Edward, the first King of England of that name; as we will show more largely hereafter.

Chap. Fifth.

***How the traitor Murket and His Accomplices were punished.
Of the death of King Edeir. Of the vicious King Ewin the
Third; and of his laws and death.***

Soon after this defiance was sent to Julius, King Edeir assembled an army from all parts of his realm, to resist the Romans; for he did not know that Julius' wars had been stopped. And, in the meantime, when he was gathered in this way, came Murket, who was nephew to Gillus described above, and arrived with many galleys in the Isles; and slew, there, both wives, children, and aged persons, without any resistance: for all able-bodied men, as we have said, were drawn out of those parts by King Edeir. As soon as Edeir was informed thereof, he sent Cadallane, captain of Brigantia, with a band of armed men, to the Isles; who, soon after his coming, burned all the galleys and boats, during the night, that belonged to this Murket, and in the morning he took this Murket, and hanged him, with his accomplices, on the gallows.

King Edeir lived the remainder of his days without any foreign or domestic wars; and died at Dunstaffnage, the 48th year of his reign; the 26th year of the empire of Emperor Augustus; from the beginning of the world, 5183 years. His body was buried in Dunstaffnage; and about his sepulchre were raised many high pillars, in memory of his noble deeds. This Edeir, for his singular virtue, might have been called a happy prince both living and dead; had he not left his son Ewin, the third of that name, the most vicious man in earth, heir to the crown.

This Ewin, after the death of his father, was made king; and was believed by each man to have followed the footsteps of his father. Nonetheless, from the time he was declared king, he began to burgeon in every kind of vice; so degenerate and steeped in lust, that he passed above the common insolence of youth. He had a hundred concubines chosen of the noblest matrons and virgins of his country; and, though he was wearied by such an excessive number, yet he could never be satiated. And, by the persuasion of ruffians and scoundrels, whom he raised up to assist him in his vice, he banished certain of his nobles, and others slew by treacherous attacks, so that he might the more easily indulge his lust; and set his mind to slay or banish, by false accusations, all them that hated his vice. This abominable tyrant, given in this way to most terrible cruelties, envenomed the country for 6 years with no less unhappiness than shame, by the counsel of certain depraved creatures, who, in hope of profit, extolled and loved all his governance. Shortly, this tyrant become so avaricious and unthankful, without any reverence to the laws of the Gods or men, that he despoiled his servitors of all their lands, riches, and goods, that they had obtained under him. And, finally, he grew in such blind fury, that he nurtured openly, within his house, thieves, to make raids and raids in the country without any punishment; and took a large part thereof for his assistance. And, beside these, and many other things unworthy to be described, he made laws, that his lieges shall have as many wives as they please, according to their goods. Another law he made, that wives of the commoners should be free to the nobles; and the lord of the ground shall have the maidenhead of all virgins dwelling on the same. And though the first two laws was revoked after by council, yet this last law was so pleasing to the young nobles, that it could never be abrogated, until the time of King Malcolm Canmore, and his blessed queen Saint Margaret; who thought the same so injurious both to God and man, that they solicited the nobles to revoke the said law,

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taking instead a golden penny, called the merchet: which is yet paid to the lord of the ground, when virgins are to be married, in redemption of their honour and chastity.

But we will return to Ewin; whose horrible vices were so driven in every man's ear, that the nobles thought this degenerate monster, that was given to such cruelty and vices, unworthy to be their prince; and made, therefore, a swift conspiracy against him. Ewin, notwithstanding this conspiracy, came with displayed banners to the field, with certain evilly arrayed men. Nonetheless, he was soon vanquished and taken. After long consultation, it was commanded by the nobles, that he should be degraded of his kingdom, and remain in perpetual prison. It was ordained, that Cadallane, during his life, should be governor. But, in the first night that Ewin was put in prison, he was slain by a young child; who trusted, because he was odious to the people, to get reward for his slaughter. But, on the following day, this child was executed in presence of many people.

This end made the wretched tyrant King Ewin; and died, the 7 year of his reign, without any heirs of his body; the 32 year of the empire of Augustus.

Chap. Sixth.

Of King Metellane. Of the nativity of Christ, our Saviour. Of the great fullness of Poets, Learned men, and Philosophers, that flourished in His time.

After the death of King Ewin, the nobles chose Metellane, who was nephew to King Edeir, got by his brother Carron, to be king. This Metellane was the most humble prince that reigned above the Scots, to his days; having no foreign nor domestic wars during his time, and governed all matters, both at home and abroad, with great happiness. He was a merciful prince to his subjects, and very religious, after the rite of those days. He took great labours to abrogate the cursed laws of King Ewin; nonetheless, he was so frustrated by the unreasonable solicitation of his nobles, especially those that were given to their lust, that he was constrained to desist.

About this time came ambassadors of the Romans to Cunobelinus, King of Britons; thanking him for his perseverance in peace and friendship with the senate and people of Rome; and saying to him, that the whole world was that time in peace, with more tranquillity than ever was seen in any time before; and exhorted the Britons therefore, by the example of other people, to keep peace and concord among themselves, without occasion of any civil or foreign wars; for such doings pertained both to the happiness of Emperor Augustus, and all other people. These same ambassadors come soon after to King Metellane, with suchlike exhortation. King Metellane hearing, by narration of these ambassadors, that the farthest people of the orient sought friendship with the Romans, and sent several golden crowns to Emperor Augustus, he thought he would not be so unpleasing as to despise the majesty and magnitude of Roman people; and sent therefore, with these ambassadors, several rich jewels, to be offered to Emperor Augustus, and other Roman Gods in the Capitol. By this way King Metellane obtained certain friendship of the Romans, which endured many years after. Of this message, sent by Augustus to the Britons, writes Strabo, in his book of geography, called, *The Description of the Earth*; in which is said the situation of Britain, with the manners of the inhabitants thereof.

The world being thus in peace, Christ, our Saviour, was born of the Virgin Mary, daughter of Anna and Joachim, in Bethlehem, a city of the Jews, the same time when the shepherds heard the angels sing, when the three kings, guided by the stars, came to the place where our Saviour was born. Many unknown and strange miracles appeared at the time of his nativity, as Holy Writ shows. His nativity fell in the 10th year of the reign of Metellane; from the beginning of the realm of the Scots, 330 years; the 42nd year of the empire of Augustus; from the beginning of the world, 5499 years. King Metellane reigned many years, in good peace, doing no man injury; and so happy and pleasing to his subjects, that his fame was patent through all lands of Albion. He died, the 39th year of his reign; the 14th year of Emperor Tiberius; from the nativity of Christ, 29 years.

In this time there were in Rome, the prince of Latin poets, Virgil; Horace, Ovid, Cicero, Marcus Varro, Strabo, Livy, Sallust, with many other natural and moral philosophers. Such fullness of virtue and letters multiplied in those days by the felicity of the birth of Christ, the giver of knowledge and grace; for apparently was never seen so many eloquent poets and profound clerics living at once as were at that time, when God, clothed with nature of man, was seen in the earth.

But we will return to our History.

Chap. Seventh.

Of King Caratacus, and how he defeated several Conspirators of his Realm. How the Britons, rebelling against the Romans, were defeated; and of their Message sent to the Scots.

Metellane might have been called the most happy prince that ever reigned above the Scots, were not he deceased without heirs of his body: through which the crown come to Caratacus, son of the valiant Cadallane described above; for he was grandson to Metellane, got of his sister Europea. Caratacus, after his coronation, received the huge treasure and riches gathered by King Metellane; and exceeded all the people in Albion in riches. Not long after, he went through all the lands of his realm: then went with an army to the Isles; for the captain thereof had rebelled against him. Nonetheless, he pacified all trouble that arose by this sedition, and punished the principal movers thereof with death. All things pacified in this manner, he returned to Albion; then went to Carrick, which was the principal city of that shire.

While such matters were happening in Scotland, Cunobelinus, King of Britons, died; who, in his youth, was so familiar to Augustus, that he kept the Britons always in agreement with the Romans. After whose death, Guiderius was made king. This Guiderius, seeing the realm settled on him, thought it heavy, that the Britons should live under servitude to the Romans. Moved wherefore by a vain hope to recover his liberty, he convened his nobles to a council, where he, in a long speech, complained, that his realm and lieges were held under servitude to the Romans; and not only did the said Romans hold all the strongholds of his country garrisoned with soldiers, but sheltered his rebels, and would not restore the hostages that were given to them, but caused them to waste their days in captivity and prison. It would be best, therefore, to rebel against the Romans, and suffer no longer their yoke of servitude. The Britons, inflamed by these words, concluded, with general consent, to suffer no longer the servitude to the Romans. Immediately, they rushed to arms, and slew all the Romans that were found, or taken outside their fortifications or strongholds. In the meantime Guiderius gathered an army, to destroy all the garrison of the Romans, before any news of his rebellion were known in Rome. Nonetheless Emperor Claudius, was soon informed thereof, and sent two captains, named Aulus Plancius, and Gneus Sentius, to Britain, with many Roman legions, to defeat the said rebellion. These captains, at their coming to Britain, restocked all the strongholds and fortifications, which were then under the Roman control, with new victuals, soldiers, and other such resources, to resist the Britons; and, so that they should not be besieged within their strongholds, they brought their army to the plains, to be ready for battle when their enemies would attack them. Not long after, Guiderius attacked the Romans with battle array; nonetheless, the victory succeeded to the Romans: the Britons escaped, with small damage, by coming of the night. Then followed many incursions, with great slaughter both of the Romans and Britons, continuing all the summer. At the coming of winter, the Romans kept themselves within their fortifications and camp.

About this time come certain ambassadors, from Guiderius, to Caratacus, King of Scots, and said: "I think it reasonable, most illustrious prince, that they that seek support of foreign and foreign realms, as we now do, if no friendship nor kinship by deserved by them for good deeds, to show them the thing that they desire to be honourable and profitable. For these reasons, we Britons, ambassadors of King

Guiderius, oppressed with heavy wars and destitute of all supply and help, save only from you Scots and Picts, are coming humbly to you. Truth is, the Roman people, who daily attack us with insufferable injuries, are sore enemies; very powerful, both in riches and warlike courage, above the estimation of men. Nonetheless, they may be vanquished, for Caesar, the valiant Emperor, by your support and virtue, was beaten both out of our realm and yours, although all France, Spain, German, Greece, Asia, Egypt, and Africa, were subject to him: and these Romans, that now attack us, are but the refuse of Caesar's army. And, without doubt, they may be vanquished; to your greater honour, if the Gods be favourable, that they call themselves, by proud insolence, Lords of the World, and you, the lowest people thereof. And, to beat these our common enemies out of Albion, we desire your support, since the same may not be done by our strength; the which thing if you do, in remembrance of your ancient kinship and friendship, supporting us now in our greatest adversity and danger, you shall obtain, above your honourable victory, interminable glory and honour to you and your posterity: First, because you help us, who are not invaders but defenders; for nothing may be so honourable and pleasing among living creatures, as to defend the action of common liberty and native Gods: Secondly, you should deliver your realm and people from the danger thereto appearing; for the Romans, your deadly enemies, intend to subdue us, that the way may be the more clear to you. And since these things are manifest to you, most valiant champions, if you have respect to the welfare of yourselves, or your lands, strengthen your realm with all manner of fortifications against the Romans; which thing may be easily done, if you and the Picts equally concur with us against our common enemies. For this, as we dare boldly affirm, shall pertain no less to your welfare than to ours; for when the Romans have vanquished us in battle, stripped us of our goods, and subdued our realm into a province, they will be the more able to subdue you to their empire. Now is the time to attack our enemies in battle; while we have strength, and while we may, by the assistance of each other, be sufficient to withstand them. Truly, if the people of Albion will equally concur together, all of one mind, they shall take as much from the Romans, as they have won from any other people. Wherefore, let the strength of the Scots, Britons, and Picts, equally concur together to defend the common liberty. Let us take our weapons at once, to resist the injury which threatens. And though we be vanquished, (which God forbid!) it would be no reproach to us; for then we would not be vanquished by one people, but by the strength of the world: and, if we be victorious, as our just action firmly believes, the victory shall be no less glory and profit to you than to us, and you shall be perpetually esteemed by all people."

Chap. Eighth.

Of Caratacus' answer. How the Britons incited the Normans and Picards to rebellion. And how the said Britons were defeated by the Romans, and their King slain.

Caratacus made answer to this message as follows: "Had the Britons not refused our support, freely offered to you, when Julius, the Roman consul, attacked you with unjust battle, it should not have been necessary to you this day to seek support from us, nor yet should it have been necessary to us to raise our army against such powerful enemies; for then, by joining of all our strength together, we might easily have vanquished them, and been delivered of all fear, enjoying our lands in Albion in perpetual tranquillity. Yet it is, as they say, better late than never. It is not now to be discussed, how we might have defeated the Romans in time past; but how we may avoid the great danger now appearing. You complain, that you are unjustly attacked by a rich people, very desirous to have dominion, and to rob other men's goods. You have been subjected to them many years, living under their servitude, by your own fault; for you are divided among yourselves, by internal seditions: and, so long as you stand so, your people shall never be free. Further, your fortifications and strongholds are garrisoned with Roman soldiers, and your plains are garrisoned with their camp. We hear also, that Claudius Caesar and Vespasian are informed of your imminent rebellion, and ready to come, with many legions of soldiers, into your realm. I think, therefore, since you are broken with so many calamities and battles, although the whole power of Albion were together with you, you cannot resist so powerful enemies for this time; unless the Gods were against them. The best thing is, for these reasons, to calm all seditions among yourselves, postponing your wars for a season; and set your labour, with most skilful art, to transport this dangerous battle to France. To work this prudently, you must incite the Normans, Picards, Bartaners, Alemans, with all other people lying on the border of Gaul, to rebel against the Romans, in hope to recover their liberty; and promise, if they will assist thereto, to support them with ships, warriors, gold, and other necessaries pertaining to their wars. You must also be allied with all people that hate the Romans; and, if you do this well, you shall avoid this battle, that the Romans intend to move against you, and divert it against France. Thus shall both you and we be delivered of all fear of enemies, and live the remaining of this year in quietness; and be the more able the next year for battle. And, if there is no way to avoid this most dangerous battle, then I think it best to assemble all the people of Albion together, to fight in honourable battle to the death, without any heed to our lives, except to our glory and honour; for no people may die more honourably, than fighting for their liberty and native Gods against the lords of the world." The ambassadors of the Britons, raised in hope of good fortune by this answer, returned to Guiderius in Britain.

When Guiderius had heard this wise council of Caratacus, he sent his ambassadors to persuade the Normans, Picards, Bartaners, and all other people of the sea-coasts, to rebel against the Romans; saying, nothing was more abominable to free people, than contrary to their native laws, to be subjected to the Romans; who were a proud and cruel people, daily exercising, by their tyranny, so many new and intolerable conditions of servitude on the people of subjected realms, that no manner of death should be refused to recover their liberty; without which, the life of man is nothing. For these reasons, nothing was so good, as for the hostages, through all lands of Gaul, to rebel against the Romans, and slay their soldiers in all places where they

might be apprehended. And, to give the more exhortation thereto, they said, how all the kings of Albion would assist them, and support them with money, victuals, ships, warriors, and all other necessaries: and said, how the Romans, who were lately come to Britain, had lost all their horsemen, and the remenant broken with such calamity, that they were either chased to the sea, or else to their strongholds. The citizens of Tervana, in Flanders, to whom these ambassadors first came, very desirous to recover their liberty, refused not their offers: but the charge was so high, that they could not answer until they consulted with their neighbours: and prayed them to keep their petitions secret; for, if the same were divulged, all their hostages, that were given before to the Romans, would be cruelly tortured: and, to remove all suspicion, prayed them, to remain in Calais until they were resolved in this matter. Thus these ambassadors of Britain stayed certain days in Calais, waiting for their answer.

In the meantime Guiderius was informed, that Aulus Plautius had raised his camp, and destroyed with fire and sword all the lands that supported him. Guiderius, seeing no way to avoid his enemies, gathered all his people together in battle array, and closed them with wagons and carts on every side, except the part facing their enemies, so that none of them could hope to fly; and put the wives in the said wagons and carts, to exhort their husbands to fight valiantly for their lives and lands. On the other side, Plautius divided his army in three parts; and, at the blast of a trumpet, came so fiercely on the Britons, that they had no space to shoot their arrows. Then the Britons flung their bows from them, and fought with their swords. The wives exhorted them with loud cries to deliver them from Roman servitude. This battle was cruelly fought; but, at last, the Britons were defeated, and Guiderius, their king, slain. Many of the women were crushed in the carts, by force of them that fled. The chase ceased not until the Britons were driven to the river Yare, 6 miles from the place where the field was defeated. This victory was not very pleasing to the Romans, for Gnaeus Sentius, with many other Roman nobles, were slain.

As soon as this dreadful battle was heard of in France, it made all the people thereof despair to recover their liberty; and so the ambassadors who were sent, as we have said, to France, returned without any good results of their message.

This history, as we have written, is collected out of Godfrey, writer of English histories; and out of Veramond, John Campbell, Cornelius Tacitus, and Eutropius.

Chap. Ninth.

How Emperor Claudius, came to Britain, and subdued Orkney to his Empire. Of Saint Peter's first coming to Italy. And of the assumption of the glorious Virgin Mary.

A short time after, the Emperor Claudius, and Vespasian, a man of singular virtue, arrived, with many legions of soldiers, in Britain. The Britons when they heard of his coming were greatly afraid: Nonetheless, by public advisement, they sent learned men to excuse themselves, saying, the offence committed against the Romans was done only by evil counsel; and they would, therefore, not only repair all injuries done to them, but be obedient to the empire of the Romans and their laws in times coming. Claudius than commanded them to give hostages for observation thereof; and also commanded all the princes and lords of Britain to come before him against a certain day, with the intimation, if they did not, he should pursue them to the death. The Britons knowing no refuge, gave hostages, and came to London as he desired. At last, when Claudius had demanded them, why they broke their faith, they fell on their knees, confessing their offence, and prayed him, since they were sufficiently punished by the Gods, to receive them again to his mercy, and spare their lives, under whatever condition or servitude he pleased; and made solemn oaths never to rebel in times coming, and, if they failed, all vengeance in earth to fall on them, and their posterity. Some of the Romans gave counsel to Claudius, to punish their rebellion, and to slay the principal movers thereof, otherwise the Britons might not be held to their word. Nonetheless, Vespasian persuaded him, with many reasons, to mercy; for a prince without mercy may well be feared, but never loved. also, nothing was so fitting to the majesty of Roman people as to have mercy on their subjects, and defend them from all injury from their enemies; for, in that way, the empire of the Romans was increased, and should endure in the same way to the end of the world. These words of Vespasian calmed the emperor, so that he chose rather to be named a merciful prince, than a vengeful tyrant. In the meantime, he began to treat of matters concerning the administration of the Britons: and, first, he made Arviragus king of Britons, so that the crown should remain in the native blood; for he was Prince of Wales, and brother to Guiderius, previously slain. He ordained Plautius to be governor as before, and M. Trebellius to be treasurer; and commanded them, to fill all the strongholds and towns of Britain with a strong garrison of warriors; to administer justice by the laws; to keep the Britons in peace, and defend them from all injury from people lying them about, specially from the Scots and Picts, who were a people full of warlike courage, and impatient of servitude: and to seek no occasion of war against them; and, if it were necessary to have battle, to have then strong forces, both at home and afield; having no less respect to keep the Britons loyal to the Romans, than to increase their empire: and, finally, he exhorted the nobles of Britain, to remember the affliction which fell to them by their rebellion, and to keep their faith in time coming, for the welfare of themselves, their children, and goods. Such things done, the Britons returned home; and gave thanks to Vespasian, for his humanity shown to them.

After this, Claudius Caesar, desiring some triumph of honours before his returning to Rome, thought expedient to visit Orkney, the last Isles within the ocean surrounding Britain. The motive of his war against them was, because they supported the people of Albion in the battle described above against the Romans. A short time after, Claudius, provided with all necessaries, come out of Britain with fair winds, and went through Pentland Firth to Orkney, where he was nearly shipwrecked.

None of the Orkney men were seen at his first coming; for, when they saw so huge a fleet of ships arrived within their seas, they hid themselves in caves. Claudius, finding this isle deserted, went to Kirkwall, and sent his scouts to spy the nature of the country, and people thereof; and, when he was informed that the same was full of every kind of cattle and fowl necessary to sustain the life of man, he thought the same sufficient enough to adorn his triumph. On the following day, hearing that Ganus, King of Orkney, was in a castle not 12 miles from his army, he sent a company of warriors to besiege the said castle. And when these men were passing forward to do that, they perceived several rude people of that country coming from the caves, where they had hid all the night, and going to the mountains. These rude people were daunted by the sight of the Romans: nonetheless, seeing no refuge, they fought cruelly a while; but, at last, they were all slain or taken. The Romans, rejoicing in this victory, laid siege to the castle. At last, when King Ganus had debated long time, and saw no recourse, he surrendered the castle, and was brought prisoner, with his wife and children, to Claudius. Then Claudius raised sail, and arrived at Calais; where he stayed some time, while his army was refreshed; then returned to Rome: and led Ganus, with his wife, children, and the hostages of the Britons, in his triumph.

This history of Claudius coming to Britain is drawn out of Suetonius, Eutropius, Bede, Campbell, and Cornelius Ireland.

The same time, Saint Peter the Apostle, come from Antioch to Italy, after he had erected many churches in Asia; where he, preaching the gospel of Christ, began to found the Christian faith. About this time, was the glorious and blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God, taken with body and soul to heaven: in the 5th year of the empire of Claudius; after the Incarnation, 47 years.

Chap. Tenth.

How several princes of Britain, conspiring against Arviragus, were defeated. How the confederate Kings come to support these Princes of Britain against the Romans.

As soon as Arviragus was made king in this manner, he repudiated his lawful Queen Voada<88>, sister to Caratacus, and put her in prison, after she had borne to him two daughters, and a son; and then he married a Roman lady named Genissa, by persuasion of Plautius, trusting, if it happened that the said Arviragus rebelled against the Romans, the affinity ceasing between him and Caratacus, he should get no support from the Scots. Several princes of Britain were very disturbed, that Arviragus had repudiated his Queen in this manner; and persuaded him, by many arguments, to cast off the Roman lady, and to adhere to his lawful wife, who had been with him many years, and borne to him fine children, to whom nothing in earth might be compared. Also they said, what profit might be had from the Scots, if his enemies happened once to attack his realm; and pleaded with him to avoid, that he, by rage of lust, and deceitful words of the Romans, might draw himself, and the Britons, from friendship of their old allied friends. Nonetheless, when they had assailed him in vain with these and similar words, they found his reason blinded with new lust, without any sight to wisdom or honour. In the night following, they broke the prison where Voada was incarcerated, and brought her and her children with them to Wales. Then Arviragus wrote to the great princes of his realm, saying, that his friends, the lords of Wales, in whom he most confided, took indignation that he had preferred a Roman lady to his first wife; as if it had been unlawful to him to have several wives at his pleasure; although neither the laws, nor the custom of Britain, forbade that: affirming, also, the said marriage was for no rage of lust, except that Britons and the Romans might increase together, under one blood and friendship. Further, he desired them, if the lords of Wales happened to conspire against him, that they would keep their word promised to the Romans. It was answered by them, that it was unlawful to him any manner of way to prefer a new wife to his first wife; and, for that cause, they would not accept the injuries done to her.

Arviragus, knowing what mind these nobles bore to him, thought it best to attack them without delay; and, by advice of Plautius, he assembled an army of Romans and Britons, and went into Wales. The princes of Wales, nothing afraid of his coming, met him with a great force; nonetheless they were vanquished, and put to flight. On the following day, Arviragus and Plautius were informed, that Derby, Lancaster, York, and several other shires had rebelled. Fearing, therefore, that their enemies should attack the East parts of Britain, they returned to London. From then on, Plautius had little confidence in the Britons, and sent to France for two new legions to support his army; then garrisoned all his strongholds with new mercenaries and victuals.

Such things done by Plautius, the princes of Wales convened at Shrewsbury, to take consultation in this most dangerous matter. At last it was concluded, that all people under their rule should convene, at a certain day and place, to expel the Romans out of Britain, or else all at once to die. By the same counsel was decided, that ambassadors should pass to the lords of Carlisle, Kendal, and Durham, to solicit them to the same effect. In the autumn following, these princes foresaid convened at Shrewsbury; where they, who had long suffered Roman injuries, lamented heavily the

fickleness of Arviragus, who had more desire to be servant to the Romans than king of Britons. Notwithstanding, with healthy mind and strength, they concluded to recover their ancient honours and liberty. But then began no little contention who should be captain of the army; for few of them would give place to any other. Then Comus, prince of Wales, said: "We may soon gather, most valiant men, a greater army of our people and friends than may be easily resisted, provided every thing were governed by craft of warfare; for therein stands all victory and glory of battle. Nonetheless, sedition, discord, and ambition of honours, are so contrary thereto, that where they sprout, neither order nor craft of warfare may be there, nor yet victory be had over enemies. Therefore, all ambition is to be drawn away, and all dissensions to be quelled; and, finally, a man to be chosen, to whom the other people shall be obedient; by whose authority this battle shall be led, and, if we intend to have victory, to be obedient to him. And, because we are near equal to each other in power, therefore it is best to send ambassadors to Caratacus, King of Scots, who is a most cruel enemy to the Romans, and desire him to concur with us to revenge the oppression done to his sister Voada, and to defend his nephew, whom the Romans intend to defraud of the crown of the Britons; and to exhort him to take the guardianship of his nephew, until he is of mature age: and they to obey him in all things; for the more affection that he has to his sister and nephew, the more easily may this matter be solicited."

Soon after, ambassadors were sent to Caratacus, and presented to him all this matter at length, as it is described above. Caratacus answered, that he was more aggrieved that Arviragus had married a Roman lady, in destruction of himself and his realm, than of any injuries done to his sister or nephew; knowing well, how the Romans, by vain fellowship and guile, seduce imprudent kings to their dominion. Nonetheless, he promised to come, before the spring of the year, to support them with his army, as he thought most expedient. The ambassadors, dispatched in this way, returned to Shrewsbury.

At the spring of the year, as we have said, these foresaid princes of Britain, by general edict, assembled all men that might bear weapons, to a certain day, at York, to defend their common liberty, to the number of 80,000 men; and, on the said day, Caratacus and Congestus, the allied kings of the Scots and Picts came; whose coming made the Britons so joyful, that they believed in nothing but certain victory. Immediately, as was before devised, Caratacus was made general captain of all this army; and he made under him several other captains, from those of most wisdom and courage; and exhorted the people to be obedient to them, with such respect to their own and common welfare, that they suffer not themselves to be surrendered to enemies: and also he prayed them, to remember the courage of their elders, who drove the valiant Julius out of Albion.

The people of Albion, inflamed to battle by this exhortation, come forward well arrayed on their enemies. As soon as Plautius and Arviragus were informed thereof, they arrayed their people. Nonetheless, they thought it unprofitable to give immediate battle, knowing well their enemies were full of ire and hatred; and, therefore, concluded rather to tire them with long delays, marching, labour, and shortage of victuals, than to risk fighting against so huge a multitude of people, all enraged against them at once, who could not be vanquished without innumerable casualties. The people of Albion, by this delay of battle, come to such point, that they could not, for multitude of people, by held together: for such dearth and hunger arose in their army, that several of them departed from their camp to seek victuals; of whom

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a certain number were taken and brought to Plautius, and said how the Britons, by hunger, marching, and trouble, were nearly defeated. Plautius, on the following day, made his army ready for battle. Caratacus, well informed thereof, arrayed his people, and, on the sound of a trumpet, joined battle. There followed a sharp battle, fought continually with uncertain victory, until the night severed them on each side. Plautius, on the following day, seeing that he might not reinforce his army, returned to London, after the most part of his horsemen were lost. Caratacus, broken in the same manner, came with the remainder of his army to York: and commanded all his people to return home, until they were called on again.

Chap. Eleventh.

Of the message sent to Caratacus by Plautius, and of his answer. Of the death of Genissa. And how Vespasian was sent to Britain to defeat the Britons.

Plautius, after this dreadful battle, sent his ambassadors to Caratacus, and said that he was greatly surprised that Caratacus, without any occasion of injuries, attacked the lands of the Romans, and supported their enemies; having no remembrance of the great mercies shown to him by Emperor Claudius, when the said Claudius, with little difficulty, might have subdued his realm and people: although he abstained, and exerted his wrath on Orkney. And, therefore, he desired him to repair all injuries done by him, and abstain from them in times coming; or else he should be regarded an enemy to the Romans. It was answered by Caratacus, that it was not surprising that he defended his nephew Guiderius who was defrauded of his just heritage and kingdom. And to the remaining points he answered, it was for no favour that Claudius did not attack the realm of the Scots, except because he knew it was not possible to conquer it but with great risk and hazard of battle: and, for that cause, he went against the rude and unarmed people of Orkney, who might be soon vanquished; so that he, the glorious and valiant Emperor, among feeble creatures, might have a feigned glory of triumph. For these causes, the Romans should redress both the new and old injuries done to Scots and Picts, and depart promptly out of Albion, with their people; otherwise he could be sure that Scots, Picts, and Britons, whom they held in most contempt, should be their perpetual enemies, for defence of their liberty, and native Gods.

Plautius, by this answer, took high indignation; and thought it very unworthy that a people neither powerful in riches nor warlike courage, so pertly should despise the power of the Romans: and made, therefore, his oath to revenge this proud defiance of Caratacus. Many other Romans made their oaths in that same manner.

When Arviragus had considered the great constancy of Caratacus in this manner, he firmly believed, if his strength were concurrent with the remaining people of Albion, that the Romans might be easily beaten out of Albion. Desiring, therefore to recover his ancient honours and liberty, he left Plautius, and went, with all that supported him, to the remaining princes of the Britons, who were convened for the time at Shrewsbury; where he was welcomed. Genissa, the Roman lady, whom Arviragus took in place of his lawful wife, when he heard of the rebellion of Arviragus, was so enraged, that she aborted her child, and soon after died. Then Aulus Plautius, each day having less confidence in the Britons, because their faith was so oft broken; began to garrison the fortifications, strongholds, and towns of the Romans with new soldiers and victuals; and sent letters with diligence to Claudius, complaining of the falsehood of the Britons, who might no way be held under the Roman laws, but made new rebellion, and have brought with them the Scots and Picts, the most cruel and bloody people on earth: and therefore the battle should not be led, in times coming, only against the Britons, but rather against all the people of Albion. For these reasons it would be best to send support quickly to the Romans, so that they would not be shamefully beaten out of Britain. As soon as Claudius read these letters, he sent Vespasian with many Roman legions to Britain.

Vespasian, when he came, seeing the dangerous case the Romans were in, set immediately to improve matters. And first he called before him the said Plautius, to

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see if the damage falling to the Romans in this battle, happened by his imprudence or sloth. Plautius, for his defence, made few words; but suffered his deeds to show themselves: for everything, that pertained to the craft of warfare, was so well arranged by him, that the same was so approved by Vespasian, that he firmly believed the said Plautius had sufficient strength, even without reinforcements, to have subjected the people of Albion to Roman rule.

Chap. Twelfth.

How the three Kings of Albion, making war against Vespasian, were defeated. How Vespasian received Arviragus to his mercy, and made his lands tributary to the Roman Empire.

Vespasian, soon after, made his preparations to fall on Arviragus and the Britons, for their rebellion. Arviragus informed thereof, convened his nobles at York, where the Scots and Picts also came. In this council, it was not decided, as before, that every man sufficient to bear arms, should convene to expel the Romans out of Albion; but a certain number from every shire only, so that their victuals could be the more easily provided. Thus were the Britons, at the day appointed, gathered to the number of 65,000 chosen men, and convened at York, with two months victuals, waiting for the coming of the allied kings; who come, soon after, with 60,000 men. The people of Albion assembled together in this manner, divided themselves into several regiments, with captains to hold them in good order. On the other side, Vespasian raised his camp, and was guided by certain treacherous Britons, to where the people of Albion were. There soon followed a dangerous and terrible battle; for the people of Albion stood at a fort beside a moor, not twelve miles from York. The Romans that fought in the right wing were nearly defeated; nonetheless, Vespasian supported them with a new legion: by whose coming their courage was so raised, that, notwithstanding their heavy wounds, they renewed battle; and even when they were wounded through their bodies, they ceased not until they slew their enemies against them. Others fought so cruelly, that when their hand and sword was beaten away, they fell upon their enemies, and tore them with their teeth. Nonetheless, the fatal necessity of victory, given by divine destiny to the Romans, might not be vanquished that day by numbers, courage, nor long perseverance in battle; by the enmity of the Gods, who had determined to subdue all realms to the Romans: for the people of Albion, although they left nothing undone that might pertain to valiant champions, were finally defeated. Arviragus, oppressed with heavy sorrow, for the slaughter of so many noble champions, would have slain himself; but he was stopped by his friends, in hope of better fortune. Caratacus, saved with a small number of people, went to Brigantia. Illithara, King of Picts, desiring not to live after the slaughter of his dear friends, took off of his coat of armour, and was slain soon after, his identity being unknown.

The Britons, after this dreadful battle, sent a herald to Vespasian, desiring peace; and said that so huge calamity falling to them by ire of the Gods, that of 65,000 Britons, only 600 men were left alive, and were so punished, that they might be a sufficient example to show what vengeance and sorrow comes to all people, for violation of their faith and promise. Vespasian answered, he would hear no condicion of peace, until Arviragus were brought to his presence. Arviragus, seeing no escape, complied in the humblest manner; which thing moved Vespasian to great pity, seeing, by chance of fortune, that he, who was so powerful that morning, was then so destitute of friends, that he desired mercy from his enemies. Immediately Arviragus fell on their knees, saying, the Gods had made such a rigorous punishment on him and his people, that he did not wish to live after such a high calamity. And therefore he only asked for grace to his son and wife, who he before had wrongfully exiled without any fault. Vespasian seeing his sorrowful estate, had such compassion, that he could not refrain from tears; nonetheless, he took counsel how he should behave in this matter. Some gave counsel, that Arviragus should be sent, with his wife, children, and goods, to Rome, as lawful prey, to abide the judgement of Roman senators; to be an

example to all people, what fruit proceeds of rebellion against the Romans. Others, thinking of the uncertainty of fortune, counselled him to have pity, and not to send the said Arviragus to Rome, since he was not their lawful prey, but coming under assurance of the Romans; whose empire was added by inviolate faith, and by no deceits on their subjects. Vespasian, by this counsel, took mercy on Arviragus, and continued him in his authority; and commanded all the strongholds of the towns of Britain, which before were held against the Romans, to be surrendered to his captains; and hostages to be given for observation thereof. The principal man that was given at this time as hostage, was Guiderius, Prince of Britain, and son of Arviragus; who went with Vespasian to Rome, fell into a great illness, and died. When Vespasian had defeated the Britons in this way, he destroyed all their own laws, and brought on them the laws of the Romans: and commanded that no man should have commission of blood^{<86>} within Britain, but Plautius, or his deputies; by whom certain men were appointed to administer justice in the Roman manner. The fame of these decisions caused all the remaining Britons to surrender to Vespasian, and they gave him many rich jewels, in satisfaction for their offence.

Chap. Fifteenth.
***How Vespasian won the Town of Camelon, and defeated
Caratacus. Of his Message sent to Caratacus; and of
Caratacus' Answer.***

Now was the winter come, and caused Vespasian to return to York; where he stayed, all the said winter, with Arviragus. And at the next summer he raised his army, and came within the lands of Merse and Berwick, pertaining to the dominion of the Picts: whose inhabitants were always most valiant, and strongest enemies to Britons; nonetheless, they were then so broken, at this time, from the battle described above, that they might make little resistance, but quickly surrendered to the Romans. Others, who were more noble, fled to Camelon, believing the Romans could not come there, because the ways were narrow and difficult. Vespasian, well informed of their departing, came with more diligence than any men expected, and won the said town of Camelon. Among many rich and precious jewels, in the plundering of this town, were found the arms of the kings of the Picts; and a crown of gold, set about with precious stones of various colors; and a sword, with haft of gold most curiously wrought, within a purple sheath. This sword was worn, many years after, by Vespasian in all his wars. All the nobles of the Picts, that were taken in Camelon, were allowed to return home, on their parole. Vespasian stayed, a long time after, in Camelon; and brought divers veteran captains to dwell in it, and to live under Roman laws, instructing the rude people thereof in civil manners. He built a temple, not far from the said town, upon the Water of Carron, in honour of Claudius and Victory; and commanded the same to be adored by the people. While Vespasian was given in this manner to administration and vain religion of pagans, he was informed by his scouts, that Caratacus, King of Scots, had renewed his army, and was coming against him to revenge the injuries done to him by the Romans.

Vespasian, little frightened by this news, stayed in Camelon, and commanded Plautius, with a part of the Romans army, to raeed him. Not long after, at the sound of a trumpet, both the armies joined, and fought with incredible slaughter on either side. At last, when they had fought from dawn to midday, the victory succeeded to the Romans. The remainder of the Scots, that escaped from this sorrowful battle, fled to the mountains. King Caratacus, badly wounded, was brought out of the field, with great difficulty, to Dunstaffnage. Through the fame of this dreadful battle, many people surrendered to the Romans. All those who dwelt in Brigantia, having little confidence in their strongholds, fled with their wives, children, and goods, to the nearby mountains. The fourth day after, Plautius took the town of Carrick, and divided all the spoils and goods found in it, among his warriors; and sent a herald to Vespasian, to inform him of this victory, and show that Brigantia, the principal province of Scotland, was to be taken without any further rebellion. Vespasian rejoicing at this news, came to Carrick; where he received many of the people of Brigantia in subjection. After this, having compassion of the lamentable fate falling to Caratacus, fighting to the utter defeat of his people, for defence of his liberty; he sent messengers to him, saying: It was not suitable to him to be any further repugnant to the Gods, by whom all victory, empire, and authority proceeds in earth; whose delivered sentence had ordained all regions to be subjected to the Romans. It was necessary, therefore, for him and his people, to obey the Gods; who have imposed a manifest punishment on him and his people, for their rebellion: also, he promised, if he would be obedient to the Roman empire, that he should remain in honour as before,

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and be reputed as friend to the senate and people of Rome; otherwise, if he would be repugnant, and persevere in unprudent hatred against them, he should be degraded of authority, and his people utterly destroyed. To these words Caratacus answered, it was no less insanity than imprudence, for mortal people to presume, (as if they were familiar with the Gods,) to have any sure knowledge of things to come. Further, if the Romans, without any occasion of just battle, would attack him, he could do nothing less than resist so far as he might: for he trusted the Gods not to be so unjust, to give victory to injurious and false people. Further, he could not understand that the Romans would defend him in his realm, since they have sought so many ways to rob him, as they have done to other kings. As to the amity and friendship of the Romans, he thought the same to be desired, if it might do him any commodity; but in fact it was to be refused, for great damage would follow thereby to his realm and subjects. The realm of the Scots was as free to him, as the kingdom of the Romans was to Caesar Emperor. And since all people that will not defend their own, are reputed no less detestable than they that raid other men's realms, he would persevere in battle against the Romans to the final end of his life, in defence of his realm and liberty.

Chap. Fourteenth

How Caratacus coming with a new army against the Romans, was vanquished. Of the Death of Plautius; and how Ostorius was sent in his place, and defeated the Britons.

Vespasian was greatly impressed by this answer; seeing Caratacus of so invincible spirit: when all the remaining princes of Albion were subdued, he only, presuming to fight against the Romans: and, for his proud contempt, he was prepared to bring himself and his people to utter ruin. Yet, because the passage was difficult, and victuals might not be transported into his lands, without huge damage to the Romans; he changed his mind, and made himself ready to go to the Isle of Man, lying between Ireland and Albion: and for the expedition thereof, he brought many ships and galleys to the nearest port, ready for the invasion. In the meantime, he got letters, saying, that both Wales and the Isle of Wight had rebelled; and uncertain if that proceeded by persuasion of France or not. Vespasian, trusting nothing so good as to meet this present trouble before it spread any further, abandoned his expedition to the Isle of Man, and went to Britain; leaving behind him the strongholds of Brigantia garrisoned with strong soldiers, and the remainder of his army with Plautius. At his coming to Britain, the people, were soon defeated with little trouble; and the principal conspirators punished for their rebellion. Vespasian, after this success, returned by command of Emperor Claudius, to Rome; where he was received with great triumph.

As soon as Caratacus was informed that Vespasian was departed out of Albion, he thought the time suitable to recover the lands of the Scots and Picts, which were taken before by the tyranny of the Romans; and assembled therefore an army from several lands of Albion, with all people that hated the Romans, or desired to revenge their injuries. The Romans, well warned of his coming, met him with arrayed hosts. There followed a terrible encounter, fought with burning hatred on all sides: the Scots desiring to recover their liberty; and the Romans, to lose not the lands that they had won before with great difficulty and pain. This battle was long fought with uncertain victory; nonetheless, the wisdom and warlike prowess of the Romans won the victory, and put the Scots to flight. Caratacus, seeing his army broken, collected the remainder of his people, and came to Dunstaffnage; where he, by long consultation with his nobles, considered how he might defend his realm against the Romans; and desired a new army to be gathered out of all lands under his dominion, with all support that might be got from the princes of Ireland, their ancient fathers, to expel the Romans out of Scotland, or all to die together. The council fully warned by their present calamities falling on them by the frequent victory over the Romans, thought it not profitable to risk the realm to the last chance of battle: but rather to suffer their people, who have been so oft defeated before, to desist some time from battle, to recover some strength. By the same council, was decided, that certain chosen men should lie on the border of Brigantia, to stop the Romans from invasion of the remaining lands of Scotland, by frequent incursions rather than plain battle: thus was the conflict prolonged two years after, without any great slaughter. The same time, Plautius, governor of the Roman army, fell into an incurable dysentery; and when he understood clearly he might neither recover by support of nature nor medicine, he so despaired of his life, that he desired Emperor Claudius, since he might not labour further for the welfare of Rome, to send a prudent captain in his place, to hold the people of Albion under Roman laws, so that the lands obtained before with great difficulty would not be lost. Claudius, at his request, sent to Britain a valiant knight,

named Ostorius Scapula; and soon after his coming, Plautius died in Camelon. His body was burned, after the custom and rite of the Romans, and consecrated in the Temple of Claudius and Victory. Thus arose a custom, observed many years after among the Scots and Picts, to burn the bodies of them that die; as appears yet, by many signs, to our days: for, in the year of God, 1571, in Findon, a town of the Mearns, 5 miles from Aberdeen, was found an ancient sepulchre, in which were 2 urns, made with great craftmanship, with engraved letters, full of burned ashes; which soon fell to dust after they were handled. In this way in Kenbothen, a town of Mar, 10 miles from Aberdeen, were found two tombs, similarly full of burned ashes. Many other similar tombs have been often found, full of burned ashes. But we will return to our history, where we left.

The Britons, after the coming of Ostorius Scapula, expecting to recover their liberty, because he did not know their manners nor country, rebelled. Ostorius, pleased to have the justification of a rebellion, so that he might show his prowess and courage; marched to attack the Welshmen and other Britons, in the West parts of Britain; and finally defeated them. After this victory, he went on the East Britons, opposite the French Sea, who were the principal movers of this rebellion. These Britons seeing no refuge, fled to a narrow place, where they might not be easily attacked: nonetheless, they were finally vanquished. Through the fame of this dreadful battle, all the remaining Britons were subjected to Ostorius.

Chap. Fifteenth.

How Caratacus, coming with a new army against the Romans, was defeated and made Prisoner to Ostorius, by the treachery of Cartumandia, his stepmother.

Ostorius, a short time after, took a castle, in Cumbria, named Carlisle: and after he had taken great plunder of goods out of all parts lying thereabout, he come with all his army, into both Pentland, Carrick, Kyle, and Cunninghame; and wrought insufferable injuries with fire and sword, on the people thereof. Caratacus, determined not to tolerate these offences, decided either to die, or else to revenge them. Many other people of Albion come to him in the same mind. The army of Caratacus at this time was numbered to 40,000 men: and was arrayed in such manner that all their backs were set against a deep river, without any fold; so that none of them might have hope to flee. Then all the aged women, who came in great number to see the outcome of this fight, were set on each side of the battle; to raise the spirits of men with their clamour, and to cast stones at their enemies, and slay them when they fell. All the other women, that were young and strong, were arrayed with armour and weapons among the men. Such things done, the captains went here and there about the army, exhorting them all in general to battle; and said, That day, it behoved them either to recover their liberty, or else be subjected to perpetual servitude. And also they made invocation to the Divine Spirit of their elders; who, by their courage and glorious warlike prowess, beat Julius out of Albion, and made them and their posterity free from all tribute and servitude to the Romans. Then followed such huge clamour and noise in the army, that each man promised, without any fear, to fight for their realm and liberty to the death. Ostorius was no little daunted, seeing the Scots of so huge multitude, and full of desire for battle; knowing well how dangerous it was to fight against any men in extreme desperation without refuge. Caratacus, to give the army yet more courage and spirit to fight, said that their perpetual liberty was there in that field, for the winning. On the other side, Ostorius was no less prudent in exhortation of his people: desiring them, in a long speech, to remember that they were Romans, vanquishers of all people; and their enemies, but rude and barbarous, without humanity, and cast by Nature, the skilful mother of all creatures, in the remote and last corner of the world. Immediately, both the armies, by thundering force of trumpet, joined, and fought with more cruelty than ever was heard in any world before: nonetheless, the Romans were finally victors.

In this battle was taken Caratacus' wife, his daughter, and brother. And, as oft is seen, few men can have certain friends in adversity: This Caratacus fled to his stepmother, Cartumandia, Queen of Scots; who, after the death of his father Cadallane, was married to a valiant knight, named Venisius. Cartumandia seeing Caratacus destitute of all consolation, delivered him to Ostorius, the 9th year after the war was begun by the Romans in Albion. Ostorius seeing Caratacus brought before him, and shorn of kingly dignity, had such compassion, that he took him by the hand, and said, "O Caratacus, this mischance should be suffered with patience; for though you be destitute of good fortune, yet you are not coming to our hands, naked of virtue. Do not be ashamed to be the plunder of the Romans, who have subdued so many rich and valiant kings, and led them in triumph." To this answered Caratacus, with a heavy expression: "I must," said he, "suffer this adversity, although it be against my will. And yet nothing is so grievous to me as Fortune; which is so contrary to my governance, that she has thrown me at your feet, to be an example of her mutability;

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and made me prisoner, more by treason than force: while my strength endured, I resisted; but now, by treason of my stepmother, Cartumandia, in whom had I most confidence after my defeat, I am come into your hands. My part is now to obey you as victor, and suffer the will and pleasure of my enemy: your part shall be to use the chance of a victorious Captain, and so merciful, that vanquished and miserable people may have some hope of grace." As soon as Caratacus had said these words, he was brought to the camp of the Romans, and treated with all reverence, as was fitting for a king.

Chap. Sixteenth.

How Caratacus was brought to Rome, and how he returned to Scotland. Of strange marvels seen in Albion; and of several noble Clerics, and of the Death of Caratacus.

Caratacus, within a few days after, was brought through Italy, with his wife, daughter, and brother, to Rome. The people, when they heard of his coming, assembled out of all parts; very desirous to see that valiant king who had fought so many years against the Romans. At his coming, there stood arrayed in the streets of Rome, the band of warriors, in great order. First were shown his horse, harness, barding, and rich spoils; which were got in the field against him: following these, his wife and daughter; and, last of all, himself. Caratacus, brought before the Emperor in this manner, and seeing his friends that come with him somewhat daunted; to show his courage nothing dejected in this calamity, said: "Had I been as fortunate in prosperity and riches, as I am in high nobility and blood, I might have rather come as a friend than a prisoner to this town; for I was not unworthy, through my ancestors and great dominion, to have been allied with the Romans. This present calamity is no less honourable to you, Emperor Caesar, than unpleasing to me. I had once horses, harness, men, and riches: what wonder is it that I have lost them against my will? For if the Romans will have empire above the world, all people must be subjected to your servitude. Had I been surrendered to the Romans, soon after their coming into Albion, neither had your glory, nor yet my calamity been so notable and known. And though you punish me, who am your prisoner, with death; the memory of me shall soon vanish: yet, if you will suffer me return to my realm, it shall be a perpetual example of your mercy." The Emperor immediately gave pardon and grace both to him, his wife, and brothers; and delivered them from captivity. Soon after, the fathers convened, and held several discussions concerning the captivity of Caratacus. Many of them thought the taking of him no less honourable to the Romans, than was the taking of King Syphax by Scipio, or Persis by L. Paulus, or the taking of any other vanquished kings by the Romans; and concluded, therefore, that a triumph was to be given to Ostorius. Caratacus was commanded to return to Scotland, living his eldest brother and daughter in pledge.

Many prodigies and strange marvels were seen in Albion, the year that Caratacus fought with the Romans. A great troop of horsemen were seen arrayed in the field; and soon after, with huge noise and murder on either side, joined together: but they vanished so suddenly, that no manner of sign appeared in the field where they were first seen. In the night before the battle, there appeared to the watch, a multitude of wolves, and took one of them that were at watch away, and brought him with them to the nearest wood; but on the following day, as soon as light appeared, they brought him back again, without any harm to his body. In Carrick was a child borne with a raven head. These strange signs appeared, to no less terror than wonder of the people. The diviners intrepreded them to signify great trouble and danger coming to Caratacus, the head of the realm: nonetheless, seeing him return from Rome, without any harm, they began to interpret them in another way. The people rejoicing at Caratacus' returning, received him with excellent honours, and convoyed him to the town of Carrick. This town, by command of the Emperor, was restored to him, with Brigantia, Kyle, and Cunninghame.

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Caratacus passed the remainder of his life in dear friendship with the Romans, without any foreign or domestic wars; for both his brothers and daughters were sent home to him, by favour of the Emperor. Caratacus lived two years after this, in good peace, and died the 21st year of his reign; a prince more valiant than fortunate, all his days; giving his talent and courage to defend his realm and subjects from servitude to the Romans, and to institute them in good manners. About this time was many noble clerics, as Persius, Juvenal, Seneca. The people began, also, in all parts of the world, to rise in certain faith of Christ; and all vain idolatries and superstitions put down.

And so ends here, the Third book.

Hector Boece

BOOK IV.

Here Begins the Fourth Book of the Chronicles of Scotland.

Chap. First.

How Corbrede was made King of Scots. How the Picts rebelled against the Romans, and slew Ostorius their Captain.

Caratacus having died as we said, and buried with funeral triumph in Carrick, a rich and precious sepulchre was made for him, with higher pillars rising about the same than ever was seen before, to his eternal glory. This prince had no heirs, but a daughter, to succeed to his realm; and she was troubled with such infirmity, that she died a virgin. After her death, Corbreid youngest brother to Caratacus, was made king; for his eldest brother, as we said before, was taken by Vespasian to Rome, and died there. This Corbreid was of fierce talent, not far different from his brother Caratacus in manners. In the beginning of his rule, he went to the Isles, Ross, and Caithness; where he punished many wicked scoundrels for their crimes, and rewarded all them that he found defenders of the people's welfare, with large bounties.

While Corbreid was dispensing justice in this way, the Romans began to decay in Britain: for the Picts, after the creation of their new king, Conkist, hoping to recover their liberty, slew many of the Romans here and there scattered through the country; for they trusted, after the death of Caratacus, that no retribution was to be feared. Thus had none of the Romans escaped, unless they happened to be quickly rescued by the garrisons of their strongholds; nonetheless, many of the principal captains were slain. Ostorius, unwilling to tolerate these injuries, come quickly with a well-arrayed army against the Picts; there soon followed a fierce battle, fought with such cruelty and slaughter, that the Romans were near defeated. Then Ostorius rushed so fiercely forward to support them, that he was badly wounded, and narrowly escaped untaken: nonetheless, the night parted them, with lamentable slaughter on each side. There followed continual incursions, with robbery and slaughter, as the chance succeeded. Through the fame of this victory, several companies of people came to the Picts, and to fight against the Romans. But scarcely was the battle joined, when the Picts left the field, and fled, as if they had been defeated; so that they might draw the Romans to the place where their ambush was laid. And it succeeded as they had planned, for the Romans, following in this manner, were slain. As soon as Ostorius was informed whereof, he fled with great dread to his camp; and wrote to Emperor Claudius, that the Picts had rebelled, and might no ways be held under Roman laws. Then Claudius made his vow to punish the Picts in such a way, that their name and memory should perish in Albion; and, to bring his purpose to effect, he sent two Roman legions into Britain: and, notwithstanding the coming of these legions, the Picts grew each day more insolent against the Romans; and finally, by suddan irruptions, slew two cohorts of the Roman soldiers, who were assembled to make foraging aids into the country; and divided their spoils among their companions, that joined with them in the said exploit.

Ostorius, troubled with heavy cares, and in great pain from the wounds that he got in this last battle, died, to the great consolation of his enemies.

Chap. Second.

How Manlius Valens, Governor of Britain, was defeated by the Picts. How Didius was sent in his place. Of the Message sent by the Picts to Corbreid; and of his Answer.

Ostorius having died in this way, Manlius Valens was made Governor to the Romans in Britain; and came with many formidable legions against the Picts. There followed a sharp conflict, fought a long time with uncertain victory. And when the Picts stood in most danger, there came quickly 400 men of Kendal, whom no one expected, to their support; by whose coming, the Romans were put to flight. In this battle was slain 3000 Romans, and two thousand Picts. Claudius, informed of this dreadful chance falling to the Romans in Britain, sent Aulus Didius, with two Roman legions, to succeed in his place. This Aulus, at his coming to Albion, found the Romans in a very poor state; and set out therefore to revenge the injuries done to them; and pursued the Picts, wherever they might be apprehended, to the death. And first he called all the Romans before him, and reproached them that they had weakened, and were not so watchful and provident in all matters as they should have been, after the taking of Caratacus. He marvelled also that they were so far degenerated from Roman glory, to be shamefully defeated by these feeble enemies; and finally, he prayed them to believe their defeat did not come by any courage or virtue of their enemies, but by their own negligence and sloth; and prayed them to be so obedient to their captain, that he would have no occasion by them to lose his courage. The Romans immediately made their solemn vows, to revenge all injuries done by their enemies. The Picts, when first they heard this news, were afraid: nonetheless, when they remembered their recent victory, they began to take good courage; and sent immediately their ambassadors to Corbreid, King of Scots, saying to him, though they had lately obtained two victories over the Romans, yet the Romans, with more hatred than before, intended to come with awful incursions into Pentland, and intended, after the destruction of the Picts, to attack the Scots in the same manner: and, therefore, desired the said Corbreid to send support, in time to meet the present danger before his strength was broken, rather than when his lands were so wasted, that he might make no support.

It was answered by Corbreid, that he knew well how Didius was coming to Albion, with no good mind to him nor his realm; intending not only to keep the lands obtained before by the Romans, but to augment the same with new regions and lands. Yet, because he was allied with the Romans, he would no ways attack them with battle, unless they first attacked him; for he was obliged thereto by the treaty made before by Caratacus. Nonetheless, for the defence of his realm and people, he should come, within a certain day, with all his power; rather to make impediment to the Romans, than to attack them with any battle.

Chap. Third.

How Cartumandia, Queen of Scots, was buried alive. How the Scots and Picts fought against the Romans with uncertain victory, and were constrained to make peace; and of the death of Didius.

As soon as these ambassadors were despatched, Corbreid went with an army to Brigantia. Didius, when he heard of his coming, ordered him, by a herald, to depart quickly from there; and said, it was the province and land of the Romans, and granted to Caratacus, only during his life: telling him, if he were rebelling against this arrangement, he should be reputed enemy to the Romans, and driven by force out of all the lands of his realm. Scarcely were these words said, when tidings came, that Cesium Nasica, lieutenant to Didius, had entered into Brigantia with an army.

Corbreid immediately gathered all his people into a great stronghold; believing it no less honourable to keep his subjects without peril, than to work damage on his enemies: and then went to Epiacum, to be counselled in this most dangerous matter by Venisius, the husband of Cartumandia, his mother-in-law.

This Venisius was a man of high talent, and was for a long time defended from injuries by his neighbours by authority of the Romans; yet, because he saw their tyranny and proud dominion so unbearable, he rebelled, and came to support his native prince. Cartumandia, Queen of Scots, and spouse to the said Venisius, very sorrowful for the good fortune daily succeeding to Corbreid, and dreading that she would be punished, (for she had previously surrendered Caratacus treacherously to the Romans,) took her husband and friends by skilful deceits, and held them in prison. Corbreid, angered by this offence, came to Epiacum; and, after he had set the said Venisius and his friends at liberty, he commanded this wicked woman, Cartumandia, to be buried alive.

A company of the Scots, at this time, followed so unwarily on the chase of the Romans, that they were surrounded on every side with enemies before they realised, and all slain. This defeat made the remaining Scots, within their forts and strongholds, so afraid, that they might scarcely be held from fleeing. On the fifth day after, the Romans went forward to attack this fortress of the Scots with their horsemen: but it was so surrounded on each one place, which was made by them with hurdles, turfs, and branches. Nonetheless, when the Romans knew that the Scots and Picts were within three miles of their army, they left their purpose. Immediately, Cesium Nasica, captain of the Romans, brought all his army, well arrayed, to the field; and stayed still, until the coming of their enemies. On the other side, the allied people, I mean the Scots and Picts, went so fast forward, when they saw their enemies in sight, that they were out of wind, before ever they come to any strokes. And yet they joined at the setting of the sun, and fought continually until they were parted by coming of the night; and then the Romans fled to their camp, and the allied kings to the mountains.

In the meantime, Didius, the Roman legate, sent a herald to Cesium, his lieutenant, and said there was great trouble among the Britons in Wales; and, therefore, commanded him, to make some honourable way of peace with the Scots and Picts, that the lands, obtained before with so huge difficulty, would not be shamefully lost. This news made Cesium abate some part of his courage. The allied kings, broken with this recent conflict, sent their ambassadors, on the next morning, to Cesium to have

peace; lamenting the huge murder and calamity falling to both their armies by this last battle: and said, therefore, it was sufficient enough to the Romans to have the allied kings as their friends in times coming; for they were so obstinate, that nothing might defeat them during their life. Cesium, having this honourable occasion to treat peace with the allied people, set a day to negotiate on all matters. And, at the said day, peace was finally treated between the Romans, Scots, and Picts, under these conditions: the Romans should keep the lands obtained by them before this peace, without any further conquest; and should neither attack the Scots nor Picts with battle, unless the Scots and Picts attack them first. The Picts should live by their own laws; and Conkist, their king, should reign above them, as before, paying the old tribute to the soldiers of Camelon. The commission of blood shall be only with the Romans. No Frenchmen nor Britons, that are fugitive from the Roman laws, shall be received among the Scots and Picts. The Scots shall enjoy freely all their lands, and use their own laws; providing always, that they support not the inhabitants of the Isle of Man with victuals or weapons, for the injuries lately by them done to the Romans. And, finally, the said Scots shall neither support the Picts in Britain, if any of them happen to rebel against the Romans; nor yet attack them with battle, so long as they kept faith with the Romans. The peace being confirmed in this way, all parties returned home.

This peace endured, without any violation, so long as Didius was captain in Britain. And, the sixth year after, he died in London.

Chap Fourth.

How Veranius was made Governor of Britain; and of his death. How Suetonius, his successor, put the Isle of Man to sack: How the Britons made a new rebellion against the Romans; and of several Prodigies and Marvels seen in Albion.



Illustration 1: A Battle

Didius having died, as we have said, a new governor named Veranneus was sent to Britain by command of the Emperor Nero, When this Veranneus had visited several provinces of Britain, he came to Camelon, and made sacrifice in honour of the Goddess Victory, and Emperor Claudius, who had lately died, and was deified by the Romans.

Veranneus, very desirous to be equal to his predecessors in glory of warfare, sought many occasions to make war on his neighbours. It so happened, that certain Highland thieves of Scotland, took a plunder of goods out of the Picts' lands. Veranneus, trusting this sufficient occasion to make war, sought no redress by reference to the peace before contracted; but sent a multitude of people, without any more delay, into the lands of the Scots; and, by frequent incursions, brought away a great plunder of men and goods with them from Pentland. The Scots, reacting to this outrage, rushed quickly to arms. There followed continual raids and slaughter on either side; and, in the midst of this trouble, Veranneus died. His last words were so full of vain arrogance and glory, as writes Tacitus, that he believed himself sufficient, if he had lived two years more than he did, to have subjected all the lands of Albion to Roman Empire.

After his death, Suetonius, a humble man, was sent in his place; who, after his coming, renewed peace with the people of Albion: and, when he had remedied all injuries of which they complained, he made himself ready to go to the Isle of Man; for

it was full of valiant people, and was a general refuge of all them that hated or rebelled against the Romans. At his coming to the said isle, he found a strange force arrayed against him. First, stood a company of insane women, arrayed in furious habit, on the sands, with hair hanging over their eyes, and armed with firebrands in their hands. After them, stood the priests named Druids, holding their hands to heaven, and making most terrible cursing on the Romans; and, in the midst of them, stood a band of armed men, ready to fight. The Romans were more daunted by this strange sight of furious women and priests, than any fear of the armed men: nonetheless, after exhortation by their captain, they went forward with banner displayed; and, finally, both these women and priests were defeated and surrendered. Suetonius, after this victory, garrisoned all the strongholds of this isle with Romans; and made great destruction of all the woods, where the priests made their sacrifice in the honour of their Gods.

When Suetonius had conquered the Isle of Man in this manner, he was informed that France had rebelled; and, therefore, to pacify this trouble, he raised sail, and arrived in Brittany. The Britons when they heard of his departing, thought the time suitable to recover their liberty, and rebelled. The motive of their rebellion was, that Arviragus, their last king, left his two daughters, and the Emperor, heirs to his kingdom and riches; trusting to save them from trouble that way: although, all things succeeded contrary to his belief; for his realm was governed by Roman governors, and his house reduced to servitude, as if it had been taken by press of battle; his wife, Voada, flogged; and both his two daughters raped. The Britons, oppressed with these injuries, and dreading each day more oppressions to follow, made open rebellion, and sought support in all parts where they might.

Many unknown marvels were seen, about this time, in Albion. The ocean appeared bloody, and many dead bodies were cast on the shore thereof. Women walked insane, and declared terrible things to come. The pictures of Claudius, beside Camelon, fell down in dust; and the image of Victory fell down from the altar on her back, as if she had been vanquished. The soothsayers said, these prodigies signified great damage occurring to the Romans. The Picts which were in Camelon and other fortifications there besides, hearing this answer, were raised in hopes of better fortune; and not only made a private conspiracy against the Romans, but slew many of their soldiers, before their rebellion was openly proclaimed. The settled Roman veterans, whom the Picts most hated, were slain in great number, and the remainder chased out of all lands given to them for long service; and, finally, these Roman veterans fled to an old temple, within the lands of Berwick, where they were all slain by the inhabitants of that region. Petus Cerealis, Lieutenant to Suetonius, desiring to support these veterans, came with a legion of Romans, and a company of horsemen; nonetheless, his legion was defeated, and himself chased to the Roman camp. The next night, he fled to Cattus, procurator of Britain, who was at that time in Kent. As soon as Cattus was informed of the trouble each day rising in Britain, he fled, for fear of his life, to France.

Chap. Fifth.

Of the Complaint made by Voada, Queen of the Britons, to Corbreid. Of his Message sent to Cattus. Of Cattus' answer. Of several Incursions made by Scots on the Romans. And of the first coming of Murrays into Scotland.

Voada, Queen of the Britons, oppressed with daily injury from the Romans, sent her secretary to her brother Corbreid, King of Scots, complaining of her misery and trouble; her daughters raped; and herself so shamefully beaten by the Romans, that patience might not avail, except to await new injuries. Once there was only one king in Britain, but then reigned two kings, the legate, and the Roman procurator; one having power to destroy their blood, and the other, to devour their substance. That man was reputed most noble among the Romans, who might defile most women, or inflict most pillage on the people. And, because nothing might suffice to satisfy the insatiable lust and avarice of the Romans, she required her brother, not to suffer her, his only sister, to be shamefully beaten, and her daughters defiled, without punishment. And finally said, how the Britons, for the infinite harms done to them by the Romans, had rebelled; through which, he might have better occasion to attack the Romans with battle at this time, than any other time before.

Corbreid, moved by this piteous complaint, sent a herald to Cattus, Roman procurator, which was lately returned to Britain, commanding him to redress all offences done to his sister; and, failing in this, declared him to be enemy to the Romans in times coming. Cattus answered, that it was no concern of Corbreid, whether right or wrong were done to Voada; and it was a vain folly for Corbreid, since he was but a rude and barbarous man, to meddle in Roman matters, which were none of his business. Further, if any harm had been done to Voada, Queen of the Britons, the same should be done doubly again, for the Romans would not condescend from their majesty, to satisfy the desire of barbarous people in any other way; and he cared not whether he were friend or foe, or what he might do.

Corbreid, angered by this outrageous answer, made a new treaty of confederation with the Picts. And, within a short time after, the allied kings raised an army of all men fit for fighting that might be found within their realms, with several men of Ireland, that come to their support, and slew the Romans, in all parts where they might be apprehended, without any ransom or pity: and in this journey they took Berwick, which was then most populous town of that region; and, when they had slain all Roman soldiers found therein, they cast down the walls thereof onto the ground.

The inhabitants of the Isle of Man hearing this news, thought the time suitable to recover all their strongholds. Soon after, all the people of Brigantia, Carrick, Kyle, and Cunninghame, come to them; and went, in array of battle, through several provinces of the Romans, ceasing from no manner of cruelties that could be devised on them. The town of Carlisle was not saved from this cruelty; for, after it was taken, all the citizens thereof were slain, and the strong walls thereof, levelled to the ground. The women, during this fury, were so desirous to revenge the cruelties done by the Romans, that they bore armour and weapons.

About this time, a people, named Murrays, descending of German blood, and beaten out of their native region by Roman wars, come, scattered in several companies, to the mouth of the Rhine; where they raised their sails, with their captain

Roderick, to seek a new habitation. At last, after they had long travelled on the stormy seas, and prevented from landing in France and Britain, they arrived in the Forth; which is an arm of the sea dividing Pentland from Fife. The Picts welcomed them the more, because they appeared with strong bodies to support them against their powerful enemies; and were not only descended of their lineage and blood, but were sworn, so far as their power could do, to revenge the injuries done to them by the Romans.

Roderick, brought into Pentland with the Murrays in this manner, went to the allied kings; and, before them, lamented sorely the tyranny of the Romans, who, for nothing but desire of dominion, had conquered a large part of Germany; and not only enslaved the people thereof to unsupportable servitude, but subjected them to Roman laws. In this way, the Murrays, of whom he was captain, were beaten out of their native lands; and forced, because they would suffer no servitude, to seek new habitation. Always, it was a great consolation to him and the Murrays, that they, by favour of the Gods, were brought to these lands, where they might revenge the injuries done to them by their enemies. And, for their motives, he desired the allied kings, to suffer him and the Murrays to pass foremost in support of their people; and desired, if they were able, by their courage and warfare, to drive the Romans out of Scotland, to grant them wives, that they might increase under one blood with Scots and Picts: alternatively, if it happened for them to be slain, they took no care of their death, provided that they had sufficiently revenged the injuries done by their proud enemies. These desires of the Murrays were the more acceptable to the allied kings, in that they understood them enraged with most cruel hatred against the Romans; and, therefore, agreed to all their petitions, trusting, by their incredible courage and strength, to work some high displeasure to their enemies.

Chap Sixth.

Of the Speech made by Voada, Queen of the Britons, to the allied Kings; and how she was vanquished by the Romans, and finally slew herself. And of the death of King Corbreid.

The allied kings, rejoicing in the coming of the Murrays in this manner, went forward with diligence to meet Voada the valiant Queen of the Britons, who was then gathered with a huge number of the Britons, waiting for their coming. As soon as Voada understood her brother Corbreid and the King of Picts were coming with their armies, she went forward to meet them.

After most tender and heartfet embracing on each side, Voada said to them: Had I been born, most valiant champions, a man, I might not have suffered so many cruel and intolerable injuries as now are done by the Romans: nonetheless, in whatsoever image nature has formed me, if you will agree with me to revenge the common offence done to us all, these Romans, that are so valiant against women, and so cruel to their subjects, shall soon see what honour may be done by ladies, when extreme danger occurs. And, though I may no ways devoid me of womanly appearance, yet I shall not want man's hardiness; but I shall fight foremost in the attack, with 5000 armed ladies, who are all sworn to revenge the cruelties done by the Romans. We shall pass foremost in battle, without fear of death, or bloody wounds. We shall not, as other women are, be daunted by any wounds taken or given by our enemies. I can have no mercy on them that have attacked my friends with such odious slaughter and cruelties. These odious tyrants, naked and void of pity, have slain such an infinite number of people, and raped so many honourable virgins and matrons, that they know not themselves, as I believe, men, nor born of women. Arm yourselves, for these reasons, most valiant kings, against your common enemies, with such courage as you shall see ladies have before you: and believe in certain victory; for the Romans are so afraid, that they trust in nothing so much as in their fleeing. And hurry your army with all diligence, in case some reinforcements come to Cattus, the Roman procurator, through which it shall be the more difficult to resist; and, finally, I beseech you not to surrender yourselves, your wives, and children, but sharply fight the Romans." When Voada had ended this speech, the allied kings realised her wisdom and courage.

Cattus, informed of this news, was afraid: nonetheless, he come forward with arrayed hosts to meet the people of Albion; and they did not avoid his coming. Immediately, both the armies joined. At the first encounter, all the horsemen of the Romans were defeated; and, soon after, the foot-soldiers, in the same manner. There followed a miserable slaughter of those who were fleeing. Cattus, badly wounded in this battle, escaped, and fled to France. The people of Albion, proud of this victory, divided the spoils and riches of this field among them; and slew the Romans in all parts where they might be taken. In this battle were slain, as Cornelius Tacitus writes, 52,000 Romans, and 30,000 people of Albion. By this cruel slaughter, the Romans were brought to such calamity, that had not Suetonius, the Roman legate, come quickly from France to their support, the people of Albion would have been perpetually delivered from Roman injuries. This Suetonius come to Britain with two legions, and 10,000 warriors of several nations, and intended to pursue the people of Albion and give new battle. Voada, when he heard of the returning of Suetonius to Britain, sent to the Britons to come to her without any delay. At the day appointed,

there came a huge army of Britons, Scots, Picts, and Murrays, divided in several troops; all at once rejoicing, by their recent victory, that they had the strength and the opportunity to destroy the Romans. The wives, who come with their husbands, as the custom was in those days, were set in carts on the out-borders of the camp, to bear witness to who did most honour. When the Britons, Scots, Picts, and Murrays, were ordered in good array, Queen Voada, not unworthy to be numbered among most doughty champions, rushed about the army, with her two daughters all armed, and said she had not come among so many valiant captains only to defend her realm and riches, but to revenge the many shameful and unworthy offences done to her by the Romans; and had no little indignation in her mind, that the Romans enraged in so unbridled lust, that no virgins nor matrons were left by them unraped: and, further, she said, how the Gods, who are just punishers of all wrongs, were presently coming to bear witness of the iniquities done by the Romans; and have recently punished them in this last battle with shame and slaughter, because they moved unjust battle against free people. "Now it only remains," said she, "to fight against these miserable wretches, that were saved by their shameful flight from the last battle; and though Suetonius, their new captain, may exhort them to battle, yet he may not restore, since they are vanquished, their courage and spirit. Will you consider," said she, "your vanquished and defeated adversaries, against whom you should now fight;—will you consider your own strength, and the occasion of battle;—you shall think it honorable, either to be victorious in this battle, or else all die together: for noblemen should choose rather to die honourably, than to live shamefully."

On the other side, Suetonius ceased not to exhort his army to battle; for, though he had great confidence in their courage, he required them not to regard the vain menacing of barbarian people, among whom were more women than men. They were also young, feeble, and unarmed people, without any knowledge of warfare; and might, therefore, be the more easily defeated, by the proven the courage and sharp swords of the Romans. And though his army was but few in number, the more glory should follow, if they, with so few and insufficient people, should vanquish such a huge multitude of barbarous enemies. And, finally, he prayed them, to wield their swords and spears most fiercely, to kill their foes; and not to think of plunder, until the victory were clearly obtained; after which, they might do what they pleased.

These words of the captains moved the armies to full and ardent desire of battle. The veteran knights, by long experience and use, had no less confidence in their courage and virtue, than if victory had been present in their hands. On the other side, the people of Albion, trusting in their huge multitude of armed men, gave the sign to join battle by the trumpet sound. There followed a bloody and terrible battle. But at last the people of Albion were vanquished, pursued, and put to flight with great slaughter: and the more slaughter followed, because their army was surrounded on every side with so many carts, that the defeated people had no place to fly. The Romans slew all the women in this battle without any pity or ransom. This battle was valiant, but very damagin~~f~~ to the Romans; for the most part of their army were lost.

In this battle were slain, as Tacitus writes, 80,000 people of Albion. The Murrays, for the most part, were all slain, with their captain Roderick. Queen Voada, so that she should not come alive into her enemies' hands, slew herself. Both her daughters were taken; and brought armed, as they had fought, to Suetonius. The eldest of her daughters was married to a noble knight of Roman blood, named Marius; for he had taken her virginity before; and was made king of Britons by authority of Caesar. This Marius, after his coronation, went to Kendal, a part of Britain lying against

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Annandale and Brigantia; and named that land, after his name, West Maria, that is to say, Westmorland. King Corbreid, broken by this sorrowful battle, returned with the remainder of his army to Scotland; and gave to the Murrays, who escaped out of this field, all the lands lying between Spey and Inverness; which lands were called, after them, Moray-land. The old inhabitants of these lands, named Vararis, were expelled; because they were a seditious people, and more given to civil wars, for quarrelling between themselves and their neighbours, than any defence of the realm. The Murrays were then married to Scots virgins, and grew under one blood and friendship with the Scots.

Corbreid passed the remainder of his days without any wars: for the Romans were so irked with civil battles, that they had great difficulty to hold the South parts of Britain under their control; and, for that cause, they pursued not the Scots nor Picts, many years after. This noble prince, broken with years, died at Dunstaffnage, the 18th year of his reign; and was buried among the remaining tombs of his ancestors; in the first year of the empire of Emperor Vespasian; from the Incarnation, 71 years.

Chap. Seventh.
Of several noble Clerks. How Peter and Paul were martyred.
How Dardannus was made King of Scots; and slain for his
tyranny.

Many noble clerks flourished about this time in Italy; as, Statius, Persius, and Plutercus. And the faith of Christ began to spread fast in all parts, through preaching of the holy apostles, Peter and Paul; who gave their whole attention, as good shepherds, to instruct their flock in the true faith, without any respect to riches, or fear of their lives; until, at last, they were both slain in Rome, by the wicked Nero. Peter was hanged by the feet, in a place of Rome called Mont Auri; and Paul, beheaded by the sword, in a place of Rome called Porta Hostiensis.

King Corbreid left behind him three sons, so young that none of them might succeed to the crown. Their names were Corbreid, Tulcane, and Brekus. The first of them was nurtured in Britain, with his aunt Voad, the valiant Queen of the Britons, with such courtly manners and behaviour, that he was called Corbredus Galdus; for yet among us, all people that are proper and honourable are called Galdus. The nobles, after the death of Corbreid, that the crown might remain secure to Galdus at his age of maturity, made Dardannus king: for he was grandson to King Metellane. This Dardannus was of so large stature, that he was called the Fat King. He was very pleasing to the nobles, before he was king, and very tender to King Corbreid, both in war and peace. The people believed, that he would follow the manners of other wise kings, his ancestors; and, because he was a lusty person, of fair visage and body, he was greatly loved among the people. Nonetheless, his mind was given to most degenerate vices; as appeared at the end of his life. In the beginning of his reign, he took the counsel of his nobles, and was not far discordant from the manners of a good prince: but, within three years after, he left all things pertaining to justice, and slid into every kind of vice; and, by council of certain wicked scoundrels, his associates, he took all offices, concerning public administration of justice, from wise and noblemen, and gave them to vicious ribalds, that assisted his insolence and lust; and had all wise and virtuous persons in no less hatred than suspicion. At last, when he had wasted his substance and treasure with the assistance of these wretched ruffians, who had no sight to his honour, except to their personal advantage; he became so avaricious, desiring other men's goods without any conscience or reason, that he slew, by false accusation, a nobleman named Cardorus, who was Great Justice to the last king, Corbreid; and had no occasion to slay this innocent man, except because he reproved his vices. Many others, nobles and innocent men, were slain by him in the same manner. These doings made him odious to his nobles and commoners. At last, he went so far as to plot to destroy Galdus, and his two brothers; trusting, because the crown pertained to them after his death, to keep the same with certain security to him and his heirs. And, to the same effect, he sent a servant, named Carmonak, who was corrupted by his money, to slay Galdus, and his two brothers, in the Isle of Man. Carmonak, instructed in this manner, came to the said isle; and, finally, when he had sought for a long time a suitable opportunity to slay Galdus, he was taken, waiting in a secret place, with drawn sword, where he believed Galdus was to come; and was brought before the Great Justice of this isle, and accused so sharply, that he revealed how he was instructed to slay Galdus and his brothers. As soon as he had confessed this treachery he was put to death.

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The nobles, when they heard of this treachery, conspired against Dardannus; for they hated him, before, for his inhuman cruelties; and, then, most of all, seeing him attempting the slaughter of the king's sons. And, first, they slew all them that favoured him. In the meantime arose a man, of vile and obscure lineage, named Conanus, who was promoted to great riches and honours for his assistance to Dardannus; and gathered the people, in great numbers, to support this tyrant against the nobles: but at last he was taken by them, and hanged on a gibbet. Immediately, these nobles come with an army against this odious tyrant, and made Galdus their captain. Dardannus informed of this, and seeing no refuge, would have slain himself; but he was stopped by his associates, in hope of better fortune. At last, he was brought before Galdus, and slain. His head was after shorn from his body, and borne on a stake through all the army, to his great shame; and his body cast in a most vile closet.

This end made the odious tyrant Dardannus, the fourth year of his reign; in the sixth year of Emperor Vespasian; from the Incarnation, 75 years.

Chap. Eighth.

How many Roman captains, for their feeble administration, were changeed in Britain. How Galdus was made King of Scots. And how he was defeated by Petulius.

The Romans, about this time, began to decay in Albion, by the negligence of feeble captains, and damage from civil wars. For Suetonius, legate of Britain, for his arrogance and cruelty used on the Britons, was deposed; and Petranus Turpilianus, a more merciful captain, was sent in his place. This Turpilianus, at his coming to Britain, calmed all sedition and trouble among the Romans; and assigned all these provinces to a new captain, named Trebellius Maximus, a man of small courage, having little experience of warfare. This Trebellius, seeing great sedition and trouble appearing to rise, through long peace, in his army; he surrendered the same to another captain, named Vectius Velanus: who, in the same manner, defeated the Britons more with amity and kinship, than any authority: and he was in the time of Galdus, of whom shall be our history next following.

After the death of Dardannus, the nobles sat in council, and found the said Galdus both rightful heir to the crown, and a most excellent person, gifted with several virtues, and high prerogatives; and, therefore, crowned him in the fateful chair of marble.

Galdus, after his coronation, made sacrifice to the Gods for the happiness fallen to him; and then gave thanks to his nobles and remaining people, and promised to govern his realm by consultation with the most prudent and noblemen thereof: through which he won great favour and love of his people. He was of young and flourishing age, and not unlike to Corbreid, his valiant father. Further, he was of noble and ancient blood of both his parents: his mother was the King of Picts' daughter, descending by long lineage of kings: whereby, he lacked nothing that might gain him the favour of his people. In the beginning of his reign he set himself to punish the wicked counsellors of Dardannus, by whom the realm was misgoverned, and brought to great trouble. Such things done, he went through all the provinces of his realm, and made such punishment on offenders, that he secured his realm in great tranquillity.

In the meantime the Murrays came to him, and said they rejoiced that Dardannus, who had so harmed the common welfare, was destroyed. The coming of Murrays was the more acceptable to the king, because they brought several oppressors and thieves to his justice; who were soon after punished by death. Not long after, a council was held in Dunstaffnage, where many noble deeds were devised for the common welfare; and the wicked law of Ewin, where the wives of the commoners were free to the nobles, abrogated and annulled. And yet he could not get the remaining cursed laws of King Ewin to be revoked; for all the young nobles were repugnant thereto.

While Galdus was doing this, there come news to him, that a new captain, named Petulius Cerealis, was sent by Vespasian to Britain with an army to recover the lands lost before by negligence of feeble captains; and intended to come quickly to Annandale and Brigantia. Galdus very disturbed by this news, although he would proclaim no wars until he were more surely informed, sent his spies to explore the council of the Romans. These spies returned with diligence; and said, how the Romans were coming, both in Merse and Berwick, with more awful force than ever was seen before in Albion; the livestock driven away; the crops and possessions

burned; and a great number of the Picts, who attacked the Romans in defence of their own goods, slain.

The Scots, very frightened by this news, said, the Britons were unkind, who would not warn them of the coming of the Romans; considering they lately fought near to the utter extermination of themselves, for defence only of the said Britons. Nonetheless, Galdus set himself to meet the Romans before their coming into his realm; and assembled a strong company, to the number of fifty thousand men. Few Scots that might bear armour, were absent that day.

When Galdus was passing forward in this manner, there appeared several strange marvels to his sight. An eagle flew all day, with great labour, above his army; to no less terror than wonder of his people: for it was interpreted, that the Scots should be destroyed by the eagle, which is the standard of the Romans. Nonetheless, Galdus required them to have good hope; for he interpreted, that the said day should put the Romans to great labour. An armed knight was seen flying in the air; and, when he had flown round about all his army, he suddenly vanished out of sight. The sky appeared dark, and full of clouds. Divers fowls fell out of the air, full of blood, in the place where the battle afterwards was joined. Galdus, notwithstanding these sorrowful and unknown prodigies appearing so suddenly in the face of his army, said, that they signified great felicity to his people; and persuaded them to pass forward with good hope of victory.

In the meantime came news, that the Romans had entered Brigantia with more strength than ever they come before in those parts, with purpose not only to fight, but, by complete conquest, to settle down in those lands; for they had such confidence in their warlike courage and valour, that no power of earthly creatures might impede them from their purpose. Galdus, nothing afraid thereof, thought to meet the Romans with such hard warfare as he was taught by his elders; trusting, after so many happy chances falling to the Romans, that Fortune, the unstable guider of mortal creatures, should once bring the Romans, to ruin: for the Gods, often, are seen to be favorable to all people that justly defend themselves from injury by enemies. Some men persuaded the king not to attack his enemies quickly, but to delay with a few people, and suffer the remainder of his people to return home; so that the Romans might be forced, through lack of victuals, either to depart out of Brigantia, or else to be troubled with hunger, and other disadvantages. This counsel was well approved by the nobles. Yet many of them feared these valiant people would lose courage by long delay; for the Scots at their first assembly have most courage and spirit, and are broken with nothing more than long delay: and, for these reasons, nothing was so good as to attack their enemies while their fury endured.

Galdus and his nobles following this last opinion, raised his army, and brought the same, on the third day after, in sight of the Romans. The great multitude, and singular courage, of the Romans, who so oft attacked with frequent victories, made the Scots so daunted, that all their hope of victory was turned into most oppressive fear for themselves. Yet, by the exhortation of their prudent captains, they forced themselves to new courage; and made invocation to their Gods to send them victory. Immediately, both the armies joined, with incredible fury. The Silurians,—I mean the men of Carrick, Kyle, and Cunninghame,—in the same squadron where Galdus was, fought so valiantly, that the right wing of the Romans was near defeated. When Petulius was informed thereof, he sent a new legion of the Romans in their support. Thus were the Silurians overcome. There followed yet a cruel and terrible combat,

with untellable slaughter; for the captains fought with such rage, that they omitted nothing that might pertain to powerful champions. Petulius also constantly went about the Romans where they fought, and supported them with new power where they failed.

While Petulius was encouraging his army in this way, he beheld Galdus fighting, with great courage and spirit, amid his foes; and immediately, inflamed with mighty courage, and desirous to acquire high honour by a notable and sovereign feat, he decided either to slay Galdus, or else, despite his strength, to put him to flight. But then arose a battle more vehement than before; for many of the most valiant and forceful champions among the Scots, fighting with persevering courage to the death, were slain in defence of their prince. Galdus, badly wounded in the face, mounted a horse, and departed from the field. The remainder of the Scots, despairing on the fleeing of the king, fled here and there to their best refuge. The chase by the Romans which followed was so ferocious, that the Scots were slain in all parts where they were taken. In this battle were slain 12 thousand Scots, and 6 thousand Romans. Galdus, badly wounded, collected the remainder of his army, and returned to a castle of the Levynok. The Romans stayed, the remaining of this year, in Epiacum; and subjected all the lands of Brigantia, without any trouble of battle, to their empire.

Chap. Ninth.

***How the noble Lady Vodicia attacked the Romans in battle.
How she was finally slain, and her army defeated.***

Petulius, legate of Britain, very insolent after this victory, and desiring no less to increase the empire of the Romans, than to succeed in equal glory to his predecessors; raised his camp, to subdue the remaining parts of Brigantia. The Brigantes, by continual incursions and skirmishes, resisted his wars for a long time; for it was forbidden, by decree of Parliament, after the slaughter of so many valiant Scots, to attack the Romans with open warfare, or to risk the realm under the chance of a single battle.

While the Romans attacked Brigantia in this manner, Vodicia, youngest daughter to Voada, who was raped, as we have said, by the Romans, and exiled by wrath of Marius, her brother-in-law; to revenge the pollution of her body, and other intolerable offences done to her mother, Voada; assembled an army of the Brigantes and Britons, with the inhabitants of the Isle of Man; and come with awful battle on the Romans, when they expected nothing less than her invasion. At the first coming of this army, was heard an huge din and noise, by sound of people, all exhorting each other to battle; and immediately came so thick a shower of arrows and darts on the Romans, that the sky might not be seen above their heads. Thus were the Romans so stunned, that they knew not what was to be done in this sudden danger; for they neither knew what enemies they were that so awfully assailed them, nor yet had they sufficient courage to fight against so great multitude of foreign and strange people, coming on them unexpectedly at night.

While the Romans were in this affray, their enemies rushed on each side, with such courage and valour, that they broke the trenches of the Romans; and entered perforce upon their camp, where the most valiant and forceful champions among the Romans were slain. Thus had the Romans been utterly destroyed, and the Brigantes perpetually delivered of servitude by Vodicia, had not Petulius come quickly to their support. For Petulius met this extreme danger so prudently, that he, with burning flames of pitch, resin, and brimstone, which he had prepared against such possible dangers, withstood his foes, where the greatest noise was heard; and drove them, by force of rage and flames, from his camp. But Vodicia so skilfully exhorted her army against Petulius, that she often renewed battle. Then was the combat so cruel, that all the night following was not sufficient to show the end of their labours. At the dawn of the day, Vodicia was defeated, and her company put to flight. Petulius, after this victory, dreading some hidden danger occurring, prevented his people to follow any further in the chase.

Vodicia, provoked each day with more injuries, went to Epiacum, and burned the said town, with many veteran knights and soldiers of the Romans; so that she might revenge the injuries on the Roman garrison, which she could not revenge on Petulius. Petulius, to punish these offences, sent a legion of the Romans, and put Vodicia and her army to flight. Nonetheless, she was finally taken; and was demanded, why she dared pretend such things above the spirit of women. She answered, she was their enemy, and would have slain her enemy; and did not lack the will, although her power failed: and hated nothing more than the prosperity of the Romans, for the great cruelties done by them to her and her friends. The Romans, without more delay, slew her.

In the meantime, Petulius was informed, that the Isle of Wight and Kent-shire had rebelled, and Marius pursued. Thus it appeared that all the Britons would rebel, unless these uprisings were quickly defeated. This news moved Petulius to return to Britain; where he, with little difficulty, defeated the Britons. The Romans that stayed in Brigantia behind Petulius, wanted to keep the lands before obtained, more than to pursue the people with new defeats. And, in the year following, Petulius died.

Chap. Tenth.

How Julius Frontinus was made Governor of Britain. Of his message to the Picts; and of their answer. And how the said Julius attacked the Scots with great injuries.

After the death of Petulius, a valiant knight, named Julius Frontinus, was sent to Albion with two legions, and was welcomed by Marius. Julius, after his coming to Britain, went through all the Roman provinces, and persuaded the Britons, by many reasons, to continue in the party of the Romans.

As soon as he had pacified them of all trouble, he began to be desirous of fame and glory, as his predecessors were before; and decided to subdue the last isles of Albion to Roman rule: although, they were oft before attacked, but never vanquished: and, to bring his purpose to effect, he left Marius behind him in Kent, to hold the Britons under Roman laws; then came to Brigantia with a great army. Yet, in his passage, he did no injury nor trouble to the Picts; for he believed they would be soon defeated, after the Scots were vanquished. By the coming of Julius in this manner, there was no little fear among the Scots; for that name was of great renown and estimation among the Scots. This Julius, at his coming to Brigantia, visited the fortifications where the Roman soldiers lay, and exhorted them to persevere in good courage; for, by their courage and virtue, it might happen, that the whole isle of Albion would come under the empire of the Romans.

Such things done, he sent letters to the Picts, desiring that they and the Romans might increase together in friendship and amity; and also reminded them of the misery and trouble falling to them by the wars led before against the Romans: and to have no company with Scots, for he was commanded by the Emperor, either to destroy them all utterly, or else to reduce them to perpetual servitude. The Picts greatly suspected their motives; and answered, They wondered greatly, by what reason the Romans might have any just occasion of battle against the Scots: or what should move them, not content of the empire of the world, to seek the last Isles of the ocean seas, and to rob from the people of Albion their native liberty; unless they, by insatiable avarice, were set to rob free realms without any reason; having no fear, nor fear of the Gods, to be punished for their insufferable iniquities. And, for these causes, they would come to battle against the Romans, with all their power, in support of their allied friends, for defence of their realm and liberty; for the same was not only profitable for their welfare, but they were as bound thereto, by such a contract that might in no way be dissolved.

Julius, in contempt of this answer, was the more fierce and eager against the Scots; and came to Kyle, Carrick, and Cunninghame, whose people were stronger than any people that fought before against the Romans. Galdus, taken aback by this new attack of the Romans; notwithstanding his heavy wounds got in this last battle, gathered his people out of all lands under his dominion, to defend his realm. Then there followed continual skirmishing with light horse, without any great slaughter; for Galdus, because of the effect of his wounds, set himself rather to irk the Romans by long delay, than to attack them by battle. There followed, by their incursions, many different chances of fortune. Sometimes, the Romans were vanquished; sometimes, victorious: until, at last, the Scots, by frequent slaughter of their valiant captains, were attenuated, and broken; and Galdus, afflicted with the wounds got in this last battle,

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was so weary, that he might not do the office of a forceful champion, but was brought on a horse-litter to Argyll.

Within a few days after, the Romans came to Carrick, Kyle, and Cunninghame, and slew 3 thousand Scots; and vanquished and pursued the remainder. And, after this victory, the Romans returned to their camp.

Chap. Eleventh.

How Julius Agricola was sent to Britain. Of his frequent Victories over the Scots and Picts; and how he subjected several of their Lands to the Roman Empire.

In the next winter, Julius Frontinus fell into a great infirmity, by an immoderate flux of catarrh, generated of moist humours; because the air was cloudy and damp, through continual showers of rain and sleet, proceeding by the height of mountains, and great multitude of rivers and lochs abounding in this region. This infirmity increased each day more, by unknown and intemperate cold; and might be cured by no talent, nor art of medicine. Emperor Domitian, informed of his vehement suffering, caused him to return to Italy, to recover his health by new air and food; and sent Julius Agricola, one of the most valiant captains that came before his days in Britain, to succeed in his place.

The same time, the men of Annandale slew a great number of the Romans on the borders of Brigantia; and, through the same victory, persuaded the Picts and Brigantes, with the Silurians, to rebel against the Romans. Agricola, informed of these attempts, raised his army, and came to Pentland, with more diligence than any man presumed; and, after he had taken and garrisoned all the strongholds of the country with his soldiers, he come to Camelon. Caranach, King of Picts, informed of his coming, gave him battle; nonetheless, he was finally defeated, with all his army. After this defeat, Caranach fled to Fife; which is a fertile region, lying between two firths, Tay and Forth, full of woods, pasture, and valleys, to the great profit both of corn and cattle. In it are many lochs, full of different kinds of fish. This region is now bare of woods; for the thieves were sometimes so frequent in the same, that they might no way be defeated, until the woods were cut down. Agricola, after this, went with his victorious army to Annandale. The inhabitants thereof, knowing of his coming, met him in their sharpest manner; nonetheless, they were finally pursued, and slain. The remainder of them, that escaped, were all slain by their wives, the first night they came home. Agricola, proud of this victory, went to the Isle of Man, which had rebelled, many years before, against the Romans; and took it with little labour. When he had filled the fortifications thereof with Roman soldiers, he returned to Brigantia, leaving his army in their winter huts. The next summer, he come through Brigantia, Carrick, Kyle, and Cunninghame; whose passage made the people so afraid, that they left their towns deserted, and fled to the mountains.

In the summer following, he brought several noblemen of Albion before him, and exhorted them to politeness and civil manners; that they might have temples and buildings in the Roman fashion; and to put their sons to wise teachers, so that, after the end of the Roman wars, they might rise in virtue, eloquence, and good behaviour. Thus passed Agricola the winter season, instructing the princes of Albion with such things as appeared for their common welfare.

The third year after, he come to Stirling; which was called, in those days, the Sorrowful Mountain: for the inhabitants thereof heard, several times, a sorrowful and lamentable crying, which come by illusion of wicked spirits, deceiving the people with vain superstition. When Agricola saw the castle of Stirling set in such a strong place, he repaired and built it with such skilful and expensive labour, that it appeared unconquerable: and, not long after, he built a bridge over the Forth, and transported all his army by the same. On the next day, he laid a siege to the castle of

Montbennart[Benarty], expecting to find the King of Picts in it: but the Picts were so daunted by the coming of the Romans, that they left the castle, and came with great diligence, under night, to cast down the bridge of Stirling, lately built by the Romans; so that the Romans might be trapped between Tay and Forth, without any refuge. Agricola, well informed thereof, returned from the siege of Montbennart; and followed with such diligence on the Picts, that they were constrained to give battle. Nonetheless, they were finally vanquished; and their king, Caranach, chased to the Water of Tay, where he got a boat, and escaped. The remaining Picts, in fear after this victory, surrendered, with all their fortifications and strongholds. Then Agricola went through all lands of Fife, Fothrik, and Earn; sometimes building, and sometimes casting down, the strongholds of the country, where he pleased.

Chap. Twelfth.

How the King of Picts sent his Ambassadors to the Scots, desiring support against the Romans. How Agricola attacked the Scots, both by sea and land. How the King of Picts was slain by the sedition of his Army.

Caranach, King of Picts, broken by this last defeat, fled to Dundee: where there was at that time a strong castle; but it was cast down in the time of King Robert Bruce, because it could not be kept from the Englishmen, as we shall afterwards describe. The Picts convened to the said castle, and exhorted Caranach, their king, not to despair, although his people were brought to great affliction and trouble; for a great number of them were yet alive, both unbroken with wars, and sufficient, if the Gods were propitious, to drive the Romans out of Albion. For it might happen, that the Romans, proud and insolent after so many high victories, may fall, when they expect it least, into the opposition of Fortune, so as to be vanquished by the people whom they despised the most: for this unstable Goddess changes, with a sudden whirl, the fate of mortal creatures, She has raised many other realms to great happiness, before the Romans had dominion; and brought them, when they were in their high and sovereign honours, to final ruin. It is not, therefore, to be supposed, that the empire of the Romans, since it began with mortal strength, should perpetually endure; it must some time fall to ruin. Though these and such persuasions of the Picts were heard by their king, yet none of them could raise his spirit and courage to any good hope against the Romans; but believing that their majesty and strength so mounted above the height of natural chance, that no people might resist thereto.

After long consultation, it was concluded, to send ambassadors to Galdus, to have support against the extreme danger appearing to both their realms, according to the treaty so many years continued between Scots and Picts. Galdus gladly condescended to their petitions: for he had no less indignation against the Romans, for their wrongful attacks made by them on the Picts, than on the Scots; and therefore determined, rather to chance his realm on the extreme risk of arms, than to live each day in continual suffering, and, finally, be subjected to servitude.

While the allied kings had decided to resist their enemies in this way, the Silurians, in open rebellion, slew all the Romans, where they might be apprehended: and not only seized their fortifications, but burned all their crops and victuals, except so much as might be carried away with them; so that nothing thereof should remain to the profit of their enemies.

Agricola, well informed of these things, come so quickly on the Silurians, that he defeated and punished them most rigorously. Not long after, he was informed, that his enemies were gathered in great troops, uncertain to what effect, against the Romans. Immediately, he followed them with great violence, and chased them over the Clyde. This river is divided, by a little space, from the river of Leven, where they both fall, not far from each other, into the Irish Sea. And, not far from the said river of Leven, is a castle, more strong by strength of a crag than any artificial labour, named, by the people, Old Cleuch; but now called Dumbarton, that is, the castle of the Britons. Always, it was so provided with men and victuals, that it might no way be taken.

Agricola, occupied with this and similar business, passed the fourth winter: and, in the spring of the next year, he caused the Roman navy, which stayed, with his ordnance, in the Isle of Wight, to come to Lochfine, beside Argyll; that his enemies might understand, no lands nor seas were free from Roman dominion. And, when he had brought his army over Clyde, he found there the men of Lennox, a people unknown before to the Romans; and decided to subdue them to Roman rule. In the meantime, he got letters, that the Picts had rebelled; and, because he feared great trouble would arise, unless the same were quickly defeated, he left his first purpose, and came to Pentland with a legion of Romans, and defeated the Picts. The next summer, he began to search all the havens and ports of Argyll and other Isles thereabouts, with his ships; and come by land over the river of Leven, to take the fortifications and strongholds of the country. The Romans were first irked by the rough and difficult passage, full of briars and thorns, to their great impediment; but, when they considered the virtue and courage of their ancient fathers, nothing appeared difficult to them: and so, with courage always more increasing, they overcame no less the difficult passage of the country, than the people thereof; and, finally, returned, with huge plunder of men and goods, to their camp.

Such things done, Galdus held a convention, in Atholl, of all people under his rule: waiting for the coming of the King of Picts; so that, that both their armies being joined together, they might the more easily resist the Romans. Now were the Picts coming over the mountains of Grampian, which runs from the foot of Dee to the castle of Dumbarton, and were not five miles from the army of the Scots, when they, by unfortunate chance, were divided in two factions, and fought among themselves, to the great slaughter of both the parts, for a trivial cause. The King of Picts, seeing this lamentable case, ran fiercely, without his coat of armour, among the army, where they were most keenly fighting, to have put them apart; and was slain there, they not knowing who he was. The remainder of the Picts, who were left alive from this dreadful combat, knowing their king was killed, scattered, and returned home.

Chap. Thirteenth.

How Galdus pacified all sedition among the Picts. And how he fought against the Romans, and was defeated.

Galdus hearing the death of his dear friend, the King of Picts, became very sorrowful; for it constrained him to postpone his campaign against the Romans. Nonetheless, he called his nobles to a council: where he detesting the untimely sedition rising among the Picts, immediately prayed them to carefully consider, how his realm might be defended from the high danger thereto approaching. After divers opinions, it was decided to resist the Romans, and prevent them from any further victories, by frequent incursions rather than by set battle. Also, prudent men should go to the Picts, to pacify them of all seditions; and ambassadors should go to Ireland, Norway, and Denmark, to seek support against the Romans.

By this council, ambassadors were sent to the Picts; and said, that such damage and cruelties proceed from civil wars, that no realm may stand in certain security where the same endures. Finally, the Picts were agreed among themselves about all disagreements; and Garnardus made king in place of Caranach who had died. The Picts, as was planned, sent their ambassadors to Norway and Denmark, to the effect aforesaid.

While such things were done by the Picts, Galdus assembled an army from all lands of his realm, and divided the same in several squadrons; by whose wisdom and continual threats, the Romans were prevented, all the summer following, from any further victory over the Scots. The winter following was so tempestuous, that no war might be sustained. And, in the next summer, which was the 7th year of the wars made by Agricola, come a great company of Irishmen to Galdus and Garnardus, at Atholl, where they were present for the time, with all the nobles of both their realms. On the other side, Agricola, knowing well the forces of the Scots and Picts, divided his army in three troops, waiting for their coming.

Galdus, well informed how Agricola intended to attack him, quickly changed his plan; and came, during the night, on a strong legion of the Romans, which was not far from his army. Now the Scots had slain the watchmen of this legion, and were fighting fiercely within their camp, when suddenly Agricola, well informed by his scouts, came with strong forces, both of footmen and horsemen behind them. Nonetheless, the battle was fought with great cruelty and slaughter on all sides; until the Roman banners, shining in the clear morning, showed Agricola, with all his army, arrayed against them in battle. Immediately, the allied people turned their backs; and fled, through waste lands and moorlands, to their safest refuge.

Chap. Fourteenth.

How various Germans and Danes came in support of the Scots and Picts. How the Roman Navy perished in Pentland Firth.

By this dreadful battle, the allied kings were so broken, that they defended themselves, their cattle, and goods, all the summer following, more by frequent incursions, than any set battle; waiting for the coming of Danes and Norwegians to their support. But the Romans, each day more fierce and insolent, by frequent victories, and beleiving that nothing could resist their sovereign virtue; come through the Wood of Caledonia, intending to search all the last lands of Albion: and because they were stopped by difficult passages thereof, they come over the Water of Awmond, and set down their camp not far from Dunkeld, where Tay runs deep, with few fords, into the German sea. This river, beside Dundee, is two miles broad, dividing Fife from Angus. The Picts, frightened by the coming of the Romans so far within their lands, burned a rich town, named Inhecuthill, which stood upon the river of Tay, so that the same should be no refuge to their enemies; and fled with their wives, children, and goods, to the mountains of Grampian. The same time, there arrived in Forth, a company of Germans, named Usipians, banished out of their native lands, for slaughter of a Roman captain and other people under his protection; and because they bore extreme hatred against the Romans, they were welcomed, and granted certain lands for their habitation, beside the Murrays, for they were both of the same blood. And not long after, there arrived in the Firth of Tay, a valiant captain, named Gildo, with 10,000 Danes, to support the Scots and Picts. These Danes were the more welcome to Garnardus. King of Picts, in that his realm was coming into great danger. Galdus, very glad, and rejoicing in the coming of Gildo, came to Dundee, to give thanks to him and the remaining people that came to support their friends; and after most heartily embracing, Galdus said: "I have no little cause for joy, most valiant Gildo, seeing you with so many fair and lusty persons, coming without trouble to Albion, for defence of the Picts, your ancient lineage, and us, their allied brothers, standing now in such extreme danger and peril. We waited many days for your coming; and now we are more rejoiced thereof than may be said at this time, and render to you and your people infinite thanks therefor; for, by your coming, such hope is raised in our courage, that we believe, by your support, to defeat our enemies, and banish them out of our realms. For when I behold you and these your valiant people, certain victory appears present to my hands." To this answered Gildo, he was coming to fight for the defence of his dear friends, against the Romans, and support them to the end; of which they should soon have experience.

Within a short time after, the allied kings, with Captain Gildo, went to Forfar; in which at that time there was a strong castle, within a loch, where several kings of the Scots made residence, after the proscription of the Picts, though it is now but a town of common people. After their coming to Forfar, they took long consultation, by what means the Romans could be resisted. At last it was concluded to cease until the winter season was past, to avoid the vehement storms which abound in this region; and to make their warlike preparations against the next summer: also appointed a band of chosen men to be vigilant in several parts, to stop victuals coming to the Romans, and that none of them should go out to attack the country; and to ensure that no bridge was made over the Tay, so that the Romans could not come over it into their lands.

In the summer following, Agricola returned to his navy, lying that time in the Irish sea, and commanded them to pass about all the lands of Albion, so that no part

thereof should be unknown to the Romans in his time. The seamen, as he commanded, raised sail, and brought the Roman navy about the outermost lands of Albion; by which voyage they saw all the Isles thereof, with Orkney, Skye, and Lewis. But when they were coming near Pentland Firth, which divides Caithness from Orkney, they were informed of the dangerous flood running there, with such whirling and contrary tides, that no ships could pass the same without extreme danger; nonetheless, they induced certain fishermen, who had perfect cognoscence of the said perils, and promised large profit, to guide them through the said danger. The fishermen and other country people whom they inducted to the effect aforesaid, trusting no way to revenge their death better than to cause so many valiant warriors and skilful seamen to die with them at once, led the Romans where most danger occurred. Thus was a part of the Roman navy driven, by the violent stream, on crags, and broken: and others cast their anchors, to avoid the crags; nonetheless, by stormy waves, they lost their rigging, and sank down in the midst of the sea. Some of them came to land on boards and tables; nonetheless, they were all taken, or else slain by the inhabitants of the country. The remaining navy of the Romans seeing this calamity fall on their fellows, stayed back; and returned, without any danger, the same way they came.

Chap. Fifteenth.

How Agricola brought his Army over the Tay. How Galdus came in defence of the Picts with 40,000 Scots; and of his Speech made to exhort his Army to Battle.

Agricola, nothing knowing the calamity which had fallen on his navy, built a wooden bridge over the Tay, and transported his army by the same, not far from the foot of Grampian; and also left behind him many great troops of soldiers, to keep the said bridge undamaged by the guile or violence of enemies. The Picts, very afraid of his coming, sent their ambassadors to Galdus, to show him the danger appearing to both their realms, and desired him to come with all his power.

Galdus gathered, before their coming, 40,000 chosen men, out of all lands within his realm, all of a mind to die at once, or else to recover their liberty by extreme risk of arms; and, finally, he brought the said army, with no little labour, over the mountains of Grampian, where he met the remaining army of the Picts and Danes waiting for his coming. After long consultations, Galdus, because the charge of battle was given to him, said: "Whenever I behold the cause of battle, and our necessity, valiant champions, my spirit rises; trusting this day, by your consent, shall be the beginning of liberty to all Britain. We are yet free of servitude; and there is no land nor sea beyond us safe in future, for fear and menacing of the Roman navy. The force of arms and warlike courage are no less refuge to feeble creatures, than honour to valiant champions. The past battles, where several chances of fortune have occurred, were always led by our courage and prudence; and we, as most valiant people of Albion, dwelling within the bosom thereof, have kept us ever unsubjected to Roman dominion, by difficult passages, and remote situation of us in the outermost parts of the world. Now the Romans are coming to the last lands of Albion, trusting to show their magnificence in nothing more than in subduing of unkonwn and outermost regions beyond their empire. Beyond us are no people nor refuge, except desert rocks, and stream of seas; and within us are our enemies, garrisoned in our forts, whose proud tyrannies cannot be avoided by meekness or servitude. The Romans, robbers of the world, now when nothing rests unstripped by them, scour both land and seas. If the enemy of the Romans be rich, they are avaricious; if their enemy be poor, yet they are arrogant, and desire glory in their subduing. Neither may the East nor the West parts of the world satisfy them. They are the only people of the world that regard poverty and riches with equal affection. They steal, they slay, and raid kingdoms by unjust conquest; they are never in peace, but when they are solitary. The children, whom nature has ordained most dear to their parents, are drawn by the Roman army to servitude: our wives, virgins, and matrons, who detested their uncontrolled lust, are defiled, either by feigned friendship or force. The fruits, which nature has produced of our ground, are taken by them in manner of tribute. Our hands are worn with their forced labour. We are injured not only with displeasing words, but most violently stricken in our bodies. Whereby we are more enslaved than any brutal beasts to labour: for such beasts which are born to servitude, are bought and nurtured by the buyer; but we each day buy and feed our own servitude: and, as new servants are in derision among the more experienced servitors, so we, as vile and last people of the world in their sight, are daily attacked to the death. Now rests no kind of labour, service, nor punishment, to save us from their tyranny; for all people are the more suspect to the Romans, the more ferocity and manliness be known with them. Therefore, most valiant champions, since we have no hope of Roman benevolence,

spirit yourselves with courage, and have more respect to your eternal glory, than to your fragile lives: for if Voditia, the valiant lady, might burn a town, when it was strongest with Roman soldiers, and deliver the Brigantes perpetually of servitude, if fortune had been propitious; it is not to be doubted that we, who are more valiant, shall recover our liberty at our first meeting. And doubt not that the Romans may be vanquished. What number of them been lately slain in the Wood of Caledonia! Believe you, that the virtue of the Romans is as great in time of battle as their lust is in time of peace. They overcome honour by our civil wars and dissension: they turn the vices of their enemies to the glory of their army; which is gathered of divers people under divers minds, and shall, therefore, fall apart as quickly, when adversity occurs, as they assembled together in their prosperity. Do not imagine, that Frenchmen, Germans, and Britons, who are a great part of their army, shall have any other affection or faith to their enemies, but attack them when they see occasion. Believe nothing else, but that dread and terror are so uncertain bands of love, that when the same are removed and put aside, extreme hatred sprouts in their place. Many persuasions appear to us, to have victory: for the Romans have not their wives present, to exhort them to courage; nor yet their aged fathers, to reproach them for fleeing. Few of them has any certain country or habitation, unless they got it by robbery; therefore, the Goddess, in punishment of their iniquities, has lately rendered some of them vagabond and vanquished by our hands. Be not daunted, I pray you, for this vain appearance and shining of gold and silver; which may not damage nor wound you. Let us find our hands in the battle with our enemies. The Britons shall know their cause of battle; the Gauls shall remember their ancient liberty; all people of foreign nations shall leave them at the first encounter. No occasion remains of fear. Our castles are left by them waste; the towns where their veteran captains dwelt, between foolish obedience and unjust rule, are brought to servitude. Here are your captain and army, to win glory and riches: yonder are your enemies, to put you to excessive tribute, or else to condemn you to winning of metals, or some other kind of punishment; which shall be perpetual to you and your posterity, unless the same be recovered in this battle. When you, therefore, are to pass forward, remember both your elders passed before, and your posterity and successors to come."

Chap. Sixteenth.

Of the Speech made by Agricola to his Army; and of the huge victory falling to the Romans by the defeat of the Scots.

After this speech of Galdus, there followed, in the army, great noise and clamour, from their desire for battle. On the other side, though Agricola beheld his army very impatient from the long delay, yet he said to them as follows: "Now is the 8th year, good companions, since you, happy in your Roman strength, with true and faithful labours, have obtained Annandale, the Isle of Man, Carrick, Kyle, and Cunninghame, with many other regions, which were never subjected nor known before to Roman rule. You have sustained no less fortitude against your foes, than patience and labour almost against nature. You have no cause to be penitent of me your captain, nor I to be penitent of you, my good men of arms. You have subjected more parts of Albion than any army did before; and I have won more honour than any other captain did before me. We have not sought the last parts of Albion by report and fame of others, but entered the same with a strong army and camped there. When you, my good companions, were often weary, passing over the difficult mountains, moorlands, and rivers of this region, I had great compassion, and knew every one of you by your voice, crying, 'When shall our enemies have courage? When shall they meet us?' Now they are come forth from their dens, where they were hidden. Now your courage and virtue may be seen. Everything shall be pleasing to them that are victorious, and displeasing to those that are vanquished. And, as no little honour appears to us who has gone through so many narrow mountains, woods, rivers, and dangerous firths of this region; so shall it be a feat of sovereign honour, although it be dangerous, to withstand our enemies fiercely, and put them to flight. And, though many places of this country be unknown to us, and have no great plenty of victuals, yet we lack neither courage nor valour, in which lies the whole fruit and glory of arms. Further, so far as pertains to me, I think, neither is the captain nor the army certain that gives their backs to their enemies; therefore, honourable death is better than shameful life; and life and honour are situated both in the same place. Further, it were no great shame to our honour, even if we were defeated here in the last and outermost parts of the world. If you were now to be attacked by unknown and strange enemies, I should exhort you to fight, by honour of other valiant people. Now think of your honour, and know, that these people that stand with face arrayed against you, are only the refuse of those feeble wretches who were defeated lately during the night only by your noise and clamour. They are the most feeble bodies among all the Britons; and remain, for that cause, so long alive. And as most stout and strong beasts, by their own risk-taking, are oft slain; and as the most cowardly and feeble beasts save themselves from danger, and fly when they here the sound of any company: so, all the valiant Britons are slain, and none of them are now alive, save only those that by cowardly flight have kept their miserable lives, and would offer no resistance, were not they are now without refuge: because of which you may now have a honourable victory. Pass, good companions, through your enemies, and finish the 51 years' war on this solemn day; that it may be put in the calendar, as the end of all your wars. Do this, so that neither your long delay, nor rebellion of our enemies, may be imputed to your negligence."

Scarcely was this speech ended, when both the armies, with burning desire of battle, joined. Agricola arrayed his people in such skilful order, although they were of less number than their enemies, that they should not be assailed on either side. Galdus,

with no less providence, arrayed the foremost part of his army on a high mound, to discomfit the wings of the Roman army; and exhorted them, with resounding voice, to persevere in continual fighting, and either to obtain immortal glory, or perpetual servitude; for that was the last day, in which they might win either honour or shame. The first battle was fought at a distance: for the Albions, Danes, and Norwegians, shot a huge number of arrows and crossbow bolts at their first encounter; nonetheless, the Romans avoided the same with their shields. The bowmen, after shooting their arrows, fought with swords and little round shields, as we do yet in our days, more appropriate for civil war, than any defence of realms; through which our people have great damage, when they meet with enemies from foreign realms. The troop of pikemen, who stood next the bowmen, in the front with Galdus, rushed forward at once, and put many of their enemies, with many bloody wounds, on their backs. There followed the wielders of bills, axes, long swords, and leaden mauls, with such slaughter, that the Romans had been all utterly defeated, had not a band of Germans, who were sent lately to Britain, came quickly to their support. Also, this Agricola was so circumspect, that he reinforced his army with these Germans in all parts where he saw any danger occurring. The people of Albion seeing themselves, here and there, so cruelly overcome, were daunted; nonetheless, seeing no refuge but in their own hands, they rushed all together in a knot, without any fear of death or wounds, with deliberate mind, to fight for their realm and liberty to the death. There followed a sorrowful battle; for the allied people fought more by force than craft of warfare. Many of them, wounded through the body, fell down on top of their slayers; others offered themselves wilfully to be slain; others, after they had escaped their enemies, slew themselves. The place where they fought was bloody; all covered over with legs, arms, and weapons, scattered through all parts thereof. Both the armies fought with persevering hatred, until the night forced them to part.

The allied people and their friends who were left alive after this dreadful battle, fled to the nearest mountains, where they built fires to pass the night. Then came to them great confluence of men and women, seeking their friends with many sorrowful sighs, mourning, and tears. Immediately Galdus, so that their sorrowful outcries and cries should not be obvious to his enemies, commanded all his army to shout with sharp noise and song, while the women were expelled from his camp. The allied kings seeing, on the following day, their power so broken that they could not renew battle, commanded their people to return home; and left behind them a huge fire, burning to the heavens with fierce and vehement flames, on the said mountains, so that their enemies might have no presumption of their departing.

In this dreadful battle were slain 12 thousand Romans, and 20 thousand Scots and Picts, with many other people that came to their support. Gildo, the valiant captain of the Danes, rushing fiercely on his enemies, was slain in the same manner as the most part of his company.

Chap. Seventeenth.

How Agricola repaired his Navy, to sail around the Isles of Albion, and burnt several ships of the Danes. Of strange marvels seen in Albion. And of the death of Agricola.

The day following this dreadful night, made the defeat of the Scots patent to their enemies: for their camp was empty, and full of nothing but dead bodies; without any whispering on the mountains, where most noise was heard before. The Romans, believing these things were a trick, did not follow any further. Others, proud, after their victory, commanded valiant and chosen men to search all the woods and strongholds, to espy if any hidden force of enemies were within the same. Certain of the Romans following this last counsel, followed so unwarily, that they were all slain.

On the following day, Agricola, seeing his army so broken that he might neither renew the same, nor yet pass over the mountains of Grampian without extreme danger, went, with his victorious army, to Angus; where he stayed all the next winter. And, in the meantime, he was informed, how the most part of his navy was lost; and the remainder thereof, broken with great calamity, arrived in Argyll. Agricola moved not his countenance for their news; for he firmly believed his army, for this small calamity, delivered of all other trouble that was appearing thereto, by envy of Fortune, after so long prosperity and victories. Immediately, he repaired his ships, with new mariners, and others who had certain experience of all dangers and firths in the ocean seas; and commanded them, as if he were to fight against all chance of fortune, to sail the same way, they went before, about the Isles of Albion. This navy, with favourable winds, arrived finally in the mouth of Tay, and burned the fleet of the Danes, which lay in the said firth all the winter before.

Several marvels were seen in Albion, before this last battle that Galdus fought with the Romans. Many burning spears were seen flying in the air. A great part of the Wood of Caledonia appeared burning all night; although nothing appeared thereof in the day. A fleet of ships was seen in the air. A shower of stones fell in Atholl; similarly, in Angus, it rained frogs. A monster was borne in Inchechuthill, with double members of men and women, with so abominable a figure, that it was destroyed by the people. These unheard-of and wonderful marvels made the people downcast: for they were interpreted in several ways; sometimes as portending good, sometimes evil.

The Emperor Domitian, hearing these high and valiant deeds of Agricola, was very sorrowful in his mind, having no little indignation, that the fame of a private man should obscure his imperial estate; and, therefore, quickly sent letters to him to return, without any excuses, to Rome, to receive the governance of a new province, named Syria, vacant by the death of Actilius Ruffus, last legate thereof.

Agricola, soon after his coming to Rome, was poisoned through the envy of the said Emperor Domitian.

Chap. Eighteenth.

How Tribellius was sent to Britain. How the Romans fell in great division among themselves. And of the huge victory got over them by Galdus.

After the death of Agricola, Gneus Tribellius, was made Governor of Britain, and found the Romans in great happiness. Although the same endured but a short time; for a great contention arose between this new captain, Tribellius, and another captain, named Tribellianus, which of them should have most authority above the army. The first was authorised by the army, for he was cousin to Agricola; the second was authorised by the Emperor. After long contention, Tribellianus departed with a number of chosen men to France.

Galdus, knowing well this sedition among the Romans, came, with an army of the Scots and Picts, to Angus, where this new captain, Tribellius, was, with the remainder of the Romans, at the time. Tribellius, surprised by his sudden coming, thought to succeed rather by courage and good works, than by any consultation; and, notwithstanding that his army bore hatred against him, he went forward with a banner displayed. At last, the army seeing him avoid the duties of a valiant captain, discharged him of authority; and choose Sisinnius, who was brother to Tribellianus described above, to govern them in that most dangerous adventure. Sisinnius refused this charge, and said, if he received authority in such extreme danger, it should by occasion of great division and trouble within the army.

While the Romans were at such debate, Galdus came, with arrayed host, in sight. The Romans, by sudden coming of Galdus, could not array themselves to their best advantage; nonetheless, both the armies joined, with burning zeal on each side. The allied people fought with persevering courage: until, at the last, Sisinnius, fatally wounded, fled out of the field, and many other Romans with him. Immediately, all the army of the Romans turned their backs, and fled to the nearest wood: on whom followed the Scots and their allied friends, with continual slaughter; until, at last, Galdus, dreading some danger to fall by their continual impetuosity, called them, at the sound of a trumpet, to his standard. Nonetheless, they were so far enraged with hatred against the Romans, they could not be brought from there, until the night bereft them of the light.

The allied people passed the night following with great joy and blithness, with dancing, singing, and playing, in the way that was used in those days. On the following day, the priests came in procession, in their most reverend habits, and gave thanks to the Gods; who, after many calamities sustained by them, more than 50 years, in continual battle, had granted once an honourable victory over their enemies.

Chap. Nineteenth.

How the Romans were beaten out of all parts of Scotland, and several times vanquished, by the valiant Galdus.

The Romans, broken in this manner, and seeing no security to remain in Angus, against such fierce and cruel enemies; raised their camp, and came, during the night, to Inhecuthill: and, when they had transported the remainder of their army over the Tay, they broke the bridge thereof, so that their enemies could not follow.

Galdus, informed of their fleeing, divided the rich spoils that were got in this last encounter, among his army, according to their courage and honour; and, on the following day, he took consultation what was best to be done. By this consultation it was concluded, that the Scots should pursue the Romans, and drive them out of all parts of Albion. The Scots immediately rushed to arms, with all the army of the Picts concurring, and followed the Romans; intending that the injuries so often done by them should be sufficiently punished. At last, when they were come to Inhecuthill, they found the bridge broken down; and returned, therefore, to Dunkeld, where they transported all their army by a wooden bridge.

The Romans, when they heard of their coming, ordered themselves in good array, and chose a new captain, named Chelius, to govern them in this most dangerous battle. Soon after, both the armies joined, and fought a long time with uncertain victory: until at last the Romans were vanquished, and chased with continual slaughter, until they were driven to the Wood of Caledonia. In this battle were slain 5,000 Romans, and 2,000 of the Scots and their allies.

Several companies of the Britons, after this victory, came to Galdus. For as soon as it was known in Wales, that the Romans were twice vanquished by the Scots and Picts, immediately all the princes of Britain made rebellion: and after they had slain the Romans in all parts, where they might be found, they sent ambassadors to Galdus, with many rich jewels; saying they rejoiced, that after Fortune had raged so long against him, he began to be victorious and fortunate.

In the meantime, the Romans sent their ambassadors to Marius, King of Britons; lamenting the heavy injuries done to them by Scots and Picts; and said, if did not get support in time, they should be shamefully beaten out of all lands, obtained before with such great difficulty by the Romans. Marius answered, because of the rebellion of the Britons in several parts against him, he stood in daily fear of his life. Also, the young children, bards, and common people, sang ballads daily, in derision and scorn of the Romans: and by that, he knew not who were friends or foes to him in Britain. Also, Emperor Domitian, was so hated for the cruel slaughter of the senate and citizens of Rome, that there was civil war there: thus no support could come to Britain, For these causes, his mind was set, rather to keep a part to him of Albion with certain security, than shamefully to lose the whole rule thereof. This answer caused no little alarm among the Romans.

In the meantime it was said, that Galdus was within ten miles from the camp of the Romans, with an army, both of men and women that might bear weapons, to drive the Romans out of all lands of his kingdom. The Romans, for fear of his coming, left the Wood of Caldonia, and fled to Brigantia. Galdus, well informed by what way his enemies had departed, set himself, with the greatest diligence, to follow on their backs; that he might destroy them, without any recovery, before they got any support

from Rome. In this advance, Galdus left the besieging of the castles and strongholds garrisoned by the Romans, and came with great diligence to Brigantia. And, there, a huge number of people, such as hated the Romans, met him, all rejoicing together, that the said Galdus, broken with so many calamities and trouble, was never despairing, but ever reserving himself and his people to better fortune. Galdus received all these people with pleasant visage, and persuaded them to have good hope: for he was not passing to battle, but rather to certain victory; and the hard fortune so long raging against him and his people, was broken: and, therefore, trusted, after so many cruel extortions done by his enemies, to have, sometime soon, a glorious victory over them.

The Romans, seeing the allied people come to Brigantia with so high courage and spirit, were afraid. Nonetheless, confiding in nothing more surely than in their hands, they went forward in their best array, saying, that day was either the way to their triumphant glory, or their perpetual shame. Then they exhorted each other to have hope of victory, since they were to fight against a vain and barbarous people; and to have in memory the great courage and virtue of their elders, with more respect to their common than individual welfare; and rather to die in the battle, than to incur the shame and dishonour that they might never after do away. While the Romans were exhorting themselves with these and similar words, there came suddenly a heavy shower of arrows and crossbow bolts, shot at them by their enemies.

In the meantime, a company of the Britons, who were lately sent by Marius in support of the Romans, came to the Scots and Picts. Many of the Romans, seeing the defection of these Britons, lost courage: others, seeing no remedy, took the more spirit, and, with great force, overcame the wings where the women fought. Then Galdus, very circumspect in all his works, sent a company of fresh men to their support, by whom the Romans were driven some way back. The women were more cruel than any men, when they saw their enemies vanquished.

Thus the Romans would have been been attacked on each side, were it not that they had their camp at their backs. Many of them persevered in battle, and were slain; others fled to their camp: on whom the Scots followed so fast, that they slew them, here and there, and cast them in the ditches; intending, by filling of the ditches with dead bodies, to make a ready way to their camp. Nonetheless, the Romans defended their camp with incredible labour and courage, and would not suffer their enemies to enter them: until the night parted them on each side.

Chap. Twentieth.

Of the Message sent by the Romans to the allied Kings; and of their answer. How the confederate Kings gave peace to the Romans.

The Scots, notwithstanding the coming of the night, went to the nearest wood, to bring trees to fill the ditches, where the camp of the Romans lay; others made several instruments to break down their trenches; others watched all night to stop them from fleeing, and awaited the coming of the day with burning desire.

The Romans, seeing, in the morning, so great a force ready at once to attack them, desired a truce, to send ambassadors to the allied kings, to treat peace. Part of the Scots said, No safe-conduct should be given to the Romans, and no alliance be made with them; but their victory to be used with the utmost rigour, and all the Romans, that fled to their camp, slain; that, by their slaughter, all other people may take example, how odious it is both to the Gods and men, to attack realms and people without occasion of injury. Others said, it would be best to use their victory moderately, and not to be over-insolent and proud because of this good fortune; since all people are subject to such uncertain laws of fortune, that after adversity comes prosperity, and after prosperity comes adversity: and, for this reason, the Romans should be heard, and their ambassadors spared according to custom. This last advice was accepted.

Immediately, there came four honourable men, with fair visage, clothed, in their manner, with no less precious than appropriate clothes, and fell on their knees before the allied kings. As soon as they were raised up, one of them, to whom the task was committed, said: "The Roman army and captains, Conquerors of the world, desiring your amity and friendship, invincible kings, humble ask grace of you, whom they have, these many years, pursued with awful and keen battle; and trust firmly, nothing would be so much to your honour, or more worthy to be remembered, than to have the ambassadors of the Romans, by whom all kings and realms been subdued, humbled at your feet, and humbly desiring grace. You have vanquished us, we grant; our life and death now depending in your hands, by hatred of the Gods, who are moved against us for the unjust war that we have led against you. Use now this victory in the way you think appropriate to your honour; and do not be angry, since you have vanquished us, the defeaters of the world: and, if you cannot curb your anger, then slay us all, as we have well deserved. Nonetheless, since you, who are here in the farthest corner of the world, exceed all people in courage and virtue; understand, that nothing may show your humanity more than to be merciful after so huge a victory. We know now the hatred of the Gods; we know your warlike courage; and desire peace, under what conditions you please."

Then Galdus made answer to them, and said, The Scots and Picts, the last people of the world, since their first beginning, desired no lands except those that were given to them by benevolence of the Gods, and fought never but in their own defence. The Romans were known to them first as cursed robbers of realms, by insatiable avarice. After they had made war on the Britons for a hundred and fifty years, with several changes of fortune; and when they had subjected the world, and the most part of Albion, to the great damage of the people thereof; they were vanquished by the people whom they held most rude and feeble; and, finally, driven, without hope of better fortune, to their last refuge within their camp; to be a notable

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example, in times coming, of how uncertain is the state of man by chance of fortune. And though several noblemen in his army counselled, this victory to be used on them with most rigour, trusting their injuries not otherwise to be avoided; yet he would be more propitious, thinking it sufficient, both for the time present and to come, that the ambassadors of the Romans, Conquerors of the world, were humbled at his feet, humbly desiring mercy. Nonetheless, it pleased him well, by consent of his allied brother the King of Picts, to give peace under these conditions: the Romans shall pass out of all lands pertaining to the Scots and Picts; and surrender all fortifications and hostages, with the goods taken from them during the wars; and shall give their great oath, never to attack the Scots nor Picts, but always to stand their good friends in times coming.

The Romans received peace in this manner, and departed without any further injury.

Chap Twenty-first.

How all the strongholds of Scotland were recovered from the Romans, as a condition of peace; and of the death of Galdus.

By Gnaeus Tribellius, the Roman army was numbered, when Agricola left it, to 60 thousand men; but at this time, through frequent victories over them, they were scarcely 20 thousand left alive. After their departing, all the parts of Scotland which were garrisoned before by the Romans, were surrendered to Scots and Picts. After this, Galdus dispersed his army, and went to Epiacum, which was the principal city of Scotland, and began to instruct his people in civil manners. And, so that no man of his realm, having no other occupation, should make raids on the country, he sent all superfluous people to be mercenaries to the Britons; then rewarded his nobles, each one after their honour proven in his wars. Then Galdus went through all parts of his realm; and, at his entrance in each town, the people met him with sound of trumpet and clarion, to his honour and affection.

While the people were given to praise and magnify their prince in this manner, there arose great contention between the Scots and Picts, for certain debatable lands, that lay between their realms. This contention arose by evil-doing men, that would suffer no peace, but sought occasion to break the country. Nonetheless, the two allied kings met finally together in the Wood of Caledonia, and pacified all disagreements among themselves.

Galdus reigned many years after in great happiness, and occupied his people in virtuous labours and exercise; and died at Epiacum, the 35th year of his reign, the most valiant prince that ever reigned over the Scots: from the Incarnation of God, 103 years; from the beginning of the world, 5302 years. His body was buried beside Epiacum, with funeral pomp, and great lament of the people. A most precious sepulchre was raised to him: in which was carved, how he recovered his realm, by sovereign courage, from the Romans. Many huge pillars were raised about his sepulchre, to testify his excellent virtue, and glory of warlike courage; and, that his memory should never perish, by decree of parliament was commanded, that the lands named before Brigantia, should be called, in time coming, Galdia; because this noble prince made an end of all his wars in those parts. In our days, that region is called Galvidia, by corruption of language; that is to say, Galloway.

This history, in so far as we have said of Caratacus, Corbreid and Galdus, kings of the Scots, is drawn, partly from vulgar chronicles, partly from Cornelius Tacitus. For we have not only written his meaning, but his very words; so that the readers, both of Roman history and Scots, may understand each history concordant with other, and know, by testimony of our enemy, how valiantly our noble elders fought, for this realm, against the Romans. And, to the more proof whereof, we have inserted the eloquent prayers of Galdus and Agricola, word for word as Cornelius Tacitus gives them, in this our work.

And so ends here the Fourth book of these chronicles.

BOOK V.

Here Begins the Fifth Book of the Chronicles of Scotland.

Chap. First.

Of the vicious King Lulach; and how he was slain for his evil life and tyranny.

The valiant prince Galdus died, as we have described; there succeeded his son, Lulach, an odious and mischievous tyrant. He was as much hated by the people for his vice, as his father was loved for his virtue. He was far different from his father, both in manners and talent; given to his ease and lust. He slew many of the rich men in his country, for no other cause except to confiscate their goods. He gave the administration of justice to most false and avaricious men; especially such men, that were given to take goods for themselves without any reason, or regard for justice. There followed continual raids, in all parts of his realm, without punishment: the greatest scoundrels most rewarded, and virtuous persons most put down. This odious tyrant pursued his nobles with false accusations; some of them banished, and others slain, that he might seize their lands and goods. He had such affection to robbers and oppressors, that he named them brothers and counsellors in his letters; and loved none so well as him that could find a pretext to rob his subjects. The remaining deeds of his evil life are so detestable, that they are more worthy to be hidden, than driven in any man's ears. For he, with uncontrolled lust, defiled his aunts, his daughters, his sisters, and his sisters' daughters; and was penitent of nothing, except that he could not consummate his lust with them all.

His horrible deeds were suffered two years by his nobles. But nothing angered them so much, as his scornful abuse; by which he called them old dotting fools. He had no one so familiar to him as fiddlers, whoremongers, pimps, and bards, and similar men of vile repute; and awarded them public authority, believing all things to succeed well by their governance. But his cruelties and folly might not be long unpunished. For, soon after, a council was held by him at Dunstaffnage, to punish several men that reproved his vices: in the meantime, there arose such disagreement between him and his nobles, that he was slain, with all his cursed company, to whom he gave both the governance of his body and realm, in the third year of his reign. He was buried with rich pomp in Dunstaffnage; but the bodies of his wretched counsellors were left on the fields, to be devoured by the hounds.

Chap Second.

Of King Mogallus; and how he came with an army against the Romans. Of his Speech made to the Sepulchre of Galdus.

Lulach, the tyrant, having died in this manner, Mogallus was made king; for he was nephew to Galdus, got of his daughter. This Mogallus, after his coronation, set himself to follow the wisdom and manners of Galdus, his grandfather; and to keep the faith and promise to the Romans and Britons, by the peace before contracted. And, that his people might live in quiet without any sedition, he repaired everything that had been wickedly done by the tyrant Lulach; and restored the religion of the Gods, with the same ceremonies as they were first instituted: trusting, once he had got the benevolence of his Gods, who were enemies to his people because of the abominable life of Lulach, that all things should succeed the better. The Scots began to rise each day in hope of better fortune, seeing their king follow the behaviour of his grandfather, Galdus, and ready to reform all enormities of his realm.

Not long after, came ambassadors from Picts to Mogallus, desiring support against the Romans and Britons; who were lately come, with fire and sword, into Pentland, and slain a great number of people, who were defending of their own goods. In this way, the men of Galloway and Annandale complained, that a huge plunder of goods was taken by the Romans out of their lands.

Mogallus, having talent no less given to warfare than works of peace, rejoiced to have occasion of battle; that he might, by some notable honour, be compared to his valiant predecessors: nonetheless, he sent his ambassadors, desiring redress of the damage by them done. Their ambassadors got nothing but an answer full of high contempt and scorn. Then Mogallus took the Gods to witness, that both the faith promised to him by the Romans was broken, and his message despised. And, soon after, he raised his army, and came to Galloway: where he visited the sepulchre of Galdus, his grandfather; and, when he had made certain ceremonies, after the custom of those days, he fell on his knees, and said: "O valiant and invincible prince, who, after such great adversity of fortune, did recover the realms of the Scots and Picts with huge difficulty; and drove your powerful and rich enemies, by favour of the Gods, out of their lands, with no less honour than courage; we, your native people, who honoured you, alive, with more reverence and love than may be told, fall now on our knees, with lamenting voice, before this your eternal sepulchre, the last refuge to us in extreme need, humbly beseeching your funereal ghost to be our helper against our enemies, whom you once most valiantly vanquished in these lands; and pray you, if you have any authority before the Gods, for your singular virtue shown to us on this earth, to suffer not us, your posterity, to be defeated by pitiless enemies, who attack us without justification of war. Suffer not your fame, O valiant champion, to decay now among us, by the victory over your unjust enemies; since they were so oft vanquished by you in these lands, and driven, by your singular courage, to implore your mercy in their last refuge: whereby, your name shall not grow less but ever endure as a terror to your foes."

As soon as Mogallus had made his prayer to Galdus in this manner, all the army began to embrace his image; and made their prayer thereto, for fortunate passage, and return from their journey. The insane women, such as were inflamed with divine spirit, scourged themselves, to make them seem the more religious; and,

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by the advice of the Druids, the solemn priests described above, they made solemn curses on the Romans, for violation of their faith and treaty, before contracted.

Chap. Third.

How the allied Kings came with their Armies against the Romans. Of the Speech made by Mogallus and Lucius Antonius to their Armies; and how the Romans were defeated.

Mogallus came, not long after, to Annandale, to meet Unipane, King of Picts; for he awaited his coming, with a well-arrayed host of the Picts. As soon as both their armies were assembled together, they went both to Westmorland and Cumberland, which were then provinces of the Romans. And, first, they brought a huge plunder of men and goods from the same; and the remainder, that could not be carried off, they set on fire. The inhabitants, in fear of these attacks, fled to York; and complained to Lucius Antonius, the Roman captain, of the cruelties done by the Scots and Picts. Lucius then assembled a strong army, and went forward, with a great force, to attack his enemies.

Mogallus, seeing his enemies in sight, called his men to the standard, and said: "I find nothing, valiant champions, that brings noblemen sooner to admiration and glory, than to resist the attacks of enemies, fighting for their realm and liberty to the death, so that they will not be subjected to shameful servitude; as may be well proven, both by the example of foreign people, and by the singular virtue of our valiant predecessors. Remember by what courage and wisdom King Edere supported Cassivellaunus, King of Britons, when Julius, the Roman consul, was driven out of Albion; by which he obtained no less honour to himself, than to his posterity. In this way, the noble Caratacus was no less adorned by his virtue in merit of admiration, when he, fighting so often with several chances of fortune, would never be vanquished. And though he had a hard fortune, and was brought as prisoner to Rome, by the treachery of Cartumandia, yet he had an invincible spirit, always defending his realm to his last days: and was held, therefore, in such reverence and fear among his enemies, that he was finally restored both to his realm and honours; to be an example to all others after him, to have excellent fortitude against all trouble. Similarly, Corbreid, his brother, in defence of his liberty, fought so cruelly against the proud Romans, and brought them to such irrecoverable affliction and slaughter, that they could never attack this realm during his life. Remember, also, my grandfather, Galdus, the most valiant prince that ever was before his days: howbeit, he was attacked with perpetual trouble, fighting not only against the Romans, but against Fortune: so oft vanquished and pursued; his army broken; each calamity increasing above the others: yet, with mighty courage, he persevered always in hope of better fortune: until, at last, by long battle of virtue against his dreadful misfortunes, he overthrew Fortune, and obtained, by martial prowess and courage, such victory and glory, that he vanquished his enemies in several battles; and brought them, by fleeing to their camp, to such subjection and misery, that where they could not be content before of the whole lands of the world, they might not well defend themselves within their sorrowful camp: through which he got the excellent glory, that never before succeeded to living creature; having the ambassadors of the Romans, by whom all kings and realms are subdued, humiliated at his feet, desiring grace. In more witness whereof, the place where these Romans were defeated, is called Galloway; so that the fame of his illustrious works shall never vanish, but always remain in recent memory. Further, the stronger, the more powerful that his foes were, the more glory succeeded to him, and his people. Wherefore you, my good companions, who are the posterity of these forceful champions that once fought against the Romans with the said Galdus,

remember that your battle is, this day, only against them who have before so often been vanquished by your warlike courage, and remain alive only by your mercy. Consider well what you are: for you are victors, unbroken of courage, and defenders of your realm, liberties, wives, children, and native Gods; and are to fight for no ambition nor avarice, except by constant virtue. Consider also, what shame it is to think that the Romans cannot be vanquished; since they have been so often before defeated. Trust firmly, the same virtue and fortune is in your hands, as was in your elders. Go forward, valiant champions, for victory is present to your hands; and put your vanquished foes to flight: for all things shall follow as you please, if you have courage." Mogallus, by these words, inflamed the minds of his army to battle.

On the other side, Lucius Antonius was no less diligent persuading the Romans, by vehement speech, to do valiantly, by example and imitation of their forebears; and to remember, by what difficult labours they fought battles, and vanquished their forceful and strong enemies. Reminding them also, how they were then to fight against a barbarous people, without virtue, and moved to battle by madness and fury; by which both their courage and reason was overcome, and urged them to battle with foolish recklessness: and, therefore, when the most danger occurred, they were soon defeated and broken. He desired them also, to have confidence in Roman virtue, and have no fear of these bloody, cruel, and unarmed enemies, divided among themselves by perpetual dissension; and not assembled for love and welfare of themselves, except for hatred of their foes. "Take your weapons," said he, "with certain hope of victory, and you shall gain infinite glory without effort, and recover the lands lost before by the sloth of Gnaeus Tribellius."

Scarcely were these words said, when both the armies joined, with more ardent fury than may be told. The Romans shot their darts, and the allied people their arrows, crossbow bolts, and stones. When the women, of whom a great number were in this army, had cast an incredible multitude of stones, they took their awful weapons, and fought with more cruelty than the men; rushing on their foes without any fear of wounds or death. The strength of the ground was no less support to our people than impediment to our foes; for they knew not the ground, and fell sometimes in swamps and moorlands, and sometimes in pools, through which they were often divided in their fighting. Yet the battle was cruelly fought in all parts; especially in the centre, where the captains inflamed the courage of their army: the Romans fighting to save themselves from subjection to barbarous people; and the Scots, to keep the victory got by the courage of their elders. After a long and hard-fought battle, they left their swords, and fought with short daggers. And, because such incalculable slaughter was done to all sides, and none of the armies appearing to give ground to the other, the captains on either side were sorry that their army joined that day. At last the Scots and Picts, by innate ferocity, began to push their enemies back; not because they were defeated, but avoiding something of the fury of battle, because they could no further resist the multitude of their enemies. While Lucius beheld such high danger appearing to his people, and was exhorting them to renew battle, he got such a wound with an arrow, that he could no more delay, but fled out of the field. Immediately, all his army fled to the nearest woods. A company of them were stopped from coming to their companions; and, not knowing where to fly, were slain by Scots, because they would not be taken prisoners.

Chap. Fourth

How the Emperor Hadrian came to Britain; and built a strong wall, to save the Britons and Romans from the Scots and Picts. How he returned to France, and left Victorinus to be Governor of Britain.

Now was the sun fast tending towards sunset, when the allied people, by the sound of a trumpet, collected the rest of their people from the chase, and passed the rest of that night with incredible blithness, singing, dancing, and caroling. At the dawn of the day, they gathered the rich spoils from the slain men.

And in the meantime, when the two kings were taking consultation for the welfare of their army, it was seen that a company of the Romans who had escaped from this last battle, were within two miles to their army, going astray, and not knowing by what country or parts they might most easily fly. Immediately, a band of the Scots went to them, and left none of them alive; for they refused to be taken. On the following day, the allied kings made sacrifice, as the practice was in those days, to their Gods, for the victory falling to them: then made a diligent examination of what persons did most honour in this last battle, and rewarded them accordingly.

Lucius Antonius, vanquished in this manner, sent to the Emperor Hadrian, saying what trouble was lately fallen in Britain by wars with the Scots and Picts, and desiring him to send, quickly, support to Britain; otherwise the Romans would be shamefully driven out of all parts thereof, or else subjected to servitude to barbarous people. Emperor Hadrian, to defeat this rebellion, came with a huge army to Albion. After his coming, he was informed how the Scots, with more cruelty than before, were coming to the Roman lands, ceasing from no manner of cruelty that might be devised on the inhabitants thereof. Hadrian, greatly moved, and very desirous to revenge these offences, came to York; where he remained, with the remaining army of the Britons, until he was provided with two months victuals, to advance on the Scots and Picts. Soon after, he raised his camp, and, with great difficulty, brought his army over the Tyne; and on the fourth day after, he came to the lands which were wasted by the Scots. And because he found everything that might nourish his army, destroyed, he began to inquire, of what life and condition these people were, that made such extortions in the Roman lands. It was said, they were a rude and fearless people, and lay outside all winter, notwithstanding the cold frosts and storms; and occupied such strongholds and moorlands, that they might not be pursued without extreme danger to the invaders. For these causes, he decided not to go on any further: and to keep themselves from all incursions of enemies in times coming, he built a huge wall of turfs and sods, very broad and high in the manner of a hill, from the mouth of Tyne, at the German Sea, to the flood of Esk, at the Irish Sea. This wall was 80 miles in length. It is said in our Chronicles, that this dike was begun by Hadrian, and ended by Severus, the Roman Emperor; and called The Wall of Severus. But we, following Veremond, call it The Wall of Hadrian, from its first foundation.

Soon after, Hadrian went to Westmorland and Wales, where he was informed of a new rebellion made against him by the inhabitants of the said land: nonetheless, he behaved so prudently in this matter, that the principal movers thereof were punished, and the country restored to his rule. After this, he came to London and Kent, and rewarded the nobles of Britain, for their faith and obedience kept to the Romans. Such things done, he returned to France, with Lucius Antonius, who was

then troubled with great infirmity; and left Victorinus in his place. This Victorinus, after the departing of Hadrian, filled all the castles and strongholds of Britain with new supplies and soldiers, to resist the violence of the Scots and Picts. There followed, many years after, great tranquillity among the Britons.

Chap Fifth.

How the Scots and Picts divided the lands beyond the Wall of Hadrian. How King Mogallus degenerated to a corrupt life; and was slain for his tyranny.

The Scots and Picts divided among themselves all the lands of Britain lying beyond the Wall of Hadrian: all the lands facing the Irish Sea were given to the Scots; and the lands facing the German Sea, to the Picts. The strongholds lying next to the Wall of Hadrian were fortified with great strength, to keep the country from attack by the Romans. But we return to our History.

The remainder of Mogallus' life was peaceful, without any foreign or domestic wars: nonetheless, this huge victory over the Romans made him degenerate from virtue into the most detestable vices; for he was so given to avarice and lust in his old age, that he was ashamed of no kind of vice or oppression done against his lieges; raping the wives of his nobles and commoners, without any shame, or respect to their estate; and not only raped virgins and matrons, but annulled all constitutions and laws made for punishment of such horrible deeds. Also, to aggravate his tyranny, he gave licence to thieves and robbers to take the goods of their neighbours, if they wanted, without punishment; and slew all the rich men of his country by false accusations, and confiscated their goods. He was the first king that decreed, the goods of banished or condemned persons to be confiscated to the king's use, without any respect to their wives, children, or debtors. Before that time, the goods, lands, and possessions of all condemned persons came, without any objection, to the free disposition of their wives and children. This law, which shows well the cursed avarice of Mogallus, is yet observed, without any revocation, in this region. And yet the horrible deeds of the tyrant could not be long unpunished: for the nobles and commoners, refusing to tolerate such tyrannies, conspired against him, and instructed certain men to wait for a suitable place and time for his slaughter.

Mogallus, knowing the nobles conspired against him in this manner, took the advice of certain bards, who were very frequent in those days, to flee to the Isles; and to conceal his departure, he went to his bed sooner than he was wont, as if he had been stricken with a sudden infirmity. Soon after, he armed himself with his armour, bow, and arrows; and fled, with two servants, to the nearest wood: and left behind him the rest of his cursed company, as a tyrant does, that confides in no creature. The nobles that had conspired against him, being informed of his fleeing, followed on him so sharply, that he was finally taken and slain; in the 26th year of his reign; from the Incarnation, 148 years: Antoninus Pius being Emperor, and Phiacus Albus reigning above the Picts.

The head of Mogallus was borne on a stake to the nearest town, where a multitude of people were gathered, to his perpetual shame. It was decided by the people, that his body should be cast to the hounds and ravenous beasts; nonetheless, the nobles, moved by the worthy deeds of Galdus, his grandfather, commanded his head and body to be buried among the kingly tombs of his ancestors. Thus Mogallus, degenerate from the virtue of his predecessors, made a shameful and wretched end.

Chap. Sixth

Of several noble Clerks. Of the vicious King Conarus; and how he was degraded of all authority, and his servants hanged for their wicked counsel.

From the death of Dardannus to these days, there were many excellent clerks in different parts of the world: as Quintilian, orator; Serapio, physician; Philo Jew, philosopher and orator; Caius Plinius, the Elder, that wrote the *Natural History*, in thirty-eight books, with no less truth than eloquence; Cornelius Tacitus, writer of histories, whom we have followed in this work; Cecilius Plenius, the Younger, orator; Suetonius Tranquillus; Ptolemy, most excellent in mathematics, who brought the cosmography, described above, to a better knowledge, with many new additions; L. Apuleius, orator; Aulus Gellius; Plutarch, philosopher. And in those days were excellent poets: as Juvenal, Silius Italicus, Martial, with many others.

About this time the Roman princes pursued Christian people with great cruelty, and brought great number of them to martyrdom, not knowing what constancy there was in the religion of Christian faith; which always increased the more powerfully it was pursued by tyranny; and augmented with nothing so much as by sharp persecution. But we will return, where we left, to our history.

Mogallus might well have been numbered, in the beginning of his reign, among the most noble princes: but, in the end, he was neither worthy to be king, nor yet a living creature, and deserved well the end that he got. Further, his son Conarus, who succeeded after him, had little better fortune or manners; for he instructed his men, by a treacherous attack, to slay his father, and so by unnatural cruelty he succeeded to the crown. In the beginning of his reign, he dissimulated the vices to which he was naturally inclined. As soon as the realm was held by him in certain peace, he wasted all the public income pertaining to the crown, in his infamous lust; and gave broad lands and riches to most vile and notorious creatures, because they loved his corrupt manners and vice: and by counsel of these wicked scoundrels he governed his kingdom, detesting all noble and virtuous men of his realm; and set himself to induce his people to extravagant and riotous banquets, contrary the temperance of his predecessors. At last, when he had wasted all his treasure and substance in many shameful ways, he convened his nobles to a council; in which he praised, in a long speech, the honourable and triumphant reputation of his house, to which no little glory should be given. And because his wealth and treasure was not sufficient to sustain his requirements, he desired a general tax to be taken through the realm, of each person after his ability, to sustain his house and servants according to his royal estate and honours. It was answered by his nobles, that they might not give a hasty decision in so great a matter; because he desired certain things, which were never desired by any other prince before: and for that cause, they should carefully consider, and say to him their mind concerning the same, on the following day. These nobles, in the night following, convened to their secret council. And because they found the king of evil governance, they concluded to degrade him of his authority and kingdom. On the following day, they convened with their king in council, and said to him, that they had no little surprise, that the income pertaining to the crown could not suffice as well to him, having his realm without any trouble, in peace, as it did to other most noble princes, his ancestors, before, both in war and peace. The noble Galdus, that recovered his realm, desired no such tax from them, for any manner of

charges that he sustained against his enemies; knowing well how odious it was to the people, to seek any new exactions from them. And yet the governance of Conarus was unlike that of the noble Galdus. For Galdus, by counsel of prudent men, removed all provocation of lusts from his army, with all other things that might make them degenerate; giving his labour to defend his subjects, and to resist his enemies. By contrast, Conarus was drowned in lust, passing his life among most vile and abominable creatures; persisting always in governing the realm, when the highest business occurred, by their wretched counsel; confiscating from the nobles of the realm, to reward his wicked scoundrels. And finally, after so many insupportable wrongs done by him, he had sought a thing very unknown and odious to them, to be a precedent to other kings, his successors, in times coming, to seek new exactions on them, so that all their riches and goods might come finally in his hands. But his wretched counsellors, and misguiders of the realm, should not only be frustrated of their intentions, but brought to such estate, that they should obtain little reward or riches from him in times coming. For they were firmly resolved, both to degrade him of his kingdom and honours, and to punish his wicked counsellors with death; so that all people of vile and obscure lineage may see what comes of their abuse of realms and kings, and that kings may understand what danger is to them to be injurious tyrants to their subjects.

Conarus, hearing these words, said, "How dare you, wicked fools, suggest such things against me and my servants? This treason, that you have devised against me, shall turn to damage to yourselves; and you shall be punished in the most cruel manner that may be devised." The nobles answered, that he was unworthy to be their king; for he suffered the realm to be destroyed by the insolence of vicious scoundrels. Immediately there arose a huge noise and clamour among them; and in the meantime, certain strong and vigorous men took him by the middle, and bore him, perforce, to a quiet chamber: where he remained, the rest of his days, in misery. His servants, that were the occasion of his corrupt life, nourishing him in vice, were taken and hanged on gibbets, as they deserved.

Chap Seventh.

How Argadus was made Governor of Scotland, during the time of Conarus in prison. And of his life and governance.

Conarus having been degraded in this manner, the nobles chose Argadus, captain of Argyll, to be governor of the realm, so long as Conarus was in prison. This Argadus, in the beginning of his authority, performed great labour for advancing the common welfare; and suppressed theft, robbery, and slaughter, and all other such serious crimes, with marvellous craft and prudence: having such moderation, that he seemed neither too feeble, nor yet too cruel, in the administration of justice: through which, he was trusted to be a mirror of virtue to all noble princes. And yet, as often occurs, good fortune turned his mind from justice: For he set aside all good manners, and governed his realm, when important matters occurred, by domestic counsel, and nurtured internal disputes between the great princes of his realm, to cause them to be the more dependent on him. He married the Prince of Fife's daughter, and by affinity thereof drew the Picts to his friendship, that he might be the more strong among his own people. The nobles, reluctant to suffer his vices, called him to a council: where he was sharply reprov'd, in that he, chosen governor by their authority, for the virtue then appearing in him, should make himself not only to follow the vicious tyranny of Conarus, whom they deprived for his detestable deeds, but to marry with foreign blood without their agreement; and guiding the realm by private counsel, to the great damage to the common welfare; and had shamefully lost the good name that he obtained before, in the beginning of his authority.

Argadus, hearing himself reproach'd in this way, shed many tears, and desired his nobles to have him excused for that time by their benevolence, and not to punish him according to his demerits: for he promised to amend all enormities done by him, in whatever way they pleased. The nobles, moved by his humble words, continued him still in authority, and cast all his counsellors in prison.

Argadus, corrected by his nobles in this manner, governed the realm in good justice, and did nothing, in times coming, concerning public matters, without consultation of his nobles. And because divers towns and cities of the realm had excessive privileges in the administration of justice, he reduced many of their prerogatives, and commanded them to punish nothing but small crimes; all high offences to be referred to his great justice. He made extreme diligence to search thieves, robbers, and oppressors; especially them that made raids in Argyll, the Isles, and other parts adjacent. And always, where they were apprehended, they were hanged, without any mercy, on gibbets. He commanded all persons, that had any office or authority from him, to abstain from such things as might make them inebriate or drunken, to cause them have some pre-eminence and wisdom above the commoners. He commanded all vagabonds, tavern-keepers, drunkards, and other such vile people, devised more for lust than any necessary sustenance of men, to be exiled within a certain day. The day being past, he commanded their goods to be confiscated, where ever they might be apprehended.

Finally, the common people, partly by benevolence of Argadus, and partly by their institutions, were reformed in good manners. Until at last Conarus, by long sickness and melancholy, which he took from his incarceration, died the 14th year of his reign; Marcus Aurelius being then Emperor.

Chap Eighth

Of King Ethodius the First, and how he pacified the Isles. How the Scots and Picts broke down the Wall of Hadrian; and fought against the Romans, with several chances of victory.

After the death of Conarus, the nobles, by general convention, made Ethodius king: for he was grandson to Mogallus, son of Conarus' sister. Ethodius, after his coronation, rewarded Argadus, governor, with lands and riches, for his good administration of justice during his time; and made him general lieutenant of his realm.

This noble prince went to the Isles, and pacified the same of all disagreements. At his returning to Albion, he was informed that the Romans had broken down the Wall of Hadrian, and in place thereof has built great strongholds of trees, stones, and divots; and by the same, made many raids in the lands of the Scots and Picts, of whom a great number were slain, in defence of their own goods, and the remaining defeated.

As soon as Ethodius heard this news, he sent a herald to Victorinus, desiring redress to be made within 15 days; with certification, if the same were not done within the said time, he should recover the same by force of battle. It was answered by Victorinus, that this last plunder of goods was taken by the Romans, to recompense several other raids made before by the Scots and Picts; for they were a seditious people, and allied only for damage to their neighbours; as appeared clearly, because they broke first the said Wall of Hadrian, and built several strongholds against the same, to trouble the Romans and Britons, without any sight to the peace previously agreed. Ethodius, angered by this answer, sent his ambassadors to the King of Picts, and desired him to come, with his people, on a certain day, to recover their goods, taken by the Romans. The King promised to be ready, as was desired.

The Romans, well informed of these matters, arranged a huge force of battle against their enemies. The allied people raised their armies at the day appointed, and broke down the Wall of Hadrian in many parts, and entered, with most cruel raids and slaughter, into the lands of the Romans. In the night following, the Romans slipped by the camp of the Scots and Picts, and came, both in Merse and Berwick, to draw them out of the Roman lands. The allied kings, well informed thereof, came, with great diligence, on the following day, to recover their lands. Immediately, both the armies rushed together, and fought, with several chances of victory: for the right wings were victorious on each side, and the left wings defeated. The middle forces fought constantly, until the night bereft them of their sight. And so both the said armies parted, of their own will, without any victory. On the following day, all the women that followed the Scots and Picts to this battle, seeing the field deserted, gathered the spoils of the slain men, and returned with the same to Scotland.

This battle was so sorrowful, that the following year was quiet, without any motion of wars.

Chap. Ninth.

How Victorinus was deprived of authority, and Calpurnius Agricola sent to his place. How Calpurnius repaired the Wall of Hadrian, and returned to Rome.

Victorinus, seeing his army broken in this manner, wrote to Emperor Aurelius, and said all this trouble that fell to the Romans by this last battle, with every circumstance described above.

The Emperor, believing this trouble had fallen to the Romans by the feeble courage of Victorinus, deprived him of all authority, and sent Calpurnius Agricola, who was grandson to Julius Agricola, described above, in his place.

Calpurnius, at his coming to Britain, assembled a large force of Britons and Romans at York, to attack the allied people: and first made sacrifice to the Gods, to have victory on his enemies; then raised his camp, and came beyond the Wall of Hadrian: where he found, because of frequent wars, all the lands waste, without any crops or fruits; all the towns burned by the Scots, so that no lodging should remain to their enemies. Calpurnius, notwithstanding this devastation, went forward with his army, and attacked both Merse and Pentland with ferocious deeds, and slew the inhabitants thereof, in all parts, without any mercy or ransom. Such things done, he returned to York, and remained there, the winter following, with the remainder of his army; making provision to attack the Scots and Picts again the next summer.

In the meantime, he got letters, that the Welshmen, with several other people of Britain, had rebelled; and, by the said rebellion, many cities and towns that were under the control of the Romans, burned and destroyed, and the inhabitants thereof cruelly slain. Calpurnius, dreading to lose the lands obtained before with such huge difficulty, in pursuit of new realms; left the Scots and Picts, and set himself, with all diligence, to renew the Wall of Hadrian, that the same might be a shield, in times coming, against the violence of the Scots and Picts. Soon after, he got several craftsmen to clear the ditches, and to repair the said wall in all parts, with towers and bastions rising in the strongest manner that might be devised. And when the wall was repaired in all parts, he left a band of warriors to defend the same from the violence of enemies, and went with the remainder of his army against the Welshmen: and they, with no less diligence, met him in battle array. Nonetheless, they were finally vanquished and pursued.

Scarcely was this battle won, when there quickly followed another, by rebellion of the Isle of Wight. The inhabitants thereof came with proud banners against the Romans, and were vanquished in the same manner as before. The allied people, seeing the Britons defeated in this way, stayed in their own realms, without any invasion of the Romans' territory; dreading the same chance of victory, in this Calpurnius Agricola, that was before with Julius Agricola, who subjected so many regions of the Scots and Picts to Roman rule.

Calpurnius, hearing, by their scouts, how the allied people were dispersed, without any molestation done to his people; made him to calm all seditions, if any were rising, among the Britons. And when he had pacified them on all disagreements, he returned, by command of Emperor Antonius Commodus, to Rome.

Chap. Tenth.

How Trebellius was sent to Britain, and was vanquished by the Scots and Picts. Of the rebellion of the Britons against him; and of his message sent to the Emperor.

After the departure of Calpurnius, a new captain, named P. Trebellius, was sent to Britain by the Emperor. This Trebellius governed Britain more by benevolence and favour, than any authority. He used the council of the Britons in his high business; and did great honour to Lucius, King of Britons, commending him often, in his letters, to the Emperor, that he was both lover of the welfare of Rome, and enemy to all them that hated the rule thereof. Trebellius was favoured so much by Lucius, King of Britons, because of these commendations, that he believed nothing might harm him in Britain; and began, therefore, to show his hidden mind, as a man of insatiable avarice; for he slew many rich men in Britain, only to confiscate their goods, and others he banished, to the same effect. These cruelties made him so odious, that he had been often attacked and slain, were not he was constantly supported by the said Lucius.

The allied people, knowing the hatred of the Britons against Trebellius, thought the time expedient to revenge old injuries. And after they had gathered an army, with all provision that might be devised, they broke down the Wall of Hadrian, which was repaired previously by Calpurnius, and wrought intolerable cruelties on the Britons that obeyed the Romans. Trebellius, angered by this damage, went with an army of horsemen and foot-soldiers against the Scots and Picts. At his first joining, the Britons and Frenchmen, who were a great part of his army, left him: through which he was easily vanquished, and all his army put to flight. And though the victory succeeded to Scots and Picts in this battle, yet innumerable slaughter was made on them, as well as of the Romans. Trebellius, defeated in this manner, collected the remainder of his army, and returned to York.

The Scots and Picts become very insolent after this victory: And to revenge the slaughter so many years made on them, they slew all the prisoners who were taken in this last field; and came with a new army on the people that dwelt in Westmorland and Kendal, and attacked them with such cruelty, that they were despairing, without refuge. Although Trebellius was greatly disturbed by these offences, he dared not attack his enemies with battle; for he had no less suspicion against the Britons than against the Scots and Picts. Nonetheless, by frequent raids, he slew his enemies, wherever he might apprehend them, without any mercy.

In the same time there arose great trouble in Britain: For the commoners, seeing themselves each day more injured by the Scots and Picts, without any hope of redress; choose Caldorus, a valiant knight of the Pictish blood, to be their captain in their rebellion: for he was many years accustomed with their manners, having nothing in more hatred than the tyranny of the Romans. Trebellius, knowing the great danger from this trouble, took long consultation, by what industry and labour he might best resist it. After careful consideration, he decided to fight with the Britons; for if their power were combined with the Scots and Picts, the same could not be defeated without great slaughter of the Romans. The Britons, because their army was collected of commoners, were daunted by his coming: nonetheless, by the urging of Caldorus, their captain, they joined with their enemies in great ferocity and spirit. There followed a bloody and terrible battle, fought with uncertain victory: but at last the Britons were vanquished. Caldorus escaped out of this battle with certain his friends,

and returned to Pentland, rejoicing in his mind that so many the Romans and Britons were slain by his industry. Many nobles of Britain were in this field against the Romans, although they were wearing commoners' clothes; and when they saw the Romans by raging fury slay so many of the commoners, they revealed themselves to the Romans, trusting, because they were nobles, to be the rather saved, and taken prisoners. When Trebellius was informed how they dissimulated their clothing, and were the cause of this rebellion, he had them hanged, in presence of all the people, on gibbets. This cruelty made Trebellius very odious to the Britons: for on the following day they took as many of the Romans, and hanged them in the same manner.

Trebellius, dreading great danger appearing in all parts, complained to the Emperor of the treason of the Britons, and injuries done by the Scots and Picts; and desired support to be sent quickly, or else the Romans should be beaten shamefully out of Britain.

Commodus Antonius, the Emperor, to defeat this rebellion of the Britons, Scots, and Picts, sent a valiant knight, named Pertinax, to Britain; who, after his coming, defeated the enemies of the Roman Empire more by benevolence than any force of arms: although, certain of them, that were of small reputation, were punished by death. After this, he raised his camp, and came beyond the Wall of Hadrian, where he attacked the Scots and Picts with raids and slaughter. But when he should have proceeded forward, he got letters that Emperor Commodus, was slain by the treason of his associates; and, soon after, he returned to Rome, where he was chosen Emperor. And after his coronation, Trebellius was sent again to Britain.

Chap. Eleventh.

How Argadus, Lieutenant to King Ethodius, was slain, and his Army defeated in the Isles. Of several laws and acts made by Ethodius; and of his Murder.

While such things were happening in Britain, there succeeded great trouble to Ethodius in Scotland. For several great clans of the Isles, to revenge the slaughter of their friends who were slain by Argadus, when he was governor, arrived, with a great force, in Argyll; and made slaughter and raids in all parts thereof, without any consideration of their victims' status. Ethodius, to punish these deeds, sent Argadus, his lieutenant, with a company of chosen men, to Argyll; and came with an army, both of the Scots and Picts, to the Wall of Hadrian, to fight with the Romans and Britons, if they would attack him. The clans of the Isles, knowing that Argadus was coming, convened suddenly with their captain to meet him; and left 2000 Irishmen, who came with them for spoils, hidden under crags and caves of that land, to take Argadus, if they might, at some advantage. As soon as these Irishmen perceived Argadus coming by them, they rushed all at once upon him with a shout. Argadus, seeing himself attacked on either side, turned all fear into the greatest fury, and fought with incredible courage to the death; and was finally slain, with 2 thousand men of his army, and the remainder put to flight.

King Ethodius became very hostile to the clans of the Isles for this offence; for he came, soon after, with 20 thousand men, to Argyll. The clans of the Isles, informed of his coming, raised sail, to flee to the Isles; nonetheless, they were driven back again to Argyll, by contrary winds. King Ethodius, knowing them desperate men, and not able to be vanquished without great damage and slaughter of his people; broke them more by wisdom than any violence of battle, and brought them to such necessity, that they were forced, for lack of victuals, to seek peace; which was granted to them, under these conditions: The principal captain, and two hundred, whom the king would choose of their company, should be delivered, to confirm the will of him and his nobles; and the remainder to return home, without their swords, to the Isles. These clans, and men of the Isles, seeing no refuge, took peace on the same condition, and delivered so many as the king pleased; who were tried, and put to death. The remainder, seeing their captain and their friends slain, came with a huge number of stones, because they wanted their swords, against the king's army, as frantic and insane creatures, to have revenged the slaughter of their friends; nonetheless, a great number of them, with little labour, were slain, and the remainder put to flight.

Having defeated the Isles in this manner, and the Britons living in servitude under the Romans, Ethodius had his realm in peace, without any foreign or domestic wars, for many years after. And, after he had visited all the parts thereof, he chose several prudent men to be judges, for administration of justice to his subjects. And, so that he should not become dull, by approaching of age, in sloth, he gave his talent to hunting, as he was taught in his youth; and commanded the laws, made before by his noble predecessors concerning hunting, to be observed. And, first, he commanded, that no hares be slain, when they are lying, with clubs, arrows, darts, or any similar instruments; nor yet taken by nets or snares: because hares were often killed in such a manner, without any sport. He commanded, if the hares had outrun the hounds by long way, to be no further pursued: Similarly, that no man slay a pregnant hind, nor yet their calves. It was forbidden, to slay a hare by any other method than chase by

hounds: and no hunting to be done during the season of winter and spring; for, in that season, the earth is so covered over with snow, that the deer are constrained to descend from the mountains to the plains to find their food, and often killed without any sport. These laws were made by Ethodius; for he detested nothing more, than the honorable game of hunting, which was ordained for his nobles and gentlemen, to be destroyed by such easy methods, without sport. Also, when this prince was not hunting, he was given to honourable pleasures; and supported talented minstrels of all sorts. But, at last, he was treasonably slain, under cover of night, by a minstrel of the Isles, whom he enjoyed greatly. This minstrel was finally taken by the king's guard; and, when he was asked, why he slew his native prince, that was so familiar and tender with him, he answered, that he slew the king, because the king slew many of his friends before in Argyll; and, since he had so suitably revenged the slaughter of his friends, which he was determined many days before to do, and his vehement affection satisfied by his valiant deed, he desired to live no longer: and bade them use what cruelty they wished for his offence; for his courage was no less ready to sustain the death, than it was to slay the king: also, there was no kind of death so cruel to be devised on him, that might cause him to repent the king's slaughter, since he, by the same, has so suitably revenged the slaughter of his dear friends. Scarcely were these words said by the minstrel, when his body was torn apart by wild horses.

Ethodius was slain, the 33rd year of his reign; and buried in Dunstaffnage, among the tombs of his ancestors. His reign came during the reign of Emperor Severus.

Chap. Twelfth.

Of many noble Clerks. How Britain took the faith of Christ. Of the vicious King Satrahell; and of his death.

About this time flourished many noble Clerics, in several parts of the world: as, Galen and Hippocrates, physicians; Apollonius, orator, who was martyred by the pagans, for making of a speech in loving of the glorious Virgin Mary.

Many people began, in this time, to detest the errors of the pagans, and took the certain faith of Christ. Lucius, King of Britons, hearing, by the Romans under Trebellius, of the miracles and religion of Christian faith, sent writings to Eleutherius, who was the 14th Pope from Saint Peter, to give the Christian faith to him and his people. Soon after there came to Britain, two holy men, Fugatius and Damanius; who brought the said Lucius and his people to the sacrament of baptism, and put down all empty superstitions and idolatries. The year that Britain took the faith of Christ, was, from his Incarnation, 187 years. But we will return to our history.

After the death of Ethodius, his sons were of so tender age, that they could not succeed; and, therefore, Satrahell, his brother, was made king. This Satrahell was a man of sly and dishonourable talent; and given to such cruelty and treason, that he slew, by false accusations, many of the friends of Ethodius, to defraud his heirs of the crown. He was so unmerciful to the commoners and nobles, that he stripped them both of their goods and lands; and many of them, by false accusations, put to death. Thus he grew each day more odious, both to his commoners and nobles. Soon after, there followed discord, dissension, and domestic wars, between friends and neighbours, to the great damage to the public welfare. These, and many other damages, appearing to lead to the complete destruction of the people, came through sloth and imprudence of this wretched tyrant: for he dared not come to light, to punish offenders; because the people had him in extreme hatred for his cursed tyranny. While, at last, he was slain by one of his associates, during the night; the fourth year of his reign.

Chap. Thirteenth.

Of King Donald the First. How the Britons were prevented by the Romans from having any King of their blood. And how they solicited the Scots and Picts to assist to their rebellion.

After Satrahell was slain in this manner, Donald, brother to Ethodius the First, was made king; a just and humble prince, very different from the manners of the last tyrant: not given to deceits nor falsehood, but setting his mind to calm all contentions and trouble among his lieges. And when he had pacified his realm of all disagreements, he began to visit all parts thereof; often taking up residence in his royal castles with his nobles, and doing justice to his subjects without any respect of the party; and punished all crimes, according to the offence thereof: through which the people, that were wild and untamed before, through the negligence of evil princes, were brought to civil manners, and able to withstand their enemies when danger occurred. This noble prince had a guard of chosen men, ready for all duties, both in time of war and peace.

About this time, Lucius, King of Britons, died. The Romans, after his death, knowing the kings of Britain were the occasion of so frequent sedition in earlier times, forbade, that any of their blood should reign in times coming: through which great trouble succeeded in Britain. For Fulgentius, who was descended of the blood royal of Britain, very angered that the nobles thereof should be disinherited of the crown, convened many of the nobles to a council; and complained of the great tyrannies done by the Romans, in plain destruction of their native laws and liberty; their virgins, widows, and matrons, defiled by the insatiable lust of the Romans; their goods confiscated; new tribute and exactions demanded each day, beside many other infinite oppressions; and, last of all, the noble blood disinherited of the crown: and, therefore, if the same were not quickly repaired, no noble blood, except commoners, would be left in Britain. The Britons, moved by these arguments, set a day to meet him in their best manner, to attack the Romans.

Soon after, Fulgentius sent a herald to Donald, King of Scots, describing the rebellion of the Britons against the Romans, and desiring support to expel them out of Albion; for the same might be done that time with less trouble than any time before: for the emperor was aged, and broken with so many calamities, that he knew not what was to be done; also, so many people had rebelled against him in France, Germany, and the East parts of the world, that no help might be sent from him to Britain. King Donald, rejoicing in these tidings, and glad to have occasion of battle, because his people could not live without civil wars among themselves, when they had no external wars against other people; promised to come, at a prefixed day, with his power, to attack the Romans. The Picts promised their support in the same manner.

Fulgentius, knowing the agreement of the Scots and Picts made to the effect foresaid, came, with an army of the Britons, to the Wall of Hadrian, against the Irish Sea; and broke down a great part thereof, to prepare for the coming of the Scots and Picts: and they, with no less diligence, met the Britons. As soon as the people of Albion had combined their armies together, they came forward to York, trusting to have found Trebellius, with several other Roman captains, in it. At last, when they had lain a long time at the siege of this town, and understood the principal Romans, whom they desired most, had fled to Kent, they left the siege; and made incursions, with raids and slaughter, on all people that sided with the Romans.

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The commoners, stunned by these cruelties, and not able to resist, went over to the side of the allied kings; and received them within the gates of their town. Their armies were lodged outside the town for as long as any thing might be got for their sustenance; and then they went to other places, always making similar raids as before, not ceasing from their cruel fury: until the intolerable and cold storms of winter constrained them to scatter and return home.

Chap. Fourteenth.

How Emperor Severus came to Britain, to revenge the oppressions done to the Romans. How the Britons fled to Scotland. How the Scots and Picts, fighting in support of the Britons, were defeated.

Trebellius, unwilling to suffer these offences, wrote to Emperor Severus, how the Britons not only had rebelled, but also has attacked the Roman lands with such cruelty and raids, that it was necessary either to sent a new army, or else to come himself to Britain.

Emperor Severus, glad to have occasion of battle, that he might acquire similar honour in subduing of the Britons as he had won before in subduing of both the East and North parts of the world, took his voyage in a horse litter; and came finally, with great labour and diligence, although he was aged, and pined with the gout, in Britain: and brought with him both his sons, Antonius and Geta; so that he might draw them from corrupt and sensual pleasures, to martial deeds. At his coming to Britain, he gathered the remainder of the Romans, with his new army, to attack the Britons.

Fulgentius, and the remaining Britons who supported him, daunted by the sudden coming of the Emperor with a huge force, sent ambassadors to excuse them, and desired peace. The Emperor sent away their ambassadors with rejection of their pleas. Then Fulgentius, frustrated of his desires, convened the nobles to a council: persuading them, in a long speech, to recover their liberty, and to restore the blood royal of Britain to the crown; revenging the intolerable outrages done by the Romans over so many years: and declared how nothing might move him to take this most dangerous matter on hand, except to recover the liberty of Britain, and to banish foreign blood from the crown. And though he persuaded them at that time to battle, saying, the Romans were an army gathered of different opinions and minds, and might therefore be the sooner vanquished, and the Scots and Picts, who were the greatest enemies to the Romans, were coming to their support: yet he thought more profitable to break the Romans with small incursions, than any set battle; trusting, if the Gods were propitious, that Britain might be permanently delivered of Roman servitude. The Britons, moved by these words, came out of Britain, with their wives, children, and goods, to the mountains beyond the Wall of Hadrian.

In the meantime, Fulgentius gathered a company of the noblest Britons who supported him, intending rather to defend themselves than to attack their enemies: and soon after, the Scots and Picts came to him, ready to take all manner of risks for their welfare.

Emperor Severus, knowing all the ways of the people of Albion, left nothing undone that might pertain to the provision of his force: and when all things were arranged as he desired, he left his youngest son, named Geta, to govern the Britons under Roman laws; and came with all his force to York, where he was received with great honour and triumph. After his entry, he went to the temples, and made his salutations to the Gods; then went to the castle, where Trebellius was, with several Roman soldiers, and discussed at length how the barbarous people might be best defeated. Not long after, he raised his camp, and came forward with banners displayed.

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The Britons who supported Fulgentius, seeing no refuge, decided to fight against the Romans, and either to die most valiantly, or else to live with victory and honour: yet when they saw their enemies, with so many people, in sight, they changed purpose. Nonetheless, they joined with great fury, and fought a long time with uncertain victory; until at last they were vanquished, and the Scots and Picts put to flight in the same way. Fulgentius was brought out of the field by his friends, in hope of better fortune.

The Scots and Picts, after this defeat, gathered the remainder of their army, and returned home. In this dreadful battle were slain of the Scots, Picts, and Britons, 30 thousand.

Chap. Fifteenth.

Of the great cruelties done by Emperor Severus, against the nobles of Britain. Of his wars against the Scots and Picts. How Antonius repaired the Wall of Hadrian: and of the Emperor's death.

The Scots and Picts, broken with this calamity, sent to Ireland, Norway, and Denmark, for support of their friends, to resist the Romans; and Fulgentius, on the other side, ceased not to hire all people that he might get for money.

After this battle, the Emperor Severus went through all the lands of Britain, and slew all the nobles thereof, whom he might apprehend; having mercy only on the commoners, for they did no offence, but followed their masters. As soon as he had repaired all the damages done by the negligence of feeble captains, he returned to York; and left his army in their winter quarters.

In the next summer, the Scots and Picts, seeing no support came from Ireland, set themselves rather to defend their own, than to attack their enemies. Fulgentius, with the Britons that supported him, in hope of better fortune, fled to the Scots and Picts.

Soon after, Emperor Severus raised his camp, and came beyond the Wall of Hadrian: through which followed continual incursions, by several chances of fortune; sometimes the Scots, sometimes the Romans victorious: for the impassable mountains and moorlands of the country were a great defence to the Scots and Picts, fleeing thereto in time of danger, and attacking their enemies when they saw occasion. Thus the Romans were long delayed from battle.

In the meantime, the Emperor fell into such infirmity, that he was constrained to return home, with Geta, his youngest son, and to leave Antonius, his eldest son, to govern Britain, with all charges pertaining thereto.

Antonius, little daunted by his enemies, made his residence, with his camp, not far from Tyne; and commanded the Wall of Hadrian, which was then broken down, to be built again, with many strong towers and bastions rising in it: each tower no farther from the next than the sound of trumpet might be heard. He also put, trumpeters in each tower, that, by the sound of trumpet, the country should be warned to withstand their enemies, when danger occurred.

As soon as this wall was repaired with the skill of craftsmen, Antonius made it his business to govern the Roman army in such a manner, that they might regard him, and not his brother Geta, as lord and senior above them. But Geta was so sorrowful, by compassion of his father's infirmities, that he took little solicitude for the empire; and seeing his father increase each day with more sickness, he solicited the physicians to hasten his father to the death. While at last his father, the Emperor, broken more with dolour than any long years, died; the most valiant Emperor for glory of martial deeds, that was before his days.

Chap. Sixteenth

How Antonius slew his brother Geta, to make himself Emperor. How Scotland took the faith of Christ, and coined money. Of many noble Clerks in several parts of the World, and of King Donald's death.

After Severus died in this way, Antonius, his eldest son, solicited the captains of the Roman army to give the empire only to him, so that he might succeed without any colleague. However he could not obtain the same; for they held both him and his brother in equal affection and honour.

Antonius, frustrated of his desires, made a confederation with Scots, Picts, and remaining Britons who supported Fulgentius; then returned to his mother and brother at London. The mother, desiring to bring her sons to concord, sent friends to conciliate their disagreements: and after she had reconciled them, more by violence than any good will, she divided the empire, with equal honours, between them; and departed out of Britain to Rome: bearing with her the ashes of their father, in a golden vessel, with many aromatic substances. After their coming to Rome, Antonius, not wanting to have a fellow equal to him in dominion, slew his brother Geta in presence of his mother; and succeeded, by his murder, to the whole empire. But we will return to our history.

When Donald had repaired all faults in his realm, and brought the same to a better condition, he passed the remainder of his days in good peace, by inspiration of Christ, our Saviour, Prince, and Lord of Peace. For in the time of the said Severus, Emperor, King Donald sent his ambassadors to Saint Victor, the 15th Pope from Saint Peter, and recruited certain devout and religious persons to come to Scotland, to instruct him, his wife and children, in the Christian faith; and to give them the sacrament of baptism. Then King Donald received the Christian faith, and all the Scots in the same manner. The year that Scots took the faith of Christ, our Saviour, God and Man, was from his Incarnation 203 years; from the beginning of the realm of Scotland, 533 years; from the beginning of the world, 5399 years. And though the Britons took the faith of Christ before us, yet there has been always a broad difference between us and them: for after they took the faith, they have several times left the same, by the persecution of pagans; but we been ever certain, without any corruption of heresy, since our first beginning therein, to these days.

King Donald was the first King of Scots that minted a penny of gold or silver. On the one side of this money was printed a cross, and his face on the other. The Scots used no money, but merchandise, when they dealt with Britons and the Romans, before their days; except it were money of the said the Romans or Britons: as may be proven by several old hoards and treasures, found in divers parts of Scotland, with foreign coins. For in the year of God 1519 years, in Fife, not far from Leven, were certain pennies found, in an brazen vessel, with foreign coins: some of them were printed with a double face of Janus; others with the bow of a ship; others had the figure of Mars, Venus, Mercurius, and similar idols; on others were printed Romulus and Remus sucking a wolf; and on the other side were printed S.P.Q.R., which signify is, *Senatus Populusque Romanus*; that is to say, *the senate and people of Rome*. In this way, in Moray-land, beside the sea, in the ground of an old castle, the year of God 1460 years, was found a vessel of marble, full of foreign money; on which were printed the image of a gander fighting with adders: people admired this vessel of

marble no less than the foreign coins. By these examples may be proven that foreign money has been among us.

At last King Donald, very illustrious in civil and religious works, died, the 21st year of his reign; and was buried by religious men and priests in a church, after the manner of Christian princes, with devout ceremonies. His reign came in the time of the Roman Emperor Alexander Severus.

In the time of King Donald there were many noble clerics; as, Ulpianus, the flower of jurists in his days; Origen, a singular man of piety and doctrine, with so eager talent, that he would speak faster than seven scribes could write. This Origen was afterwards brought out of Antioch, at the instance of Mammea, mother to Alexander, Emperor; and converted her afterwards to the Christian faith; through which the Emperor began, not only to favour the Christian people, but also to forbid any persecution to be made on them; and kept the crucifix in the most secret parts of his chamber. In the same time was Plotinus, with many other clerics of singular erudition, some pagans, and some of them Christian people. This was the first time that the Scots began to study theologie and holy writ, from clerics who were sent by Victor, the Pope, for their erudition, to Albion.

Chap. Seventeenth.

Of King Ethodius the Second; and how the nobles, finding him unable to guide the realm, governed the same by their authority, in great justice.

After Donald died in this manner, Ethodius, the second of that name, son to Ethodius the First, was made king. He was nurtured in the Isle of Man, under the wise teachers there: although, it was uncertain in what way he would mature, when he was set at liberty; for when he was declared king, and freely delivered by his teachers, he appeared of dull talent, more able to gather riches by his insatiable avarice, than to govern a realm. And because the nobles perceived him of evil governance, they ruled the realm by their prudent constitutions. Good justice followed; and prudent men were put in every shire, both to punish criminal persons, and to keep the people free from any extortions. Such diligence was made, that misdoers were punished, and no man punished but according to the laws. It was forbidden by the same, to speak for any criminal persons in judgement; and he that spoke for the said persons were reputed as participant with their crime. Also, where any trouble appeared by sedition, the same was quickly calmed.

The Britons lived all this time in good peace, under tribute to the Romans; and dared attempt no rebellion against them: for Emperor Severus, took such hostages of them before his death, that they were constrained to live in peace. In this way, the Scots and Picts, during the time of Ethodius, neither did nor took injury of the Romans nor Britons. Until at last King Ethodius was slain by his guard, the 16th year of his reign, because he was overmuch given to avaricious gathering.

And so ends here the Fifth book of these Chronicles.

Hector Boece

BOOK VI.

Here Begins the Sixth Book of the Chronicles of Scotland.

Chap. First.

How Athirco was made King of Scots. How the nobles conspired against him for his cursed tyrannies; and how he slew himself in desperation.

Not long after the slaughter of Ethodius, the nobles convened in public council, and made Athirco, son of Ethodius who had died, king: and though he was young, yet he was approved by the nobles, notwithstanding his age. He appeared, in the beginning of his reign, prudent and gracious to his subjects; delighting in the teaching of learned men, such as knew the holy writ, or the history of his ancestors. He was well skilled in wrestling, and all other bodily exercise involving skill or strength of body; and so liberal, that he enticed the people to his favour: and yet he grew not in virtue as he grew in age; for after he had reigned 8 years, he became each day more unpleasant, and always the more vicious, as he advanced in years; like a monster, degenerate from all honourable exercises; given to insatiable avarice; and doing each thing more by anger or fear, than by benevolence or good counsel. Thus he lost, by avarice, all the friends that he obtained before by his liberality: and not only was he involved with these crimes, but with all kind of corrupt vice and lust that might make him degenerate; and took such delight in singers, jesters, and minstrels, that he was not ashamed to pass in sight of all the people, playing on a flute.

The nobles thought it unworthy to be governed by such a monster, that desired rather to show himself a fiddler than a virtuous prince: and were concerned, also, that young men, by his wicked example, were each day more drowned in lust, to the damage to their welfare, and lack of justice; seeing their king so involved with every kind of vice, that he took no solicitude of the governance of his realm, but gave occasion each day more and more against him.

At that time there was in Argyll a man of great authority, named Nathalak, who had two daughters of excellent beauty. Athirco, informed of them by his corrupt scoundrels, ceased not until he had raped them both; and when his lust was sated, he caused his wicked ribalds to defile them in the same manner. Nathalak, hearing their cruelties done to his daughters, took thought by what way he might best revenge the same: and in the meantime he made consolation to his daughters, knowing well their bodies more violate than their minds. On the following day, he convened his friends to a council, and complained heavily of the abuse of his daughters: immediately, all his allies and friends rushed to arms, and made solemn vows to punish this tyrant for his crimes. On the following day, many of the nobles agreed to their opinion; and came to Dunstaffnage, where this vicious king remained for the time. The noise and rattling of armed men made no little stir among the commoners, at their first coming: nonetheless, from the time when the cause of their assembling was known, the people gathered quickly out of all parts to assist them. There were few in that army, that did not think this tyrant worthy to be degraded of authority, and punished by death.

Athirco, informed of this conspiracy, was so daunted, that he knew not what was to be done: yet he gathered the men, that he might summon at that time, and went forward with displayed banners; trusting that his nobles, seeing his banner was displayed, should run away: and when he found them little afraid, and his own company holding him in contempt for his wretched deeds, he took off his coat armour, and fled with all diligence to the Isles, to avoid the danger. Immediately, the

people, that was arrayed to fight in his support, surrendered to Nathalak, because he left them in that extreme danger.

Athirco, defeated in this manner, got a boat to go to the Isles; but he was driven again, by contrary winds, to the land, where his enemies were: and when he saw no way to escape, he slew himself, the 12th year of his reign, in the 4th year of Emperor Valerian. This Valerian made a miserable end, although he had no less experience in moral doctrine than warfare: for he was taken by Shapur, King of Persia, and his army defeated; and held in so miserable servitude, that Shapur made a stool of his back, to leap on his horse.

Chap. Second.

How Nathalak usurped the crown, and pursued all the lineage of Athirco with great cruelties; and finally was slain by his personal servant.

After Athirco was slain in this manner, his brother Doorus, having little confidence in the nobles, fled with Findok, Carance, and Donald, the sons of Athirco, to Pentland; fearing to be attacked by Nathalak. And as he feared, so it followed: for Nathalak sent his trusty servitors to Pentland, both to slay Doorus, and the three sons of Athirco. These men, that were sent to this effect, slew a man not unlike, in habit, visage, and years, to Doorus. Nathalak, trusting Doorus, as he believed, slain, convened his nobles to a council; and after he had brought a force of armed men to support his desires, he said: I am rejoiced, good friends, by the recent slaughter of Athirco, who he was a just punishment he brought on himself. There are none none, I believe, among you, who does not know the motive and just occasion of our rebellion against him. Now it shall be your part to agree with me, rather to revenge the cruelties by him done, than to allow the same to proceed any further. Although his death was shameful and odious, you are innocent thereof; and have victory without any blood. The treason wrought by this odious tyrant was no less repugnant to you personally than to the common good: nonetheless, he has been punished suitably, as he deserved, since he was executioner to himself more shamefully than we might devise. It is necessary to punish anyone who damages the common good; for our elders punished the treason of Durstus and Ewin, according to their crimes: In this way, the cruelties of Lulach were not long unpunished. Many other wicked princes have been among us, and always put down, because they were injurious to the common good. Now should you not only give thanks to the Eternal God, that has delivered you, your wives and children, from the tyranny of Athirco; but to take careful consideration, by what way all other tyrants, in times coming, may be most easily avoided. Beware, I pray you, to suffer any of Athirco's lineage to reign above you: otherwise you shall be utterly destroyed, for the hatred they bear against you; or else you will be constrained to seek a new habitation, your goods confiscated, and die in misery."

Their words moved many of the nobles to his opinion; others understood his deceit, and were very sorrowful that the sons of Athirco should be disinherited: for though they were got by a wicked father, they made no offence; and since they were just heirs, either the crown should be given to them, or to some of their blood, that it might remain intact to them at their mature age. Others, that were corrupted by Nathalak, thought it expedient that none of Athirco's lineage should succeed, for causes described above; and declared all his sons rebels, and enemies to the common good: then ordained Nathalak to be king. The remainder of the nobles, constrained more by force than any kinship, assented thereto.

Nathalak, made king in this manner, took the oaths of fidelity from his nobles, in the presence of the Eucharist; and went to Dunstaffnage. And to stabilise the realm more securely, he gave his goods, with great liberality, among those that he suspected. And after he had obtained their benevolence, he began to do several things pertaining to a good prince. He said, also, that he took the charge of the realm for no profit to himself, except to make the nobles different from the commoners in honour and riches; and that men of vile and obscure lineage may know themselves bound to servitude to the nobles. Always, so long as he governed the realm honourably, few

disliked him: nonetheless, unstable fortune brought all his happiness unto a wretched end; for within a short time after, he took a woman by chance, who used to pass between the nobles and Athirco's sons; and found such writings with her, that he understood perfectly that Doorus, whom he trusted was slain, was alive, with all the sons of Athirco: through which he became so angry, that he had this woman drowned not far from the place where she was taken, and kept the writings secret, until he saw his opportunity; and finally, slew all the nobles whom he suspected by their letters.

The friends of these nobles, who were slain in this way, rushed quickly to arms, to revenge their slaughter: and so this Nathalak, trusting to make the crown certain to him and his heirs by slaughter and tyranny, made it most uncertain.

As soon as he understood his nobles conspired against him; by the advice of his associates, he fled to the North parts, to gather an army out of Moray and Ross, to defeat this rebellion. At last, seeing himself frustrated of support, he turned to witches, diviners, and soothsayers, to inquire what should be the end of his life; or if any danger were approaching to him by secret hatred by his associates. To dress this matter with more diligence, he sent one of his most tender and confidential servants, named Murray, to Iona, where a skilful witch was dwelling at that time. This Murray, after his coming, questioned the witch on every point, in order, as he was commanded: and she, by craft of necromancy, got knowledge of all his enquiries, and said, "The reign of King Nathalak shall have a quick and miserable end, from one of his closest associates." This Murray, not content with so general a response, prayed her to name particularly who should slay the king: she answered, "You shall slay him." Then this Murray began to argue with the witch, saying, "You cannot divine, but say as you please, by flattery or malice. You shall be false; for I shall refuse no kind of death, before I attempt so odious cruelty."

This Murray, having no other answer, was very daunted, and set out to return to the king. Yet before his coming to the king, he changed purpose; oft revolving in his mind what danger might follow, if he revealed the answer, as the witch said, to the king; oft musing the good and the evil thereof, and knowing well in what danger he stood, if the king took any suspicion of him. After long musing, he was fully resolved rather to slay the king, as the Witch said, than always to live in danger of his life. At last, when he was coming to the king's secret chamber alone with the king, he began, and spoke at length, to show the wonderful deceits and workings of this witch. In the meantime, the king was so troubled by flux of his belly, that he was constrained quickly to go to his closet. As soon as this Murray saw the king at the privy, he pulled forth his dagger, and stabbed the king to the heart, the king suspecting nothing less than such treason, and cast his body down in the closet; then stole away by a private postern gate, and was the first man that reported the death of the king to his conspirators.

Thus Nathalak died, the 11th year of his reign; from the Incarnation, 252 years: in the time of Galienus, the most feeble Emperor that ever was before him; for in his time, 30 tyrants attacked the realm of Rome with great afflictions, without any resistance against them.

Chap. Third.
***Of King Fyndok; and how he invaded the Isles, and was slain
by two men thereof.***

After Nathalak, the tyrant, was slain in this manner, the nobles sent this Murray to Pentland, to bring the three sons of Athirco to Dunstaffnage; and the eldest of them, named Fyndok, a lusty and valiant prince, was made king. He kept good peace with his neighbours, the Romans and Britons; and obtained friends more by benevolence, than any fear of menacing. But, as oft falls among us, when there is long peace with foreign people, it generates civil contentions among ourselves.

Donald of the Isles, to revenge the slaughter of Nathalak, came with a great force to Moray and Ross, to the great suffering and slaughter of the people; because they favored the slayers of Nathalak, his friend. Fyndok, to punish these attempts, went quickly to the Isles, and fought with Donald, and put him to flight. Donald, defeated in this manner, fled to the sea, where he found a boat; and boarded it with so many people, that she sank within a mile of land, and all the people in her perished. Although the men of the Isles were broken by this chance of battle, they ceased not from their undaunted malice; but chose Donald, who was son to Donald before perished, to be their captain; and attacked the country with more trouble than before.

Fyndok, to punish these conspirators, returned to the Isles, and slew all their supporters that were apprehended; then cast down the strongholds of the country, that no refuge should remain at their return. Donald, before the king's coming, fled to Ireland; and after the king's departing, returned to the Isles: and seeing the country destroyed, and his friends slain, he decided to do the thing by deceit, that he might not do by force; and sent a messenger, to say he was penitent for all his offences, to Fyndok, and desired grace. The king, moved by pity, condescended to these desires: so the said Donald came, with the principal movers of this rebellion, without weapons, to Dunstaffnage, to abide his will.

Donald, not content to have peace in this manner, choose rather to abide the chance of fortune, than the king's will: and therefore, to complete the treacherous purpose devised by him, he sent two men of subtle talent to Dunstaffnage, to await some suitable time to slay the king. These two men pretended to be gentlemen of the Isles, and enemies to Donald: and at their first coming, they got little credence; but at last, by means of Carance, the king's brother, they were admitted to the king's presence, and made so familiar, that they were appointed by the king to advise him on his private and public matters. At last, when they perceived that Carance was set on the slaughter of the king, to obtain the crown, they opened their mind to him; and he did not reject their purpose, but with large promises encouraged them more to it.

Within a short time after, the king went hunting, beside Dunstaffnage, to slay a wolf; and sat down on a motte, not knowing how these scoundrels were set for his slaughter. At last, when the company had sighted the wolf before the hounds, the cry arose, and each man went to his place in the hunt. Thus the king was left alone, without any company except these two Isles men. Then one of them began to hold the king in talk, while the other treacherously came behind him, and drove him through the body with a hunting spear. As soon as these traitors had slain the king, they left the spear sticking through his body. The hunters returning from their game, and finding the king slain, followed so fast on his slayers, that they were both taken, and demanded, by sharp punishment, for what occasion they slew the king. These traitors,

with spirit little afraid, confessed pertly the crime, showing how they were instructed by Donald of the Isles, and Carance, to slay the king. And when they had revealed the treason, as we have said, they were both put to a most terrible death.

King Fyndok was slain, the 10th year of his reign, which was in the time of Emperor Florian. His body was buried after the use of Christian princes, with great laments by the people, in a rich sepulchre, not far from Dunstaffnage.

Chap. Fourth.

How Carance was banished for his brother's murder; and Donald the Second made King. Of his death; and of several noble Clerks.

Carance, the second son of Athirco, hearing the treason so manifestly confessed by the slayers of Fyndok, fled to Italy, where he won great fame and honours in the wars of Emperors Diocletian and Aurelius: as we shall after show. Fyndok, having been slain in this manner, his brother Donald, the second of that name, and third son to Athirco, was made king. This prince was taking advice of his nobles, in what way he might most easily revenge the murder of his brother Fyndok: when suddenly came tidings, that Donald of the Isles was coming to Ross, and attacking the people thereof with plundering and cruelties.

King Donald angered by these acts, came quickly to Moray with some chosen men: and commanded by general proclamation, under pain of death, all men capable of bearing arms to follow him, without any delay. At his coming to Moray, because he had but a small number, he lodged his men in a great fortress, to await the coming of the remaining army.

Donald of the Isles seeing the king with a small force, decided to risk the chance of fortune: and, without more delay, he came with so sharp battle on the king, that the king might not use his bows and spears, but was constrained quickly to fight with swords. There followed, a terrible and sharp struggle. Until at last, King Donald, overcome by the great multitude of people fighting against him, was taken, with 2000 men of his army, and 3 thousand slain. King Donald finally took such melancholy, that he died; the third day after he was taken, in the first year of his reign.

In these days were many clerics of singular erudition: as, Quintus Tertullianus, that wrote much against the errors of pagans: Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus; in whose time there was great contention concerning the ceremonies of Easter: Cyprian, orator, who renounced the errors of pagans, and become Christian; and afterwards, wrote several books for the erudition of Christian people.

Chap. Fifth.

***How many holy men were martyred for the faith of Christ.
How Donald of the Isles, the third of that name, usurped the
Crown, and was slain by Craithlint.***

The Christian faith suffered great persecution at this time. Many holy men and women martyred: as, Cyprian, Sixtus, Laurence, Hippolitus, Barbara, Cecilia, Agatha, with many others, through tyranny of Emperor Decius. And in this time the Scots began to be very profound in theology and holy writ, by doctrine of certain monks who were called, in those days, Culdees; that is to say, the beloved of God: for than all priests that honoured God were called Culdees. These priests, by general voice, chose a bishop, to have authority and jurisdiction above them; and he was called the Bishop of Scotland. But we will return to our History.

After the death of King Donald, great trouble followed in the realm; for Donald of the Isles had so many nobles taken in this last battle, and held them in such captivity, that neither they, nor their friends, dared attempt anything against his wishes: through which he took the crown, and not only conquered all the country, but subjected the nobles to his obedience. Although, they always awaited an opportunity to slay him, when time and place might appear. Donald, knowing their hatred against him, took such fear of his life, that he gave no man credit; but, as is the custom of tyrants, held every man in suspicion and dread. Thus he grew, each day, more terrible and odious to his people, and governed the realm with no better zeal than he got it. At last, his fear proceeded so far, that he dared come in no open place without a guard of armed men about him, with halberds and axes; and forbade, that any other man bear weapons except his own guard. Finally, he could not be satisfied in his mind, until he had slain all them that he suspected, and confiscated their goods, in favour of them that supported him; intending, like a bloody monster, to conserve the crown with the same cruelty as he got it. He slew as many other nobles, by false accusations, to promote men of vile and obscure lineage to riches and honours, without any consideration of virtue: and rejoiced in nothing so much as to generate frequent disputes among his subjects; trusting, by these disputes, to have happiness; and, by their concord, to have trouble in his crown.

It was said, this cruel tyrant never laughed but when he heard discord and slaughter among his nobles: and as soon as he heard the same, he confiscated all their goods, without any consideration of wrong or reason: and said often, among his associates, no sight might be more pleasing to him, than to see men murder one another; also, the slaughter of nobles and rich men was very necessary to the tranquillity of all realms, because they are enemies both to the king and the common good.

And when this tyrant had reigned 12 years in great cruelty above the people, without any title, he came to Inverlochy, intending to pass over to the Isles; but he was slain, the first night he came there, by Craithlint, son to King Fyndok, described above, the 12th year of his reign. Craithlint, after the slaughter of this tyrant, said to the nobles how he had put down the tyrant, Donald of the Isles: there was, therefore, suitable occasion to revenge the great oppression and cruelties done so many years by his wretched counsellors. The nobles, glad of this tyrant's slaughter, rushed quickly to arms, and slew, that same night, 200 of his principal supporters, and the remaining

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chased to Atholl; who were all slain soon after, by the people, when they were informed of Donald's death.

Chap. Sixth.

Of King Craithlint; and how the Scots and Picts fell in dispute by their hunting, and fought with great slaughter on all sides.

After Donald, the tyrant, was slain in this manner, the crown was restored to the blood of Athirco; for Craithlint, son to Findok, because he slew this last tyrant so valiantly, was made king. Craithlint, glad of this happiness, gave thanks to his subjects; and detested, in a long speech before the council, the tyranny of Donald of the Isles, usurper of the crown, without any title; and ruling the realm with treason, falsehood, robbery, and slaughter of nobles: and exhorted the people, since this tyrant, by his prudence, was destroyed, to rejoice, and to leave none of the said Donald's blood alive, in case they should harbour such hatred to themselves, by their carelessness in this matter, as once did King Donald, fighting unwarily with the said Donald of the Isles: whereby, the nobility of Scotland was oppressed 12 years with such tyrannies, that no man might resist the same. And for these reasons, he desired them to assist to him to repair all oppressions done by the cruelty of the said Donald of the Isles: which things being done, all matters might succeed, within a short time, as they desired.

The nobles, no less moved by his excellent beauty, and lustines of person, than by his words, swore to take his part in all matters. Not long after, all the lineage of Donald of the Isles was searched out in all parts and slain, without any regard to their condition or wealth.

Such things done, Craithlint choose wise and prudent men to do justice through all lands of his realm; then went, with certain of his nobles, to the mountains of Grampian, to pass his time in hunting. In the meantime, there came to him the ambassadors of Thelargus King of Picts, saying he rejoiced that the tyrant Donald of the Isles was slain, and the crown restored to the native blood; and desired, therefore, the old treaty of peace to be renewed, for the good of both these realms. These desires were willingly granted, and the ambassadors honorably despatched.

Not long after, certain nobles of the Picts came to hunt with the king in Grampian. The Picts, in their hunting, erected strong nets in pasture and meadows, and drove the deer upon the nets with their hounds: and when the beasts escaped, they clothed themselves with branches and leaves of trees, like stalkers; then slew the deer with broad arrows and darts, when they were lying weary. The Scots, not approving this sport, because it was contrary to their laws; removed these nets, and hunted in their manner, taking the prey by swift hounds only. The Picts, seeing their hounds of less reputation than the Scots, both in beauty, swiftness, endurance, and courage; desired that some of each kind of hounds to be given to them, that the same might be bred among themselves. And when they had got every kind thereof given to them, as they desired, they stole certain hounds, and went home with the same, without any agreement of the Scots. Among these hounds taken, as we have said, by these Picts, was a white hound, pleasant, and more speedy than any other, whom Craithlint had in most delight. The master of hunts, angered through missing this hound, followed so sharply, that he found the same; and was so fervent in recovering thereof, that he was finally slain.

An outcry arose after this slaughter, and made the nobles and commoners of Scotland to turn with most fury to revenge the same. The Picts, in the same manner, gathered on the other side, with no less fury to resist: through which followed a

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deperate and mischievous battle, with great slaughter on each side; none of them knowing the motive nor occasion thereof. In this dreadful conflict were slain, 60 Scots gentlemen, with great number of commoners; and of the Picts more than a hundred.

The fame of this dreadful battle, heard in the country, moved the friends of them that were slain, to seek vengeance with more hatred than before. Thus gathered they again on all sides, and fought, without captain, banner, or order of warfare, near to the utter destruction of them both. Always the Scots were defeated, 3000 of them slain, and 2000 Picts.

By this slaughter, these two people, that were so long allied together, from the time of Fergus, the first King of Scots, to those days, always rising under one blood, amity and kinship; grew in most hatred against each others, from a spark of small occasion of unkindness; through which none of them appeared to cease from utter destruction of each other. There followed so many bloody incursions, day and night, that neither strength, nor respect of age, might be a defence or refuge against these cruelties and slaughter on either side.

Chap. Seventh.

How Carance, brother to Fyndok, returned from Italy with great riches, to Albion, How he obtained Westmorland, and made peace between the Scots and Picts.

Thelargus, King of Picts, very aged, and near consumed by years, was sorrowful for this contention between the two people, so long allied, coming from the stubbornness of headstrong persons: and sent his ambassadors to Craithlint, saying he was no less displeased for the slaughter and trouble falling to the Scots, than to his own people; for the same tended to the damage the welfare of both: also, that no crime should be imputed to him; for he never consented thereto. And since the said trouble was coming more by private than public authority, he thought that people so long allied, should put an end to these wars, and have peace with each other: for, if they persevered with anger and hatred against each other, nothing would follow but utter ruin of both these realms, and the same to fall prey to the Romans. Furthermore, he was ready to repair all offence and injuries done by his people to the Scots; and desired to have peace, that both the people should rather return to concord, for defence of these realms, than to persevere in battles, to the final destruction of them both.

The Scots were so angry because of the recent slaughter made on them by Picts, that these ambassadors could scarcely obtain permission to give their message. Nonetheless, they finally got audience, and said these desires to Craithlint, as described above.

It was answered by King Craithlint, that nothing would be so displeasing to him, as sudden trouble falling between these people, who had been so long allied together in friendship and blood. And though peace were more pleasing to his people than battle, yet, the recent slaughter is so deep carved in their breasts, that they refuse to give peace. Notwithstanding, he would give, of his own authority, three months truce; so that the nobles of both these realms may be profoundly resolved to go back and forth, to discern what should be done.

The truce, taken in this manner, was pleasing to the King of Picts, believing thereby to put an end to these disputes, and to all damage following by the same. Yet, notwithstanding the truce, several incursions were made on either side.

While such things occurred between Scots and Picts, Carance, the second brother to Findok, whom we said was banished previously for his slaughter, won great honours in Italy. This Carance, after his proscription, was a man of arms in the Roman wars, although none knew his noble blood; and won such fame by his manliness and prowess, that no captain was reputed more worthy to be favoured by the Emperor.

Not long after this, Carance was sent by Emperor Diocletian, with a fleet of ships, to defend the coasts of Normandy and Picardy from injury by Saxons, Frenchmen, and other pirates, who attacked them frequently. At his coming, he would not risk attacking his enemies, until they were laden full of riches and goods; so that, he might be enriched from the plunder taken from them. Yet, because he neither delivered the plunder thereof to the Emperor nor his captains, he was held suspect, and pursued with intent to kill him. As soon as Carance understood the Emperor moved with such hatred against him, he raised sail, and came, with his warriors and

riches, by the Irish Sea, to Westmorland, a part of Britain not far from the lands of the Scots and Picts, trusting to have some help from them against the Romans. Soon after, he landed his army, and with little difficulty got all the people thereof to surrender to him. Such things done, he sent his emissaries to Craithlint, his nephew, saying, though he was banished for suspicion of the slaughter of his brother Findok, by the envy of wicked persons, and brought in great misery and trouble thereby; yet he was innocent thereof, and had governed himself so wisely, after several charges given to him by the Emperor, that he was sent with a fleet of ships to pacify the oceans; and, by the same, had won great honour and riches. Yet, because the Emperor was moved against him by envy of detractors, he was coming with such army and riches in Westmorland, that he has brought the inhabitants thereof to support him. Thus he had a firm hope, if the Scots and Picts would concur with him, to drive the Romans out of Albion: for the power of the Romans was daily reduced in Britain; and so great rebellion made against them in all parts, that they could send no support to Britain. Thus might the Scots and Picts have a suitable time to drive the Romans out of Britain, and to keep him, a man of their native blood, in the rule thereof; provided they would remove all hatred and sedition risen among them, and have peace with each other.

Craithlint thought the alliance with his uncle Carance not to be refused, seeing him coming to Britain with such great strength, and ready to support him in all dangers; and therefore answered to these emissaries, that he, many years past, had forgot all offence, if any was made to his father, and rejoiced no little of the present happiness falling to his uncle Carance; and would fulfil his desires, so far as he might, at all points, against the Britons, if he might have peace with the Picts. And even though he might have none, he would sent to his support, a company of chosen men; but he should himself abide at home, for defence of his realm against the said Picts.

Carance, glad of this answer, garrisoned all the strongholds of Westmorland; and came, with a company of well accoutered men, to the Water of Esk, not far from the Wall of Hadrian, where he met Craithhnt, and fell on his knees at his first meeting; declaring himself, by many evident reasons, innocent of Findok's murder: and desired the king to have no suspicion of him; for though he was banished, by envy and hatred, among foreign people, yet he behaved himself in such manner, that he had returned to Albion, both to the honour of himself and his friends. Craithlint embraced his uncle Carance most tenderly, and prayed him to be his good friend, as he should be to him; and to leave nothing of his purpose, since great honour and profit, if fortune were propitious, might succeed by the same: and promised, if the Picts' wars were not an impediment to him, he would not fail to support him with his utmost strength. Carance, rejoicing at the king's benevolence, said, he had an army sufficient to expel the Romans out of Britain, and to transfer the crown thereof to the lineage of the Scots, if the Scots and Picts would assist him.

Finally, by the prudent industry of Carance, both these two kings were brought together, accompanied with a few men on each side. And to bring them to the more certain concord, Carance began to remind them, how beneficial the old affinity between them had been: by contrast the violation thereof, was full of damage to them both. And he reminded them of those frequent battles, so long continuing against the fury of the Romans and Britons, in defence of their realms and liberties, with such amity and kinship, that injuries done to any one of them were reputed equal to them both. For these reasons, it was necessary to them either to have peace with each other for their common good, or else to persevere in battle, to the destruction of them both.

Hector Boece

By these and similar words, the two kings were persuaded to have peace, and to repair injuries on either side.

Soon after, 8 neutral persons, of great prudence, were chosen with both their consent, by whom the peace was finally confirmed, and all injuries suitably redressed.

Chap. Eighth.

How Carance, with the support of the Scots and Picts, slew Bassianus, Governor of Britain, and took the crown thereof; and of his death. And how the crown of Britain was restored to the Romans.

Not long after, Quintus Bassianus, Governor of Britain, raised his camp to attack the said Carance: for he had come to York with three great forces of the Scots, Picts, and others, his friends, and got the city surrendered to him without any resistance from the inhabitants. Bassianus, notwithstanding the frequent rebellion made against the Romans in all parts, yet, to revenge the deeds done by Carance, raised his army, and stationed them during the night, on a narrow ground between two moorlands. Carance, not 10 miles from him, and well informed of his doings, came forward in the same manner to give him battle. In the morning, Bassianus arrayed his people, and exhorted them to remember how they were to fight for defence of the right against some treacherous conspirators; especially against the treacherous murderer, Carance, a creature most odious to God for his detestable offences. And further, he prayed them to have respect to the Roman virtue, which has been always of so great estimation, both before the immortal Gods and men; that they might have, as a reward of victory, not only infinite riches, but perpetual loving by their posterity.

On the other side, Carance was no less diligent, exhorting his army to battle: saying, These enemies had great disadvantage in fighting against them, because the most part of them were Britons, having no less hatred against the Romans than he had, and would leave them when they saw any danger occurring: and therefore, victory was in their hands, if they, with courage and prudence, fiercely rushed on their enemies.

As soon as both the armies, by blast of trumpet, joined, the Britons left the Romans, and went, as if they had been fleeing, in good array to the nearest hill. The Romans, seeing their flanks left naked by the fleeing of the Britons, were downcast, and more mindful of their individual welfare, than any glory of victory. Finally, they were so dejected of their courage, that they were put to flight: on whom followed Carance, with all his army, with greatest hatred; and slew them always, where they were taken, without any mercy. Carance, seeing such huge slaughter made in this pursuit, recalled his people, at the sound of a trumpet, to the standard.

In this battle were slain Quintus Bassianus, Governor of Britain, and Hircius, Procurator, with many other nobles and commoners of their blood. The remainder of the Britons, who were escaped from this battle, surrendered to Carance; and gave hostages of the noblest that were in their realm, who were aged not less than 20 years, nor above 60 years, to be his true subjects in times coming. As soon as the plunder of goods falling by chance of battle was divided among the victorious people, Carance went to London: where he was received with great reverence, and took the sceptre and diadem of Britain, in defiance of the empire of the Romans. This occurred 346 years after it was made tributary to Julius.

Carance, crowned in this manner, held 2000 Scots and Picts continually about him, as a guard. The remaining Scots and Picts returned home, enriched with the spoils of this last battle. Then Carance, as a more princely reward of these labours, gave all the lands lying between the Wall of Hadrian and York, named Westmorland

and Cumbria, to their perpetual dominion. And through this liberality, he received great hatred, both from Romans and Britons. And although he was often attacked by them with sharp battles, yet he was victorious on every occasion, and kept the crown of Britain by skilful prudence; until at last he was slain, in the 7th year of his reign, by Alectus, a Roman captain. This Alectus, after the slaughter of Carance, made it his extreme business, to bring the Britons again to Roman laws. And when he saw they might in no way be brought thereto, for the cruel hatred they had against the Romans, he laboured to have their benevolence, and finally gained their support, and took the crown of Britain contrary to the authority of the Romans. And yet he reigned with no better fortune than did Carance; for he was slain in the same manner, by Asclepiodotus, the third year of his reign: after whose death, the crown of Britain was restored, as it was before, to the Romans.

Chap. Ninth.

Of the great cruelty done by Emperor Diocletian, against the Christian people. How Cole vanquished the Romans, and obtained the crown of the Britons. How he was allied with Emperor Constantius; and of the nativity of the great Constantine.

Diocletian, the Emperor at this time, by the submission of Constantius, Maximianus, and Galerius, conquered the world with several battles, and was the first Roman Emperor that was adored with kingly reverence; for, before those days, the Emperor was only saluted as a fellow-citizen. This Emperor caused rich pearls and precious stones to be set in his shoes, in more token of insolence than any ornament. Before that time, there was no difference between Emperors and other people, except the royal robe. This Diocletian was so odious and bloody tyrant, that 17,000 men and women were martyred by him, for defence of Christian faith. This cruelty not only raged in the East and West parts of the world, but also in Britain. And, in addition to these cruelties, an infinite number of them were condemned to the galleys, and working in quarries and mines. By him also were burned, innumerable books of Christian faith, containing the gospels of Christ, with the deeds and letters of his apostles; trusting thereby, that the faith of Christ should all utterly expire. Through which, the Christian faith, defeated with new scourges and persevering cruelty, was near perished. Many holy and religious men, for fear of these cruelties, fled to waste lands and remote places; where they were free of all trouble, and lived a holy life.

This merciless tyrant, Diocletian, after several triumphs held in Rome, for victories over divers people of the world, and for the slaughter of so many innocent people, was troubled, by the punishment of God, with many strange infirmities. He become insane at Salonas, and slew himself by drinking poison, the 20th year of his reign; to be an example, that no man should vainly put confidence of happiness and eternal life, in the approval of the people. While such things were done by Diocletian, Cole, descended from the ancient and noble blood of the Britons, was solicited by them to rebel against the Romans. Asclepiodotus, informed of this, met him with the army of the Romans, and others that supported him. There followed a frightful and dangerous battle, long fought with doubtful victory: but at last the Romans were defeated, and Asclepiodotus, their captain, slain.

Cole, after this victory, was made king: and to establish the realm to him in certain peace, he commanded, by general edict, all the Romans, and others who supported them, to be slain, wherever they might be apprehended. Constantius, Emperor, to meet this rebellion, came to Britain with many Roman legions. King Cole went against him, with an army of the Britons, to defend his realm and liberty: nonetheless, he was vanquished, and his army put to flight. On the following day, Constantius was informed by the Britons, that King Cole was a native prince of Britain, and descending by long progression of the blood royal thereof: and therefore, by commiseration, he sent a herald to him, showing, if he would surrender, as other Briton kings were before, to the Romans, he should be allowed to remain in his authority. King Cole was this time troubled with great infirmity, coming from cold and weariness, in his wars against the Romans. Constantius, when he heard of his infirmity, came to make him consolation. After most tender embracing, the said Constantius continued King Cole in his authority; and took his daughter Helene, a

virgin of most excellent beauty, in marriage. This affinity made the Romans and Britons to expect a final end to all these wars. Such things done, Constantius went to visit the Roman strongholds in Britain; and not only repaired them where they were ruinous, but garrisoned them with new provision of men and victuals: then commanded the citizens of every town where he came, to be obedient to King Cole during his life, because he was friend of the senate and people of Rome. A short time after, Constantius had a son, got by this new union, named Constantine; who, for his singular courage and prudence, succeeded, after his father's death, to the imperial diadem, and was the first Emperor that gave peace to the Catholic church; and endowed it with many rich temples, lands, and jewels, by the urging of the holy Pope, Sylvester. But we will return to the martial deeds that Constantius did before this time in Britain.

Constantius, after the death of Diocletian, having Britain, France, and Spain, pacified to his rule; gathered an army to expel the Scots and Picts out of Westmorland and Cumbria, which were given to them before by King Carance. After his coming to York, he was informed, that Scots and Picts were strongly gathered to resist him. And because he knew they would not remain long together, he thought it best to break them by long delay. And, to the same effect, he stayed still with the Romans at York, and commanded the Britons to return home, and be ready to return when they were summoned. Finally, when he had remained certain days in York, giving his extreme diligence to break the Picts from the Scots, he took such melancholy, because he might not bring his purpose to a good end, that he fell in a high fever, and, the 7th day after, died. His ashes were gathered in a golden vessel, with many fine-smelling perfumes, and brought with funeral triumph to Rome.

This Constantius, as we have said, was very generous to Christian people. Nonetheless, several Britons, expecting him to pursue the faith of Christ with such cruelty as Diocletian did before, came to Scotland: where they were welcomed by Craithlint, and commanded to make their residence in the Isle of Man, with churches erected to them in Catholic manner, for divine service. Thus were the old rites and ceremonies of the pagans, which endured to those days, abrogated. The first bishop that was in this isle, was a Briton named Amphibolus: who preached the gospels through all the lands of the Scots and Picts; and not only removed all vain superstitions, but laid the certain foundation of the Christian faith. Craithlint, King of Scots, endowed this church, by his singular devotion, with many jewels and precious ornaments of gold and silver; and made a chest of copper, skilfully closed with locks, in which were gathered, the rents and income of several lands, which were given by the king for the upkeep of divine service. This was the first church that was dedicated among us in Catholic manner; and first seat of bishops called Sodor, although the reason thereof is lost by the passage of years, which destroys everything. Craithlint, passing his time in this manner, with religious and civil matters, was a noble prince; and finally died, the 24th year of his reign: the first year of the reign of the great Emperor Constantine; from the Incarnation, 322 years; from the beginning of the world, 5490 years; from the beginning of the realm of the Scots, 655 years.

Chap. Tenth.

How Fincormac was made King of Scots; and Octavius, King of Britons. How Hercules, Roman captain, was slain by Octavius; and the Romans vanquished. How the Scots and Picts came in support of Octavius, and chased Traherus to France.

Crathlint having died as we described, his cousin, Fincormac succeeded; for they were brother's sons. This Fincormac was crowned in the first year of the great Constantine: in whose time arose great trouble in Albion: for the commoners of Britain, having extreme hatred against the tyranny of Caius Hercules, Governor of Britain, choose Octavius, Prince of Wales, to be their king. Caius Hercules, to defeat this rebellion, raised his camp against Octavius; but at last he was slain, and his army defeated. Octavius, trusting nothing so good as to use his victory with the greatest rigour, came to London; and after he had got all the strongholds thereof surrendered to him, he slew several noblemen of Britain, for their assistance to the Romans: then pursued the Romans to the death, wherever they could be apprehended.

Emperor Constantine, to punish this rebellion, sent a valiant captain, named Traherus, with many legions, to Britain; by whom Octavius was put to flight, and chased among the Scots. Traherus, insolent after this victory, charged Fincormac to send Octavius, the invader of the Roman province, bound to him, to be punished for his rebellion; otherwise he should be reputed an enemy to the senate and people of Rome. It was answered by Fincormac, that he did not receive Octavius to be injurious to the Romans; except for the old friendship between Scots and Britons. Also, it might obscure his honour and majesty to condescend to so manifest treachery, and surrender the man to his enemies, when he sought refuge with him. Further, if Traherus attacked him only for that cause, he should resist the best way he might; but yet it would be good, before he moved war against him, to carefully consider, whether the Romans had got more shame or honour, more profit or injury, in their wars against Scots in all previous times.

Traherus, not satisfied by this answer, came with all his forces to York; where he was informed that Fincormac was gathered, with 60,000 Scots, Picts, and Britons, in support of Octavius: nonetheless, he went forward, until he came in sight of his enemies. Fincormac, when both the armies were arrayed in each other's sight, sent a herald, inquiring Traherus, what moved him, without occasion of injuries, to attack the allied people, as if they were enemies to the Romans. Traherus made little answer thereto, but commanded the Scots and Picts to pass quickly out of all lands pertaining to the Romans, and to pay a yearly tribute to their procurator, as the senate and people of Rome thought expedient; and, without any more delay, deliver Octavius, to be punished for his conspiracy: otherwise, they should soon experience what folly it was to despise the empire of the Romans.

Fincormac, holding these charges at defiance, came forward with his army. There soon followed a dangerous battle. Always the Romans had been victorious, had not a multitude of country men happened to come running down a hill, driving away these cattle from danger of enemies; and appeared to the Romans as if they were coming in their rear: and so the Romans were finally defeated. In this battle were slain 15,000 people of Albion, and 16,000 Romans. Fincormac and Octavius continued to

chase the Romans, until they came to York; where the two kings were welcomed by the nobles of Britain, and Octavius restored to the crown thereof.

The nobles of Britain gave to Fincormac, for his assistance to Octavius in the said field, all the lands of Westmorland and Cumbria, with claim and kinship thereof perpetually, and swore never go against this agreement.

Traherus, knowing no safe place to remain in Britain after this victory, fled to France.

Chap. Eleventh.

How Octavius was deposed from the crown of Britain by the Roman captain Traherus. How the said Traherus was slain, and Octavius restored to the crown; and of Fincormac's death.

After the Romans were vanquished in this way, a council was held at York, in which the nobles of Britain concluded to defend their realm and liberty from injury by the Romans, and to suffer no foreign blood to bear authority, in times coming, above them. Also, it was concluded to extend the frontiers of Britain to the Wall of Hadrian; and to expel the Scots out of Westmorland and Cumbria, notwithstanding the oath and promise made to them before.

While such things were done in Britain, Octavius came, with 10,000 Britons, on the Scots and Picts dwelling in Westmorland; but at last he was defeated, and his army put to flight.

In the meantime, Traherus, Governor of Britain, who was pursued, as we said before, to France; returned, with two Roman legions and 20,000 mercenaries, to Britain: by whom Octavius was defeated, and made destitute of all support and friends. Finally, this Octavius, having no confidence in the Scots nor Picts, for violation of his faith; came to the mouth of Humber, where he put up sails, and went to Norway.

Traherus, after this victory, each day increased in such strength, that the Britons surrendered to him: nonetheless, he exercised great cruelties on all the nobles and commoners of Britain; and finally, restored the crown thereof to the Roman Empire. And when he had established the realm in this manner; through corrupt insolence after such good fortune, he become the most vicious tyrant that ever had any authority before in Britain; and attacked the nobles and commoners thereof with continual raids and slaughter. Because of these tyrannies, there followed such a rebellion against him in all parts, that he was finally slain.

Octavius, when he heard of the slaughter of Traherus, returned from Denmark to Britain; and pursued the Romans with such cruelty, that no churches nor sanctuaries might be a refuge to them: and made distribution of his offices and authorities to his friends and nobles, as he thought most expedient to rule his subjects justly, and to defend them from injury of the Romans. And though men rarely are found without insolence, when they find felicity after trouble; yet Octavius was altered in such manner, that where he was previously most false and treacherous in his works, he become most a faithful and noble prince. And soon after, he sent ambassadors to King Fincormac, with several jewels, desiring him to have no regard to the offence made by him against the Scots and Picts in bygone times, but to live in amity and friendship with him and the Britons in times coming: and to have his certain friendship, he was content that Westmorland and Cumbria were perpetually annexed to the empire of the Scots and Picts, in the same manner as Carance gave them before to King Craithlint. Many years after, Octavius governed Britain in good justice. Until at last he was so broken with frequent wars, that he surrendered all the strongholds of his realm, to have peace with the Romans in his old age; and was content to pay the old tribute.

There followed certain peace many years after, among the Scots, Picts, and Britons in Albion: in which time, Fincormac, very illustrious in glory of warlike

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courage and civil matters, by a long infirmity caused by catarrh, died, in the 47th year of his reign; from the Incarnation, 358 years.

Chap. Twelfth.

How the heresies of Arius were condemned. How Ireland took the faith of Christ. How Romac, Fethelmac, and Angusian contended for the crown. How Romac was made King; and slain after, for his tyranny.

During this time, the Christian faith appeared to rise in great dignity: nonetheless, the excommunicated heretic Arius began to poison it with venomous doctrine; saying, Christ was not the true Son of God, coequal and coeternal to the Father, but different from him in substance. After careful debate, all his opinions were condemned in the Council of Nicaea, with many other false errors, which I will not repeat at this time: for I have made this translation more for pleasure of laymen, than any vain curious clerics, by whom all heresies begin.

Ireland, about this time, took the faith of Christ, by a woman of the Picts' blood, who instructed the Queen of Ireland in the faith; and she instructed her prince, the King: and so within short time, all the region thereof took the faith. Many other people in the East and West parts of the World, took the faith in the same manner. But we will return to our history.

Fincormac left behind him two sons, Eugenius, of 18 years of age, and Ethodius, not a year of age. These sons of Fincormac, because of the laws described above, could not immediately succeed to the crown; and therefore a council was held in Argyll, to choose the king: which compared Romac, Fethelmac, and Angusian, who were contending for the crown; for they were nephews to Craithlint, got on several of his brothers; all three nearly equal in years, friends, and wealth. Romac claimed the crown as the most noble; for he was not only coming of the blood royal of the Scots, but also of the Picts, and had therefore many of the nobles supporting him. Angusian claimed the crown with the consent of Fethelmac, and argued that he was a man of more reason, experience, and wisdom, than was Romac; and was abler, therefore, for the administration of the realm.

In the meantime, Romac gathered a band of armed men, to slay his two cousins, expecting thereby the more easily to succeed to the crown. Thus arose nothing but anger and hatred among the three cousins; every one of them cruelly set on each other's murder, and labouring to draw most of the nobles to their support. Always the greatest number of nobles supported Angusian: for Romac was a man of more ferocity than wisdom; by contrast, Angusian was more reasonable, having not so many subtle and false deceits as Romac had. The nobles, seeing themselves able in no way to be brought to concord, at last made a decision to divide the realm between them. Yet others, more prudent men, thought this unprofitable; for it might cause perpetual sedition, damaging to the common good.

Finally, Romac, not wanting a long delay, from his burning desire to have the crown, gathered an army of Picts; and came with battle array against Angusian, and his other cousin, Fethelmac. Then Angusian sent his ambassadors to the King of Picts, praying him to foster no sedition among the Scots and Picts, and to urge his cousin Romac rather to concord than battle, since he might have all thing according to reason, without any difficulty. The King of Picts, thinking these desires reasonable, decided to return home: nonetheless, by evil counsel of his friends, he stayed, and gave a hostile answer. This hostile answer was not only an occasion for the nobles of

Scotland to assist Angusian against Romac, but also to hold the Picts in extreme hatred. Soon after, Angusian, informed that Romac lay in wait to kill him, gathered an army intending rather to end the matter by the sword, than always to live in danger of his life. Romac, impatient of long delay, met him in the same manner. There followed a sorrowful battle. Nonetheless, Angusian was defeated, and both he and his cousin Fethelmac were chased to the Isles; and finding no safety there, they fled to Ireland.

Angusian having been driven out of Albion in this way, many of the nobles supported Romac; and declared him king. Yet, as the custom of tyrants is, he obtained the realm wickedly, and governed it in the same manner; and had none familiar with him, but such as were enemies to Fincormac and his sons. Such things done, he set out him to visit all the lands of his realm, doing justice in his manner. This tyranny of Romac being spoken of throughout the country, caused Eugenius and Ethodius, the sons of Fincormac, to fly to Westmorland; and there finding no safety, they fled to the Isle of Man. Then there followed great trouble in Scotland; as proscription, slaughter, and oppression of all the nobles that favoured Angusian, without any difference of age.

The nobles, not prepared to suffer such cruel tyrannies, agreed together, by secret writings, to redress all oppressions and wrongs done by him; then gathered an army with such diligence, that this tyrant Romac knew not of its assembly, until they were coming on him in a battle array, within 10 miles.

Romac, daunted by their coming, fled to Pentland: nonetheless, he was so fiercely attacked by a detachment of the Scots that followed him, that he was slain, with several other Scots who supported him, the third year of his reign, and his head borne on a stake through all the army.

Many gentlemen of the Picts were slain at this time with Romac, who had favoured his rule, and caused him to rage with great cruelty on the Scots.

Chap. Thirteenth.

How Angusian was made King of Scots. How Maximus subdued the Britons by several victories. How Scots and Picts attacked each other with set battle. How both these Kings were slain, and the Scots defeated.

After Romac, the tyrant, was slain in this manner, Angusian returned to Albion, and was made king. While such things were done in Scotland, the Britons grew insolent, slaughtered Traherus, the Roman captain, and restored the crown of Britain to Octavius, who was then far gone in age: through which they recovered their forts, lands, and liberties.

The Emperor Constantius, son to the great Constantine, sent a valiant knight, named Maximus, to Britain, to defeat the Britons. This Maximus, soon after his coming, fought against the Britons, and put them to flight. By this victory he hoped to subdue the Britons, as they were before, to servitude.

Octavius, King of Britons, hearing these tidings, took such melancholy, that he died, the third day after; and after his death, Octavius, his son, fled to the Isle of Man: where he remained with Ethodius and Eugenius, not being known for what he was. The Britons, not much daunted by this defeat, gathered a new army, with more strength than before: nonetheless, they were vanquished, and pursued in the same manner. Maximus, after these victories, went through the several parts of Britain, and many of the people surrendered to him: others, who were recalcitrant, were laid waste, and their strongholds cast down.

While such things were done in Britain, there arose great trouble in Scotland: for Nectanus, King of Picts, to revenge the slaughter of his cousin Romac, wasted the lands of Scotland in several incursions. The Scots, to resist these violent pillages, were constrained to rise in battle against the Picts. Nonetheless, the Picts drew a great number of the Scots, who were moved by the slaughter of Romac, to their support, and provoked the remainder of the Scots, each day, to battle. Nonetheless, Angusian sent his ambassadors to them, showing him desirous of peace, and given to the welfare of both the realms; and desired them to cease from all injuries, and concur together in friendship, as their fathers did before, for the defence of their realms. At last, when Angusian saw his desires rejected, that his sloth should not be occasion of insolence to his enemies, he gathered his people, and went forward in good array. After many single combats of valiant men, both the armies joined, and fought with great anger and hatred on either side. At last, the Picts were defeated, and many of their nobles slain. King Nectanus was pursued, until he came to Camelon; and soon after his coming there, he convened the remainder of his nobles to a council, and complained, in a long speech, of both the slaughter of his kinsman Romac, and the nobles of his realm that were slain with him; and desired a new army, to revenge the shameful injuries done lately by the Scots. The Picts, more set for the king's folly and pleasure, than for the common good, approved a new army to be raised against the Scots, out of all lands under their rule; and soon after, they came with the said army to the Wood of Caledonia.

Angusian, very provident in all his doings, and knowing the Picts so awfully gathered against him, assembled his people out of all parts of his realm, rather to draw the Picts to concord, than to have battle with them; for he feared that the Britons, by

persuasion of the Romans, might come in support of the Picts. And for that cause he sent peaceable letters to the King of Picts, praying him to remember the ancient amity and kinship so long continuing between the two people; and to put an end to these wars, and to give peace to the Scots, without any battle, in that same manner as he was victorious over them, since peace was necessary to both their armies; for Maximus, the Roman captain, was making, each day, new victories in Britain, and intended, as soon as he had subjected Britain, to conquer both the realms of the Scots and Picts, after they had destroyed each other with civil wars.

The King of Picts, despising this profitable counsel, and having nothing in less estimation than peace, raised his army against Angusian. On the other side, Angusian arrayed his army: and because it was necessary either to risk the chance of fortune, or else to surrender to his enemies, with irrecoverable shame; he exhorted his men to have courage, and set aside all fear, if they had any; remembering the great spirit and courage of their elders, that they may requite their death; and though they fought at a disadvantage in battle, that they die not unrevenged of their enemies. Also, he prayed them to be not moved, though they be now to fight against the people that were so long allied with them in friendship and blood; since they gave no occasion of battle, and had left nothing undone, that might have reconciled them to concord: for which they should believe, that God, the lover of peace, should favour them in their just defence. On the other side, the King of Picts ceased not to solicit his army to battle. Immediately, the archers shot on all sides; and after them followed men with light equipment, and shot incredible number of stones and crossbow bolts, with crossbows and slings: immediately, they joined with spears, axes, and swords. There followed a terrible battle, fought for a long time with uncertain victory. At last, Angusian, seeing the victory incline to the Picts, took off his coat of armour, and came among the commoners, where he fought with stubborn hatred to the death. The Scots, believing their king fled rather than slain, ran away; others, persevering with more obstinate mind, fought until they were slain: and though the victory succeeded to the Picts, yet it was displeasing to them; for both the kings were slain in this field, with infinite number of nobles and commoners slain on each side.

The remainder of the Scots and Picts, who had escaped out of this field, returned home, and regretted that it was the first occasion and motive of battle between the two people so long before allied together in blood, amity, and friendship.

Chap. Fourteenth.

How Fethelmac was made King of Scots; and how he slew Nectan, King of Picts; and was slain after by their treachery. And of many noble Clerics.

After Angusian was slain in this manner, Fethelmac, the third grandson of Craithlint, was made king. He gathered the remainder of the Scots together, with little better fortune than his two cousins did before: and in the second year of his reign, he raised his army to revenge the injuries done by the Picts; and came to Angus, attacking the inhabitants thereof with great raids and cruelties. The Picts, raging in hatred for these extortions, rushed in the greatest fury to arms; and the Scots, not abashed thereof, met them in the same manner, and put both their wings to flight; soon after, they defeated the centre in the same manner, with great slayings made on them in all parts. Nectanus, King of Picts, brother to King Nectanus described above, was brought out of the field; and died, the third day after, by the wound of an arrow.

The Scots, insolent after this victory, wasted Angus and Fife with continual incursions. The Picts, broken by this last defeat, set themselves rather to stop the Scots from taking of their fortifications and strongholds, than any set battle: and to do all things with more prudence, they choose Hergestus, a man of sly and cunning talent, to be their king. This Hergestus, knowing his people so broken with continual wars that he might not revenge the injuries of the Scots, set himself to do by deceit, what he could not do by force; and induced two men of the Picts to dissimulate and feign themselves Scots, that they might more easily wait a suitable time to slay the King of Scots. These Picts were skilful in casting of darts; and because the King of Scots took delight in that game, they were made the more familiar to him: nonetheless, they sought always a suitable time and place for his slaughter.

King Fethelmac happened to pass to Carrick, where he was very busy all that day. At evening went to his bed, and commanded a harper to sing a soft song, to draw him out of heavy matters towards sleep. As soon as he had fallen on sleep, the two Picts described above was brought by the harper to where he lay, and slew him sleeping in his bed, the third year of his reign. The watch hearing the groans of a dying man, quickly entered the chamber where the king was lying bubbling in his blood: immediately, they followed on his slayers so sharply, that they were all taken; and when they had confessed all the manner and circumstance of this treacherous slaughter, they were all punished most cruelly by death, and drawn apart by wild horses. This murder of Fethelmac happened in the fifth year of Emperor Constantius.

About this time, were many clerics profound in every science: as, Victorinus, orator; Donatus, grammarian, and instructor to Saint Jerome; Alcinus and Delphidinis, philosophers; with many others, whom it would take us too long to describe.

Chap. Fifteenth.

***How Saint Regulus brought Saint Andrew's arm to Scotland;
and how the Church of Saint Andrews was endowed by
Hergest, King of Picts; and of the fame thereof.***

Saint Regulus, the holy abbot, arrived about this time in Albion, with Saint Andrew's arm. This Regulus was a monk of Greece, borne in Achaia, and abbot in the town of Patras, where many religious men were obedient under his cure. He was one of them that was sent by Emperor Constantius, to visit the blessed relics of Saint Andrew. And when the said Regulus had done his devotion with most reverence, he was commanded, by a heavenly vision, to take the arm of Saint Andrew, with 3 fingers, and 3 toes of his foot; and to go with the same to the far corner of the world, named Albion. Regulus, inspired by this vision, came, with the said relics, through the Mediterranean seas to Portugal; and with huge pains and trouble he came through the Spanish, French, and German Sea, and arrived in the town which is now called Saint Andrews: where they were shipwrecked, and nothing saved except a few holy men, who came with the said relics. These tidings became known in the country, and caused the King of Picts and his people to come with rich offerings from all parts, to adore the relics of the holy Apostle, Saint Andrew. The King of Picts with his people were received by Saint Regulus and his companions, in their religious habits, with songs and hymns, and other divine ceremonies, as were appropriate. Then Hergestus fell on his knees, and with the greatest reverence kissed these blessed relics, and gave his royal palace, richly built after the custom of those days, to Saint Andrew, Saint Regulus, and his companions; and built a church, not far from the said palace, dedicated in the honour of Saint Andrew. Men say, it is the same church that stands yet in the common churchyard of the abbey, and was called, in old times, the church of Saint Regulus; but it is now called the old church of Saint Andrew. Hergest endowed this church with cups, chalices, basins, lavers, and several other rich jewels of gold and silver, to remain there perpetually in the honour of divine service. The posterity of King Hergestus succeeding after him, and the Scots, after the Picts were exiled from this realm, have had Saint Andrew in greatest reverence, as patron of their realm.

The abbey church was endowed afterwards by King Malcolm the Maiden, and King Robert Bruce, with rents, lands, and possessions, more largely. This abbey was governed by a nobleman, John Hebburne, prior thereof, in the time of the first compiling of these chronicles. This prior was a wise prelate, and decorated this church with many rich ornaments. He built a wall of square stones about the church. This wall includes the church of Saint Leonard, where the novices of the said abbey, and other scholars, learn their grammar, logic, theology, with many other sciences of natural and moral philosophy; and have such continual exercise, that many resolute and profound clerics rise daily in great virtue through the same. In this church, there first were priests called Culdees; but now there are Canons Regular after the institutions of Saint Augustine, giving their talent in continual exercise of letters, and profession of their religion. Wherefore, if you will have respect to scholarly exercise, you shall find there general study in every science: if you will be contemplative, you shall find there most honorable service of God, with heavenly and delicious song in most skilful music: if you will have sight to magnificence and impressice building, you shall find none of more honour nor admiration in Italy, France, or Germany, built skilfully by this nobleman: who died the year before the coming of these Chronicles

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to light, to no less damage to common good, than spreading of letters in this realm. Among many other honorable works of his, it is greatly to be admired, that before his death he made his nephew Patrick, a man of singular virtue and erudition, his successor, to complete the magnificent works that he began before. The year that Saint Regulus came to Scotland with the relics of Saint Andrew, was from the Incarnation 369.

Chap Sixteenth.

How Eugenius was made King of Scots. How Hergest, King of Picts, was confederate with the Romans for destruction of the Scots. How Maximus, Governor of Britain, attacked the Scots with great cruelties and slaughter.

After Fethelmac was slain in this manner, the nobles brought Eugenius and Ethodius, the sons of Fincormac, out of the Isle of Man, where they had stayed, avoiding the fury of Romac, Angusian, and Fethelmac: and the eldest of them, named Eugenius, the first of that name, was made king. Maximus, Governor of Britain, knowing the hatred between the Scots and Picts, no less desirous to destroy them both than to augment the glory of the Roman Empire; devised such a subtle deceit, that he might first destroy the Scots, and then the Picts. And to work this matter with more skilful deceits, he sent ambassadors to Hergest, King of Picts, saying he was very sorrowful for the injuries done to him by Scots; and desired, therefore, to be allied with the said King of Picts against the Scots: through which it might happen, that his people might rise in such strength, by support of the Romans and Britons, that they might either subject the Scots to most vile servitude, or else expel them, if they pleased, out of Albion, and seize their lands and realms for themselves and their posterity. King Hergest welcomed these ambassadors, and gave thanks to God, that sent to him support, in so extreme danger, against his cruel enemies: and said, It pleased him well to be allied with the Romans, provided they would ally with him and his people to revenge the injuries done by the Scots. Maximus condescended to these desires, trusting the same to come to the high happiness of the Roman Empire.

Not long after, it was concluded, by a convention of Hergestus and Maximus at York, that Picts, Britons, and the Romans, should be allied together in tender friendship, and the Scots to be held as enemies to them all. After this convention, Maximus sent a herald to Eugenius, King of Scots, charging him to redress all harms done to the Picts, and deliver the culprits to King Hergest, to be punished at his pleasure; otherwise, he and his people should be reputed as enemies to the senate and people of Rome. Eugenius answered, He never offended the Romans nor Britons by injuries; and therefore, he believed the Romans would not be so false, as to attack him with battle without reasonable motive or occasion. Further, he understood the Romans had not got such humanity and kinship with the Picts, to move any war against the Scots at that time, since they never offended the Romans. Always, he was content both to give and take redress with the Picts; and they who attack the other with injuries in times coming, to be punished as the crime required. Further, if the Romans, by advice of the Picts, would attack him without any just occasion of battle, he might do nothing less, than commend his good action to God, the punisher of wrongs, and do the best he might for defence of his realm and liberty: for the Romans, as well appears, are no less set on extermination of the Picts, than of the Scots.

Maximus, after this answer, assembled a large army of Romans, Britons, and Frenchmen, and entered Westmorland, ceasing from no manner of cruelties on the inhabitants thereof; and garrisoned all the strongholds of that region with Roman soldiers. And soon after, he came to Annandale, Galloway, and several other lands, exercising great cruelties in the same manner.

The Scots, when they heard of so huge a multitude of people assembled against them, were afraid. Nonetheless, seeing no other remedy, they came out of all

parts of Scotland, by command of Eugenius, with no less manliness than ardent desire to resist these enemies, and fought with the Romans beside the Water of Cree: where he was put to flight, and his army defeated. So great slaughter was made on the banks of this river, that the same was filled full of dead bodies. The Romans followed so fast in the chase of the Scots, until at last they entered in a new battle with the men of Argyll; for they were coming forward to support Eugenius' army, knowing nothing of this defeat. And when they saw the Romans follow with such cruelties on the Scots, they rushed with terrible visage, noise, and roaring, on the said Romans; and made such immense slaughter on them, that the remainder of the Scots, who were lately defeated, returned to battle, and chased the Romans again to their camp, attacking them with continual slaughter, until the night put an end to their labour. Thus did the chance of battle swing, the first day, between the Scots and their enemies. The Romans, not knowing the council of the Scots, although many of them were slain, stood perplexed, not knowing whether they would renew battle in the same night, or await for day. Yet, to have themselves ready against all chance that might follow, they fortified their camp with most skilful preparations. Eugenius seeing, on the following day, his people broken with such innumerable slaughter, raised his camp during the night, and came to Carrick: where he took long consultation, how he might arm himself best against all chance of battle that might follow. Maximus, on the following day, intending to pursue the Scots with new battle, was informed of great sedition rising in Britain; especially among them that dwelt within the Roman provinces. These news caused him to desist from his purpose, and return to Kent. After that, he garrisoned all the forts of Galloway with men, fortifications, and victuals. These were the deeds of Maximus against Scots in the first years.

Chap. Seventeenth.

How Maximus returned to Galloway, to revenge the injuries done by the Scots against the Picts. How Eugenius came with 50,000 men, to resist the Romans, Picts, and Britons. How he was slain, his brother taken, and his army defeated.

Maximus, in the year following, was so continually occupied with this trouble of the Britons, described above, that he could not return to the wars of the Scots. Nonetheless, many frequent incursions continued all the said time between his soldiers and the Scots. At last, when the Scots had tried a long time, although it was in vain, to recover the strongholds of Galloway; they went through Menteith, Stirling, and Fife, and several other lands of the Picts, attacking the same with such cruelty, that they were left wasted and deserted. Maximus feigned great upset at these offences; although nothing was more pleasing to him, than to hear of the Scots and Picts attacking each other, to both their mischiefs. Finally, he came to Galloway, intending to pass through all the remaining lands of the Scots.

Then Eugenius was not far from the Romans, waiting for the coming of his people: to whom came a great confluence of men and women able to fight, to the number of fifty thousand people, very desirous to fight, and crying together a with huge noise, either to die, or else to have victory; for they were cruelly slain in all parts where they might be apprehended by the Romans, without any mercy or ransom. And, notwithstanding their great courage, they were somewhat daunted, hearing the Romans had come to their lands, with more multitude and strength of people, than ever was seen in any of their lands before. Yet, others having the Roman tyranny in contempt, were raised to the greatest fury, regarding their lives as nothing in defence of their liberty. Then Eugenius, with great courage, dissembled his countenance, as if he were afraid of nothing less than of the Romans; and divided his army in three sections: the right wing was given to his brother Ethodius; the left wing to Doalus, captain of Argyll; and in the centre was himself. These troops were arrayed with such craft, that in the place where the battle was set, he believed not only to have the river of Munda, deep without any ford, on the backs of his army, so that they must fight without refuge: but also so as to have the Sun at their backs, so that their enemies could not hold up their eyes for the beams shining in their sight. Such things done, Eugenius went to a high motte, and called his army to the standard, and said: "Our elders, those forceful champions, that began this realm with continual labour, and brought the same with honour to our days, commanded their posterity to defend their realm and liberty, which is the most sweet and heavenly treasure on earth, against all invaders; having hope of victory, when the time came to fight against these enemies, in nothing more than in their hands: and to be obedient to the wise and noble captains of this realm; whose authority and prudence are a certain shield to their goods, lands, and lives, against all force and danger of enemies. All our elders, that are passed before us, were always obedient to the command of their nobles; and though they fought often, with several chances of battle, against the Conquerors of the world, yet they were finally victors. Now, we must fight, most valiant champions, with such courage and valour, as our elders fought before us; or else must we lose our realm and liberty, and be subjected to most vile servitude, at the will of our enemies. Now Maximus, our cruel and unmerciful enemy, approaches to rob both our lands and goods, if we do not support ourselves by grace of God and our courage. He is so full of false cunning and deceits, that he is now allied with the Picts, as to their perdition

as well as ours; intending thereby to bring the whole realm of Albion, although the same was never heard before, under Roman rule. The Picts, by wicked folly, come to battle in support of their professed enemies, who are very desirous to rob from them these kingdom and honours. They came against us, who were always their protectors, since first their realm began. It is uncertain by what mischief these Picts have been abused, not knowing the irrecoverable damage that is to fall on them, in destruction of their common good and liberty: and though they know the same, they give no attention thereto. Yet, so far as pertains to our action, consider that our enemies are to fight against us, whom we never offended with injuries: through which, their actions shall be the more unlucky, and more odious to God. By contrary, remember you are to resist these invasion; and in your poor defence, are to fight for your realm and liberty: and are the posterity of those forceful champions that formerly most gloriously chased the Romans out of their lands. Now it is coming to such a point, that we must either be vanquished, and suffer extreme misery and servitude; or else to be victors, and secure our lands to us with glory, honour, and permanent ease. I beseech you, my good companions, for the invincible courage, faith, and virtue of your elders, who defended this your realm in liberty to these days, and for their pale ghosts; to suffer not you their sons to be bereft and stripped of your realm, liberties, and goods; nor yet to be taken, as wretches, to suffer these tyrannies. And if it happens you by adverse chance, which God prevent, to die, then do, so far as is in you, to make your death worthwhile; and think, it is better to die honourably, than to live in shame. Know yourselves endowed with incredible courage and virtue; and inheritors, by ancient lineage, as well to your noble fathers in wisdom and warlike prowess, as to their lands: not gathered of divers nations, but of one people under one mind: and servants to the Eternal God, that gives victory to just people, in reward of their virtue; and to false and wrongful people shame, discomfiture, and slaughter. Gird yourselves, therefore, lusty gallants, with courage and wisdom, to have victory: which shall not fail to succeed, if you, with constant courage, regard nothing so shameful as fleeing in fear; and attack your enemies with such cruelty as they intend to attack you."

Scarcely had Eugenius raised the spirit of his army by this exhortation, when Maximus appeared in sight, with all his army; and came forward with more diligence than was believed: for he came soon after the sun rising. The Scots were taken aback by the huge multitude of enemies: nonetheless, seeing no refuge, they determined to attempt the extreme risk of arms. Soon after, they arrayed themselves, with their backs to the sun; that the glance and beams thereof should not be impediment to their fighting: and scarcely were they well arrayed, than they rushed forward on these enemies. This fierce attack was an impediment to Maximus' plans: nonetheless, seeing the time so short, he exhorted his army to remember the Roman virtue, and to be not afraid of barbarous people, whom they recently defeated. Immediately, both the armies, at the sound of a trumpet, joined, with huge noise and clamour on all sides. At the first encounter, it was so cruelly fought, that it was uncertain to what party the most danger succeeded: then followed several chances of fortune. For the Scots that fought in the right wing under Ethodious, to win no less honour than glory, set on the Picts opposite them, and chased them through the Water of Doon; where many of them, slipping on the mud and slime thereof, were slain: then, by proud and insolent glory, as if they had been certain of victory, they strayed from their companions, and took to plundering; through which many of them were slain after, by a Roman legion that was sent by Maximus in support of the said Picts. In the left wing, where Doalus fought, the Scots met with Frenchmen, Britons, and Germans: where they were slain, fighting with persevering courage to the death, for defence of their realm. Then all the

Roman army, by command of Maximus, rushed on the middle section, where Eugenius fought with his nobles, weary, and near vanquished by multitude of their enemies: although, many of them, fought fiercely while they might, omitting nothing that pertained to forceful champions. The nobles that fought in Eugenius' army, seeing the victory incline to the Romans, desired Eugenius to save himself by flight to better fortune; and immediately they took of his coat of armour by force, to make him unknown: nonetheless, he stayed, fighting with persevering malice against the Romans; and was slain, the third year of his reign.

While such terrible slaughter was made in the army of the Scots, all their carriage-men, that were left to keep their cattle and victuals, having no armour and without swords to defend them, seeing so many noblemen slain, by piteous commiseration, rushed on their enemies, and were all slain, fighting to the death.

While the Romans were following in the chase, by great ire and hatred, in this manner, they fell in an unknown manner of fighting; for the aged and feeble persons that were left at home as unfit to fight, very desirous to hear what fate was fallen to their sons, came to the place where the battle was: but when they saw so piteous and lamentable slaughter made on their sons and friends, they rushed on their enemies like furious creatures, regarding neither life, reason, nor age. The women came after, with terrible noise, bellowing like insane raging beasts, and set on the Romans. Nonetheless, both the aged men and women were finally slain. The Romans passed the night following with such huge fear and dread, that no trenches nor watching might be sufficient defence to their army; for the hills, valleys, and pasture resounded all the night with most terrible outcries of people howling in their death throes: for nothing was heard but horrible mourning of sobbing and dying people, crying a vengeance on the Romans and Picts, by whose treacherous deceits this huge slaughter was made on them. On the following day, Maximus divided the spoils of the field among his army, and made the dead bodies to be buried: and to show him not degenerate from Roman mercy, he made them that were left alive, and sorely wounded, to be cured with most skilful surgeons: among whom was Ethodius, brother to Eugenius, taken, and cured, by pity of Maximus, of all his wounds.

Chap. Eighteenth

How the Scots, by the great cruelty of the Picts, were exiled out of Albion. How the Abbey of Iona was founded.

After the Scots were defeated in this way, King Eugenius was found slain; whom Maximus had buried with funeral obsequies: then he went with his victorious army through all the lands of Scotland, and many of the inhabitants thereof surrendered to him. The Picts, desiring the utter extermination of the Scots, were greatly displeased, that the said Scots were suffered in this way to live in Albion. Maximus tried to calm their indignation, saying, It pertained to Roman majesty, to have no less mercy on their subjects, than ferocity upon these conspirators and rebels. It was also proper to the Romans to overcome people more by benevolence than tyranny; for nothing might degrade more the Roman glory, than to use cruelties on their subjected people: and because the Scots were sufficiently punished for their rebellion, their king slain, their army defeated, and their strongholds taken; he would attack them with no further punishment, unless they conspired with new rebellion.

The King of Picts and his nobles, not at all satisfied by this answer, but rather moved to more indignation, desired Maximus, by many great persuasions, to slay all Scots, in every part where they might be apprehended; saying, They were their professed enemies, set on their utter extermination, and rejoicing only in slaughter of the Romans: otherwise, the Romans and their allied friends might have no certain happiness in Albion.

The Picts seeing themselves frustrated of their desires, began to try more cunning methods; and finally, corrupted Maximus with much money, which moves all mortal creatures to the most terrible felonies; and arranged for all Scots to be warned, under pain of death, to depart out of Albion at a prefixed day, so that their lands and territories might be taken by the Romans and Picts. The when the day came, all Scots were exiled, and commanded, under pain of most cruel punishment, never to return to Albion. By this proscription, some of them went to the Isles; others to Ireland, Orkney, France, Italy, Norway, and Denmark.

After proscription of the men, came several ladies of Scotland, arrayed in their mourning clothes, for sorrow for their husbands, who were slain in this last battle; and desired Maximus, with lamentable speech, to suffer them to live, as wretches, the remainder of their miserable lives in their native land, to pray for their husbands, and finally be buried with them in grief. But with all their sorrowful tears they could obtain nothing but plain refusal: and so the ladies and gentlewomen were exiled in the same manner as the men. These doings were occasion to Maximus to detest the inhumanities and cruel manners of the Picts. The Picts, raging each day in more cruelty; after the day of general proscription, murdered all Scots, wherever they might be apprehended, without any pity, ransom, or consideration of their status.

While such diligent searching was made in all parts, Cartandis, Queen of the Scots, with two maidens and a servant, was found at the sepulchre of her husband Eugenius, nearly worn out with mourning and tears: and because she was the Prince of Wales' daughter, she was brought to Maximus without any ill-treatment. Maximus than remembering the uncertain state of man, and having compassion of her sorrowful fate, met her in his honourable manner, and gave her all the consolation he could; and prayed her to be of good comfort, for he would treat her as his sister in times coming. Soon after, he clothed her with honourable and seemly clothes, and gave her the town

of Carrick, with other rents and possessions, to sustain her royal estate: Cartandis, although knowing from what high happiness she was cast down, welcomed the yoke of servitude. And when she was returning to the said town of Carrick, she was taken, by the gate, by a company of the Romans and Picts; and not only stripped of her horse, clothing, money, and jewels, but also her servants slain, and her maidens raped.

Maximus informed of this outrage, ceased not until the misdoers were punished, and her goods restored; then preserved her, many days after, from all injury by enemies. On the following day, the Picts came to Maximus, complaining heavily that their men were slain because of a captive woman, enemy to them; and said they deserved other kinship of the Romans, fighting to the death for expansion of their empire, against the people with whom they were allied until those days: and desired, therefore, that Cartandis should be exiled in Britain, among her friends.

Cartandis hearing these words, said, She was but a miserable creature, naked of her husband and friends; and would be more miserable, if she, being cast down from high happiness, was reputed so unworthy, that she might not be suffered to live among her enemies, but commanded to live in daily shame among her friends: although it were more pleasing to her to be in Scotland, praying for the valiant people that were slain with her husband, during her humble life, than to live in honour of any princely estate. Finally, when she had desired either to be put quickly to death, or else to be suffered to live, as she desired, in Scotland; such commiseration arose among the Romans, moved by her imploring speech, that she was allowed, contrary to wishes of the Picts, to remain in Scotland, wherever she liked, with rents and possessions according to her estate.

Such things done, all priests, monks, and religious persons of the Scots blood, were exiled in the same manner out of Scotland: through which many of them came to the Isles, and built the abbey of Iona, where many devout persons remain yet to our days. It is uncertain whether the same be more plentiful of holy women or men, who live devoutly in their enclosed houses. By which it happened that this abbey, although it began humbly, by the devotion of people, and princely rewards, was made the common sepulchre, for many years after, of all Scots kings.

And though Ethodius, brother to Eugenius, with other Scots prisoners, was badly wounded in this battle; yet they were exiled, after their curing, in the same manner; and sworn neither to go to Ireland, Orkney, nor Isles, and constrained therefore to go to Norway.

The year that Scots were exiled out of Albion by the wars of the Romans, was from the beginning of the world, 5547 years; from the Incarnation of God, 379 years; from the beginning of the Scots in Albion, 712 years: in the second year of Julian, Emperor, who was named Apostate, because other Emperors before him were Catholic princes, and he a heretic.

Chap. Nineteenth.

Of several marvels seen in Albion. How the Scots that fled to Ireland and the Isles, returned to Scotland with great forces; and how they were defeated and slain.

In the year that Eugenius fought with the Romans, there were seen many strange marvels in Albion, to the great terror of the people. In the night, there appeared many swords and weapons burning in the air; but at last they ran all together in a great blaze, and vanished out of sight. The Water of Doon ran full of blood, and the banks of it shone all night, as if it had been full of continual fires. Many small birds fell out of the air, in manner of a shower; and immediately came a huge multitude of ravens, and devoured them all. Although the soothsayers and crazy women said that these unknown and wonderful prodigies signified the extermination of the Scots; yet they were held in derision by the people, who would give no faith to such fantasies.

The Romans having such success, and the Scots being exiled out of Albion, Gillo, Captain of the Isles, informed of the proscription of Ethodius to Norway, without hope of his returning, had such desire to recover his realm, that he came with a great force to Argyll. In the meantime, his people, widely scattered by these incursions and spoils, happened, by chance, to come on an army of the Picts, stationed for defence of the country; by whom they were finally pursued and slain. All their ships and galleys were brought to the nearest port, to resist the remainder of the Scots, if they happened to return with any new army.

The men of the Isles, broken in this way with a double calamity, both with slaughter and loss of their ships, had no strength to pursue their enemies with any further battle. The remainder of the Scots, to avoid the ire and hatred of the Romans, fled to Ireland, and piteously complained before the King and Princes thereof, that their King Eugenius was slain, and all their friends, formerly most valiant in martial deeds, banished out of Albion, by the tyranny of the Romans, Britons, and Picts; whose cruelties were so odiously done to them, that no estate nor age were saved, but driven by force of warfare into foreign realms, to live in poverty and servitude: Thus was their noble and ancient realm, so long defended by valiant champions until those days, brought to utter extermination by insatiable avarice of the Romans, and given as prey to Britons and Picts, as a reward for their falsehood and treachery: And desired, therefore, for the love and tenderness that Nature, the resourceful mother of all creatures, has ordained parents to have to their children, to support them against their unmerciful enemies; that the Scots, descended from their blood, and occupying the realm of Scotland above 700 years, be not brought to utter confusion by Roman wars; since they were coming to them as to their certain anchor, and last refuge in their extreme need.

The princes of Ireland, moved by commiseration of this sorrowful fate falling to Scots, their native people, sent 10 thousand Irishmen with them to Albion, to recover their realm. This army came to Carrick, Kyle, and Cunninghame, and ceased from no manner of cruelty on the Britons and Picts that were found in those parts. Herdurstane, brother to Hergest, King of Picts, described above, hearing such great cruelties done to Picts, came quickly, with an army, to attack the Scots: nonetheless, he was put to flight, and his army defeated. Then the Scots took counsel, what was to be done. Some said, although they had this success, to risk not the chance of fortune

any further: but, after this pleasing victory, to return to Ireland with the rich spoils of men and goods, taken by them in the said battle; and rather to keep them to a better fortune, than to wait for, with manifest folly, the Roman force: which had so high and singular pre-eminence, both in riches and warlike courage, that no people might resist them. Others said, it would be best to follow fortune, and recover the remaining lands taken from them. Since their beginning succeeded with such a happy result, their end should follow with even more prosperity; for it is often seen, that a great multitude of people have been vanquished by a few men: and, therefore, in hope of better fortune, it would be best to raise their courage, and either recover their native realm, or all to die together. This last opinion was approved. Then the Scots and Irishmen decided to recover all the remaining lands that pertained to them by any title or law, in Albion. At last, when they had fought with most raging fury against their enemies, no better fortune succeeded to them, than succeeded before to the men of the Isles; for few of them escaped untaken, or slain by the Romans.

The princes and nobles of Ireland, very upset by these tidings, convened to a council, to have consultation how the Scots might be restored to their realm, and the Romans best resisted. And when they saw no sufficient remedy for the same, they set aside all other matters; and concluded, to send their ambassadors to have peace of the Romans. The ambassadors, that came to this effect, were reprov'd by Maximus, why they supported the Scots against the Romans, considering no realms in earth, save Ireland, were free of Roman wars to those days. Yet peace was granted to them under these conditions: The princes and nobles of Ireland shall receive no enemies of the Romans within their realm, in times coming; and they shall make no support to them that move any wars against the Romans or their allied friends. No thieves, nor scoundrels of Ireland, shall come to do harm, in times coming, in Albion. The peace having been ratified in this manner, there followed no trouble afterwards in Albion by Ireland.

And so ends here, the Sixth book of these Chronicles.

BOOK VII.

Here Begins the Seventh Book of the Chronicles of Scotland.

Chap. First

How Maximus obtained the crown of Britain by his liberality. How he slew Emperor Gratian, and was slain by Theodosius.

Maximus, having defeated any trouble from enemies in all parts, with certain peace; to make his prudent manners more patent, showed himself so benevolent to the people, that no man was denied his presence; and he had with him, in daily fellowship, many of the great nobles of Britain; and treated them so pleasantly, that several of them were drawn to his favour. For when he ceased from public matters, he gave his talent to tournaments, wrestling, and other knightly exertion, with the Britons; and become so liberal, that he gave among them in one day, more than all the tribute of Britain might extend to for a year. All the warriors and knights in his camp, were persuaded to take his part, by his liberality, against whatever risks that might occur. Maximus, knowing the minds of his army given with such fervent friendship to him, called a convention at York, and divided all the lands formerly possessed by the Scots, among the Picts and Britons. Such things done, he garrisoned all the strongholds of Britain with men, fortifications, and victuals: then called before him all his friends and men of arms, whom he knew most favorable to his desires; and demanded of them, by what method or ways he might most easily obtain the crown of Britain. The Britons, knowing his imperial lineage and liberality, with high courage, and craft of warlike prowess, created him king. Though Paulus Diaconus writes, that he was made king against his will, I will follow my authors described above, rather than obscure historians. Emperor Valentinian, knowing that Maximus had usurped the crown of Britain, sent several captains and armies, to defeat his rebellion. At last, when he perceived the said Maximus invincible in battle, and many of his captains and armies defeated and slain, he condescended lightly to have peace with the said Maximus.

Thus was Maximus suffered, by the Emperor, to enjoy the crown of Britain; which he governed 17 years after without trouble, having the whole realm of Albion under his dominion: which had never happened before to any living creature. He had the Picts in such familiarity, that the strongest of them were chosen captain in his army, and others made soldiers in several castles of Britain. And when he came to their lands, he clothed himself with a mantle bordered with gold and silken flowers, after their fashion; and of them desired only a small tribute, to be a memorial that they were tributaries to him in name of the Romans. The Picts and Britons, delivered thus of all deadly fear of the Scots, loved Maximus with vehement affection; and rejoiced, that the Scots, their old enemies, were exiled out of Albion, and put to utter ruin. When Maximus had governed the crown of Britain certain years with great courage and prudence, he began, by insatiable avarice, to covet the whole empire of the world: and to conquer the same, he went to France, after he had garrisoned all the strongholds of Britain with strong munitions and soldiers. At his coming to France, he was tenderly received by certain legions of the Romans, who were enemies to Emperor Gratian, and bore him in deadly hatred, because he held foreign and barbarous people in more reverence than the Romans. Maximus, favored in this way by the Romans in France, gathered an army, with all the strength that he could assemble; and in a sudden incursion, slew Emperor Gratian, the 29th year of his reign. After this slaughter, Maximus went through Germany and Italy; and by fear of his reputation only, he constrained the people to pay him tribute: nonetheless, he was finally slain by Emperor Theodosius.

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As soon as the Romans who were left in France knew of the slaughter of Maximus, they took immediately his son, named Victor; and stripped him both of his authority and life: as Paulus Diaconus writes at length, in the *Life of Emperors Gratian and Theodosius*,

Chap. Second.

How Octavius was made King of Britons. How Mercius and Victorinus were sent to Albion, to defeat the Britons. How the Picts were subjected to great servitude; and how their King slew himself.

The Roman princes being divided in this manner among themselves, Octavius, son to Octavius, King of Britain, described above, returned to Britain; for he had fled, as we have said, to France, to avoid the tyranny of Maximus, when he subdued Britain to his rule; and claimed the crown to pertain to him as just heir, descending of the blood royal thereof by long progression: and promised, if they condescended to support him, to deliver them from Roman servitude, and to suffer none but their native blood to reign above them in times coming.

The Britons, moved by his arguments, and very desirous to recover their liberty, made him king. The Romans, who kept the strongholds and fortifications of Britain, were opposed to their doings. Thus there was great contention: the Britons set to defend Octavius, and the Romans to keep Britain under the rule of Emperor Theodosius.

This rebellion of the Britons was occasion to the Emperor to send new captains, with many Roman legions, to defeat the Britons: but when he found they could not be defeated by force of arms, he gave them peace under these conditions: Octavius should remain King of Britain, during his life, and friendship with the Romans; the fortifications and strongholds of Britain to be kept by the Romans; the administration of justice to be at the will of Theodosius, or whom he might appoint as his deputy for the same: paying in this way tribute to the Emperor as they paid before to Maximus. Thus was Britain made tributary, as before, to the Romans.

Not long after, two captains were sent, with many legions, to Britain: one, named Marcus, to make his residence at London; and the other, named Victorinus, to remain at York. By governance of these two captains, there followed, many years after, great affliction to the people of Albion; for Victorinus convened the Picts to a council, and reproved them for using their own laws, in contempt of Roman authority, as if they had been free people, not bound to the Emperor's servitude. After several consultations, he made laws, That none of the Picts should reign after Hergest; no administration of justice to be made by their own laws, except by the Romans; and the said Romans to have over them, in times coming, the authority of life and death: and if they were found repugnant to these enactments, to be punished by death.

Hergest, King of Picts, subjected thus to vile servitude in his latter age, was penitent of the wars made before against the Scots; seeing, after their proscription, so intolerable calamities happening, both to his people than present, and to their posterity: and because he could not remedy them, he slew himself for bitter sorrow.

Victorinus, knowing this wretched end of Hergest, commanded that no Picts' blood should usurp the crown in times coming; and that none of them should bear office nor authority, under pain of death; with all other charges to be observed, which they were subjected to by Maximus, when he exiled the Scots. Thus was the realm of the Picts stripped of their native laws, and subjected to the Romans as a province, in the same way as the realm of the Britons.

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The Picts, holding the commands of Victorinus in derision, were very reluctant to allow the crown to be taken from their native blood; and made Durstus, the son of Hergest, to be their king. Victorinus, moved by their rebellion, thought it best to defeat them before they gathered any more strength, and came quickly to Pentland with a great force.

The Picts in Camelon, with their new king, when he heard of the coming of Victorinus, began to garrison their town with all provision: nonetheless sooner than they expected, the Romans surrounded their town with a strong siege, and took it finally by force of arms. In this town was taken King Durstus, and sent to Rome, to await the judgement of Roman senators. The principal movers of this rebellion were scourged with wands through the town of Camelon.

The Picts, defeated by Victorinus in this manner, were commanded to pay yearly to the Roman treasurer, the fourth part of all the produce of their lands, with the third part of their cattle, under pain of death; for he thought the Picts so insolent after the ejection of the Scots out of Albion, that, if they were not defeated in time, many high offences might arise from them in Albion. And by all these insupportable charges, he subjected them to most vile servitude; and sent them to Britain, and other realms, to mine metals, work in quarries, and to make bricks. And above all their calamities, there came to them a more insufferable injury, devised in final destruction of their realm: for within a short time after, they were commanded to go, with their wives, children, and goods, under pain of death, beyond the Water of Forth; and leave behind them Merse, Berwick, Pentland, Galloway, Stirling, Carrick, Kyle, and Cunninghame, and most of all the Wood of Caledonia; that the same might be perpetually inhabited, in times coming, by Britons. Also, they were commanded to build a high dike, from Abercorne to Dumbarton, to divide them from the Britons; and if any Picts crossed this dike, to be punished no less than of they had offended against the majesty of the Romans.

The Picts, aggrieved with these and many other intolerable injuries, began to lament their sorrowful fate, fallen to them by their own offence; and raised their eyes to the heavens, humbly praying the merciful God to deliver them from Roman tyranny.

Chap. Third.

Of Ethodius, brother to Eugenius described above. Of his governance in Denmark; and of his succession. How Rome was taken by the Goths; and how sundry spoils thereof fell to Fergus the Second.

While the Picts were punished with these and many other afflictions, the Scots were vagabond, and banished in foreign realms, with their wives and children; some of them living on the labour of their hands; others being mercenary soldiers, under several princes and captains of the world.

Ethodius, brother to Eugenius, banished, as we have said, with his wife, out of Albion, was generously treated by the King of Denmark; and got certain lands, where he remained with his wife: on whom he got a son, named Erthus. This Erthus, after the death of his father Ethodius, married a noble lady, named Rocha, daughter to Roric, who was the greatest prince of the Danes, under the king; and got on her a son, named Fergus: who recovered the realm of Scotland, as we shall now describe. This Fergus, in his flourishing youth, went, by command of the King of Danes, with a company of chosen and valiant men, to Alaric, King of Goths; who at that time was going, with a huge army, to confound and destroy the empire of the Romans. Fergus was very glad of this voyage; for he bore extreme hatred against the Romans, because they slew his elders, or else banished them from their native realm in foreign regions. Finally, after many battles, fought with several chances of fortune, between the Romans and Goths; Radagasus, principal captain of this army, being slain, with infinite number of people, and the Romans broken in this way, with their army and strength; a close siege was laid about Rome, by the said Alaric, King of Goths. The Romans defended the town for a long time, against several attacks; until, at last, they lacked victuals: through which was such hunger among them, that they abhorred not to eat the flesh of men, with other forbidden meats. "In deploration of this calamity, my voice," says Saint Jerome, "is muted, and the sobbing cuts my words. The town is taken, that took all the world, vanquished more by hunger than the sword; and few found alive within the same. So far sprang the hungry rage, that it constrained the people to eat abominable meats: the mother spared not to swallow the fruit of her own bowels."

Thus was Rome finally conquered by the Goths, the first day of April, from the beginning of it by Romulus, 1164 years; from the Incarnation of God, 412 years.

As soon as Rome was taken, the Goths ceased from slaughter of the people, and from plundering of the temples of the Apostles Peter and Paul: through which many people that fled there, were saved of their goods and lives.

Rome, once the Lady of the World, was plundered thus by cruelty of Goths; and the spoils of it divided, by custom of arms, among the Goths. It is said, that beside many rich jewels and precious articles that fell to Fergus the Second by the said spoils, a chest was given to him, full of books; which he brought out of Italy, with incredible labour and diligence, to Germany; and sent it to remain in Iona, with many other Chronicles and Histories of Scotland; it is uncertain by what impulse this was done. It is said that Aeneas Silvius, who was sent as legate from Eugenius the Fourth, Pope, to King James the First, decided to go to the Isles of Scotland, to see if he might find any of the works of Titus Livy, which were destroyed at this time by cruel wars

in Italy; for more notable things have been destroyed by battle, than by decay of years. Nonetheless, because the said Aeneas knew the passage dangerous, because the king was slain, he left his purpose. And we, of that same manner, very desirous to know what books there were, whose fame was so divulged in all parts; made such diligence, that at last five old books, written in Roman letters, were brought to us at Aberdeen, by industry of a nobleman, Master John Campbell, treasurer to the King, the year of God 1 thousand, 5 hundred, 25 years: in the which were nothing but broken leaves, and few of them broader than the palm of a man's hand, written skilfully on rude and hard parchment; but they were so obscure, we might not read each tenth word. And whether these books were a remnant of them that were destroyed by the said wars of Italy, or if they were brought to the said Abbey out of foreign and strange places, it is uncertain; yet, by testimony of them that read the same, we find they sounded more like the eloquence of Sallust than of Livy. Further, at this same time, was brought to us, by the same messenger, the Works of Veremund, Archdeacon of Saint Andrew's; containing the history of this realm, from the first beginning thereof, to King Malcolm Canmore's time: which authors we have followed, with the most wise Bishop William Elphinston, to the end of this our work. But we will return to our history.

Fergus, the son of Erthus, departed from Rome, with Alaric, three days after it was put to sack; and went with him to the conquest of several other towns in Italy. Not long after, he was commanded to go, with certain ships, to Sicily; and in the meantime, there arose so unmerciful tempest on him, that he was driven, by force of contrary winds, again to Italy, and narrowly escaped with his life.

At his returning, Alaric had died, and Athalphas made King of Goths, and general captain of their army: with whom Fergus become so beloved for his singular courage and virtue, that as soon as Italy was defeated by the Goths, he was suffered to return home, with many Danes, to Denmark; full of riches and treasure, got in the said wars.

Chap. Fourth.
***Of several Clerics and Saints flourishing in the world. Of the
first message sent by the Picts to the Scots.***

Many noble clerics flourished at this time in the world: as, Claudian, poet, writer of some part of our History; Apollinaris, confounder of the heretics that were poisoned by Porphyry; Martin, Bishop of Tours, in France; with many resolute and holy men. Among us was in those days, Saint Ninian, the first Bishop of Galloway; where he built a church in honour of Saint Martin, his uncle. In those days was also Saint Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, who brought Saint Augustine to the faith and sacrament of baptism. This Augustine was the first beginner of Canons Regular, of whom are now many abbeys erected in the world by the munificence of certain princes. Of this order there have been 30 Popes, beside many bishops and noble prelates, whose number may not be comprehended. By mutation of this order, arose the Eremitians; who are increased to such incredible number, although they suffered great affliction from the pagans, so that there is of them this day in Europe above two thousand and 3 hundred abbeys, beside those that are in Africa and Egypt. This Augustine was not only commendable in his institution of religious manners, but also for his singular erudition in every kind of science: for he had scarce 20 years of age, when he read rhetoric in Carthage; and learned both his philosophy and mathematics without any teacher. After this, he came to Milan, where he, by the preaching of Saint Ambrose, received the Christian faith; and was so profitable thereto, that he vanquished and put down 100 different heresies, and wrote such a huge number of books, that no age of man may suffice to read them: and died, the 80th year of his age. And in those days was also Basilius, the first beginner of monks; Cyrillus, Bishop of Jerusalem; and Saint Jerome, the Pope,[sic] who translated the Bible out of Hebrew into Latin, with many other volumes as well. His works were held in such reverence by the Pope Damasus, that they were commanded to be read among other devout works in churches. But we will return to our history.

The Picts, seeing themselves each day more tormented with Roman injuries, and irked with unsupportable servitude, sent their secret messengers to the Scots who were exiled in the Isles, Ireland, and Norway; desiring them to return to Albion, to recover their realm: and promised, by their great oaths, either to restore the Scots to their realm and lands, or else to fight in their support to the death, against the Romans and Britons.

When Fergus had heard these desires of the Picts, he sent, by advice of the King of Denmark, his trusted servants in all parts where there were any Scots, to explore their minds towards him. And when he found them all of a mind, to recover their realm, and revenge the injuries done to them by the Romans and Britons; he assembled a great number of ships and warriors, partly with the riches he won in the wars of Italy, and partly by support of his grandfather Roric, to come to Albion.

Chap. Fifth.

How Gratian, King of Britons, and Mercius, Roman captain, were slain, and Constantine put in Mercius' place; and of his death. Of the second message sent by Picts to Fergus; and how he came to Albion, and came to an agreement with the Picts, and recovered his realm.

During this time, Gratian, a Briton, by consent of Mercius, the Roman captain, took the crown of Britain. This trouble was soon pacified; for such contention arose between them, that each one of them slew the other. The Romans, very sorrowful for the death of their captain, choose Constantine, by advice of Emperor Honorius, to succeed in Mercius' place. This Constantine was not a man of noble blood, nor yet of martial deeds. As soon as he was chosen captain, he went to France, with an army, to deliver the same from an attack by Goths and Swiss; where he was vanquished by a noble knight, named Constantius, and slain.

As soon as Victorinus knew of the slaughter of Mercius and Constantine, he went to London, and garrisoned all the strongholds of Britain with strong munitions and warriors; and set his talent in many ways to keep the Britons in support of Emperor Honorius: for the empire of the Romans was attacked with great rebellion in all parts. The Picts, seeing the Britons held with great difficulty in support of the Romans, believed firmly, if the Scots were brought again to Albion, and they supported them, they would recover their liberty. And for these causes, they sent their second message to Fergus, saying there was so great trouble in Britain among the Romans, that no time could be so suitable as then to recover his realm.

Soon after, Fergus raised sail, and arrived in Moray, where he landed his army. The news of his coming spread through Albion, caused the Scots to convene to him from all parts, with their wives and children, in the same manner as if their enemies had been chased and vanquished, and as they were to remain perpetually in their native lands, without any further trouble. Then came several Picts, in great companies, to Fergus; thanking him, that he, for singular love to recover his native realm, was coming to Albion, not daunted by the winter storms nor danger of the seas, when the passage was most perilous; and desired him to set aside all injuries, if there were any in bygone times, between Scots and Picts, that they might be newly allied, after the terms of the old peace: and prayed him to impute no fault to them for the wicked offences committed against the noble King Eugenius, his progenitor; but to impute the same only to their chief elders, who could neither, for that time, have experience of the deceit of the Romans, nor yet understand what vengeance and calamity was coming to them by the wars made against the Scots; when they, being deceived by pleasing words of the Romans, brought themselves to intolerable servitude: through which they were so cruelly punished, that every kind of death was to be preferred to Roman dominion.

To this Fergus answered, He would gladly have peace and friendship with Picts, with similar conditions as they were before allied with his ancestors; and would risk himself with them in battle, against the Romans and Britons, their old and perpetual enemies; and fight to the death for their common good, to revenge the injuries done to them: provided that the said Picts would peacefully depart, with their wives, children, and goods, out of the lands which had previously been treacherously

taken from the Scots. As to the old injuries of the said Picts, he thought them sufficiently punished, by just punishment of God, for their offence; since they were not only deprived and stripped of their native lands, but subjected to most vile and intolerable servitude.

The Picts, their wishes being met, created a king, and set a day to meet Fergus. At the day appointed, the Scots and Picts were allied together, after the old agreement, in most assured way that might be devised. Such things done, Fergus received all the lands and strongholds that were taken from his ancestors before by Roman wars; and soon after, he went with an honourable company to Argyll, where he was crowned in the fateful chair of marble.

The year that Fergus recovered his realm, was the 45th year after the Scots were expelled out of Albion; from the Incarnation, 422 years; from the first beginning of the Scots, 7 hundred 55 years; in the 18th year of Honorius, Emperor.

Chap. Sixth.

How the Romans, fighting against the Scots and Picts, were scattered by a shower of hail. Of several feats of arms done by the valiant Grahame at the Wall of Abercorn. Of his lineage, and alliance with King Fergus.

Victorinus, disturbed that Scots had come again to Albion in this way, assembled an army, and came to York. After his coming, he sent a herald to the Picts, soliciting them, with many large promises, to dissolve the alliance made lately with the Scots. At last, seeing his purpose came to little effect, he began to hate the Picts, as false and perjured people; and to punish their rebellion, he came, with an army of 50,000 men, through Kendal, Merse, and Pentland, to the great damage to the people thereof; and set down his camp not far from Camelon.

Fergus, informed of the coming of the Romans in this manner, for both he and the King of Picts were gathered with a great army, came over the Forth; and during the night set down his camp not far from his enemies, intending to attack them at the break of day. The Romans, on the other side, knew well the forces of the Scots and Picts; and at the third vigil made themselves ready to battle, and fought with the allied kings beside the Water of Carron. This battle was very cruelly fought, and so great multitude of people slain, that the said water ran many miles with purple streams to the seas. While their armies were fighting in this manner, with uncertain victory, came suddenly a sharp shower, so full of hail and sleet, that none of them might know each other; through which they were constrained to scatter, more irked than satiated of each other's slaughter. Thus were both the armies so broken, that many years after, none of them might attack the other in battle.

Victorinus, on the following day, seeing his army broken, returned to Kent, and left behind him many soldiers in Pentland, to keep the same as a province, against the Scots and Picts. The allied kings commanded the remainder of their people, who were left alive, to return home: and because they found themselves unable to renew battle, they set their talent to save both themselves and their lands to a better fortune. Soon after, they convened in Argyll, to see what way they might best resist their enemies, revenging the injuries done by them, and to teach their people the art of warfare; for they were abused for many years, without any exercise thereof. After several consultations, the Scots, seeing the Picts of more number than might be nurtured in Angus, Fife, Stirling, and Strathearn; suffered them to remain in Atholl, beyond the hills of Grampian, until they might, by some better fortune, recover the remainder of their lands, which were taken from them by tyranny of the Romans. The Picts spread fast in Atholl, and made several strongholds and towns in it.

In the meantime, Victorinus, Governor of Britain, commanded the Britons, by general edict, to build a wall between Abercorn and Dumbarton, with stakes interwoven with brushwood, in their strongest manner, to save them from invasion by the Scots and Picts: and to build this dike there were assembled many craftsmen out of all parts, with many warriors, to protect them while the dike was built.

In the meantime, when they were building it most busily, came the valiant Grahame, whose daughter was married to King Fergus, and slew a great number of these warriors at the building of this dike, and the remaining put to flight: and immediately, by a fierce incursion, he brought a huge plunder of men and goods from

the Britons to the Scots' lands. This Grahame was descended of an ancient house of Denmark, and got on a noble lady of that same country by one of the Scots that was banished with Ethodius out of Albion; and after the proscription of the Scots, he married a virgin of the blood royal of Denmark, on whom he got a daughter of most excellent beauty, who was given to Fergus in marriage. Fergus got on her 3 sons before his coming to Albion, whose names were Eugenius, Dongarus, and Constancius; of whom we shall speak in our history below. Others say, this Grahame was a Briton, who avoiding the Roman tyranny, fled among the Scots, and was after banished with them in Denmark; for he was great enemy to the Romans, seeing them reign with such tyranny and avarice above their subjects. However, of whatsoever house or lineage he was descended, the truth is he was a man of high courage and spirit, both in war and peace, and strongest enemy to the Romans and Britons. Of this Grahame, descended the surname of Grahams.

Chap. Seventh

Of several consultations made by the Scots for their defence against the Romans and Britons. How Victorinus obtained the crown of Britain; and how he was punished therefor by death.

The Britons, broken with several battles in this manner, ceased many years after from battle, content to defend their own lands. At this time came infinite number of Scots out of France, Spain, Germany, Italy, and other parts, where they were mercenaries, to King Fergus; trusting, because so huge a rebellion was made in all realms against the Romans, to recover their lands in Albion.

Fergus, rejoicing at their coming, went with them to Carrick; where he fought with the Romans, and got no less misfortune than he got before: through which he was constrained to leave Carrick, and return to Argyll, where he remained all the winter following. A convention was made by him the next summer; in which several of his nobles persuaded him to raise a new army to resist Victorinus, for he was coming then to Galloway, and rather to risk the extreme danger of battle, than daily to live in such affliction: others said, It would be best to delay, and not to fight with the Romans, because they were twice defeated; because there was the danger, if they were defeated the third time, their realm should be prey to their enemies. It would be best, therefore, to cease from battle, while their strength was recovering, by which they might be the more able to resist. Also, so frequent rebellion was made against the Romans in all parts, that Victorinus might not long stay in Britain: and therefore, since the empire of the Romans appeared so manifestly to decline, it might happen that Victorinus would be constrained to fly out of Britain, and then the Scots and Picts would have a suitable opportunity to recover their realm, without any great danger. This last council was approved; and so it was concluded, that Scots and Picts should attack their enemies more by skirmishing than open battle.

In the meantime, Emperor Honorius, took great suspicion against this Victorinus, fearing that he would usurp the crown of Britain. Thus it was believed by many people, that the Emperor would relieve Victorinus of all authority in Britain. As soon as Victorinus was informed thereof, he took the crown of Britain, with the great approval of his army: part of the Britons assisted him, but others supported Dioneth, son to King Octavius before died. Thus there appeared great sedition in Britain. Nonetheless, Emperor Honorius, seeing so great trouble rising in Britain, sent a valiant knight, named Heraclius, to defeat their rebellion; whose coming made the Britons, and others that supported Victorinus, so daunted, that they brought Victorinus bound to this Heraclius, with many others who were movers of their rebellion. Soon after, Victorinus was sent to Rome, with many of his supporters, and punished by death.

Thus was Britain brought again by Heraclius under Roman rule.

Chap. Eighth.

How Placidus, the Roman captain, was defeated with his army, by the Scots and Picts. How King Fergus recovered all his lands, as a condition of peace, from the Romans. Of his civil and religious industry for the welfare of his people.

Heraclius, when he had brought Britain in this manner to Roman rule; by command of Honorius, he returned to Rome, and went to Africa, to defeat the rebellion of Athalus the tyrant; and left behind him in Britain a man of feeble courage, named Placidus: who, through his avarice, was very unfit to govern any province.

Fergus, knowing well the feeble courage of Placidus, thought the time suitable to recover the lands taken from him before by Roman wars. And soon after, he came with an army to Carrick, waiting for the coming of the King of Picts with his army. As soon as the Scots and Picts were met together, they went through Carrick, Kyle, Cunninghame, and Galloway, ceasing from no manner of cruelty on them that obeyed the rule of the Romans: and in the same manner, they came to Pentland, Merse, and Berwick, and left neither the Romans nor Britons in the same.

Placidus, Governor of Britain, when he heard of these things, came with a huge army in Pentland. The Scots and Picts, not afraid of his coming, met him with great fury. There followed a terrible and sore battle. And first the horsemen of the Romans were defeated; and soon after, the remaining legions were so oppressed with continual shot of arrows, that they ran away in the same manner. Then was a sorrowful slaughter made on the fleeing army. Placidus, narrowly escaping with his life, fled to York.

The allied people, insolent after this victory, decided to besiege York: nonetheless, their army was so broken, that they were constrained to desist.

Placidus, no less daunted by many other afflictions falling to the Romans in several parts of the world, than by this last defeat, feared that British should pass from Roman dominion, if the Britons moved any new rebellion; and, therefore, he began to seek peace with Picts and Scots. Then peace was finally agreed under these conditions: All lands and fortifications taken before from Scots and Picts, by Roman tyranny, should be restored to them again; no incursions nor raids should be made, in times coming, by Scots and Picts, into the Roman lands; the Romans should stand content with the lands obtained from the Britons, and should not attack the Scots nor Picts with any wars in times coming.

As soon as the allied kings had received their lands and territories by this manner, they gave their exact diligence to instruct their people in pleasing and civil manners, without any oppression of servitude. Then Fergus, to increase the Scots, Danes, and others that came with him to recover their realm, under friendship and blood; gave several lands of his realm among them: through which, many lands of his realm lost their old name, and were called after by the name of the new possessors. And because the names of every land in Scotland are well known to all Scots, I will show nothing thereof.

Then Fergus repaired all the churches that had deteriorated by negligence of the people, and endowed several priests with rents and possessions to do divine service. He brought all the monks that were banished, again to his realm; and treated

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them, with great reverence, to instruct his people in the faith. He built the Abbey of Iona, and endowed it with several lands, rents, and possessions; and commanded the same to be, in times coming, the common sepulchre of all kings succeeding after him. He endowed certain funeral obsequies to be done yearly for their souls.

This Fergus was diligent as well in civil as religious matters; for he repaired all the strongholds lying on his borders opposite the Britons, where he ordained his veteran soldiers to remain perpetually for defence thereof, on the common purse.

Chap. Ninth.

Of the death of Placidus. Of the message sent by Castius, Governor of Britain, to Fergus; and of Fergus' answer. How the Romans were defeated, and Castius slain.

When Fergus had recovered his realm in this manner, and restored his people to their ancient honours and dignity, Emperor Honorius died: after whom succeeded Theodosius; who sent a nobleman, named Valentinian, to Italy, to repair all damage done by civil wars. And in the meantime, Placidus, Governor of Britain, died.

The Scots and Picts, trusting to have good occasion, by the death of Placidus, to attack the Britons, (for the peace was dissolved by his death;) came to Westmorland, Cumbria, and other regions that were taken from them before by Roman wars, and ceased from no manner of cruelty on them that obeyed the Romans. Many of the fled to Castius; for he was made Governor of Britain after the death of Placidus. This Castius, fearing, the thing that came after, that Dioneth, son of Octavius described above, should usurp the crown of Britain by the assistance of the Scots and Picts, for he married Fergus' sister, sent to Fergus, charging him by a herald, if he desired peace, and to live on the old lands and frontiers pertaining to his elders, to attack no others: and if he desired nothing but battle, he made him to understand he had the same enemies that drove his elders out of Albion, and subjected the Picts to servitude. To this charge was answered by Scots and Picts, they would have no peace with the Romans, until Westmorland and Cumbria were restored to them, with all the fortifications and strongholds thereof.

Castius, aggrieved with this answer, came forward with his army: and when he was going through the Roman provinces not far from Westmorland, he was informed that Dioneth was coming, with a great force, out of Wales, in support of the Scots and Picts. The Britons, knowing the fierceness and cruelty of Welshmen, were daunted by these tidings: notwithstanding, by exhortation of Castius, they raised their spirits, and came the third day after, very desirous of battle, in their enemies' sight. Now Dioneth and the allied people were merged with their hosts together, and well arrayed for battle, when suddenly both the armies joined, and fought long with uncertain victory; until at last the mercenaries that fought in the wings with light armour, ran away. There followed a huge alarm among the Romans; and the same was the more increased by the slaughter of Castius, their captain: and immediately the center squadron fled; on whom the Scots, Picts, and Welshmen followed, with long chase and slaughter. Yet, because they kept no order in their chase, they got more injury than they did to their enemies.

The Romans, defeated in this way, collected the remainder of their army together, and went to Wales; and left behind them all the strongholds of the country, without any defence.

Chap. Tenth.

How Maximian, Governor of Britain, came with a huge army against the Scots and Picts. Of Fergus' speech to his army; and how both the Kings of the Scots and Picts were slain, and their army defeated by the Romans.

Dioneth, after this defeat of the Romans, took the crown of Britain, and attacked all the people thereof with great cruelty and slaughter, that obeyed the Romans. Thus it appeared that Britain, unless this trouble were quickly defeated, would pass from the dominion of the Romans.

At this time there was in France a nobleman, named Etius, General Captain thereof, by authority of the Emperor. This Etius, hearing that Britain was naked of support, sent, by desire of the Britons, a valiant knight, named Maximian, to put down all this trouble caused by the Welshmen, Scots and Picts. Maximian came soon after with an army to Albion; whom the Britons received with great triumph, and prayed God to send him good fortune against his enemies.

Maximian, knowing more trouble would come from the rebellion of Dioneth, than by any other danger occurring, for he was of the blood royal of Britain; thought a long delay would be an impediment to his wars, and came with his army with great diligence to York; and soon after, he came to Westmorland.

The allied kings when they heard of his coming, came with their armies in the same manner: and in the meantime came to them Dioneth, King of Britain, with all his power, out of Wales. At the spring of the day, when all their power was combined together, Fergus called them by the sound of a trumpet to his standard, and said: "I wish, wise friends, that this battle, which we are now to lead against our most dangerous enemies, were fought with such great manliness, courage, and spirit, that the same may be to your honour and profit, and to my high pleasure and gladness. Truly, if you will ponder this matter wisely, your minds, that have been so long distanced from ease, and so occupied with continual exercise of warfare, should be raised in great hope of victory, seeing your enemies in sight, whom you so often before defeated and pursued. It necessary for all forceful champions ever to believe the best, and have excellent fortitude against whatsoever adversity that may occur: for fortitude is such a high and sovereign virtue, that it persuades every nobleman, by impulsion of nature, to resist adversity. This virtue is more renowned, to resist the injury of enemies, than to attack them with any injury. For he that is wrongfully injured has always good hope of better fortune to follow: thus he increases in strength by hope, and by his just cause he grows prudent. By contrary, he that does wrong is injurious to himself, and has no hope of good fortune to follow. Maximus, once Governor of Britain, by his treacherous deceits was allied with the Picts, no less for the extermination of them than of the Scots: as the end thereof showed. They slew my grandfather Eugenius, with many of your noble elders; and put them to such affliction, that they were many years exiled this region: through which he obtained the whole realm of Albion; and not content with that happiness, he subjected the Picts, our old allied friends, against his treaty and promise, to vile servitude. Nonetheless, the end of this alliance showed to the said Picts, what damage comes from being allied with treacherous people, in contempt of their true friends. So at last the Picts, penitent of the insupportable injuries done to us, began, though it was too late, to be prudent, and brought us again into this realm; and soon after our coming, we vanquished our fierce

enemies with little difficulty. Now are these previously vanquished tyrants returned to attack us at the instigation of Maximian, their captain; hoping to restore them to that courage, which they lost before by the slaughter of their captain Castius. They order us, as if we were under their dominion, to go out of Cumbria and Westmorland, which pertain to us by just title. For these reasons, I think we should not only refuse their commands, but also pursue our just action against them with all our strength. Therefore, be awakened, valiant champions, and take your weapons with good courage and spirit: think there will be no great difficulty in defeating these feeble creatures, who so cowardly gave place before to your arms. Go forward, my merry men, and remember no less of your honour, than of the injuries done by your enemies; and acquire such glory, that your posterity, by imitation of your virtue, may learn to fight valiantly for their realm."

As soon as Fergus had said their words, he gave the signal, by the sound of a trumpet, to join battle. The other two Kings of the Picts and Britons used no less exhortation to their armies. Immediately, both the armies joined. At the first encounter, the Romans were nearly defeated; for such a huge number of arrows and crossbow bolts came on them, that the sky might scarcely be seen above their heads. Maximian, seeing the first front of the Romans in danger, quickly sent a legion of fresh men to their support. Thus was the battle renewed and cruelly fought; while at last the outwings of the Romans, by multitude of people, defeated the enemies set against them. The allied people, and Britons that fought under Dioneth, made a long struggle; but at last the mercenaries, that fought in the outer fringes of the Roman wings, came to the same battle where they were fighting, on their backs. The allied people, although they were afraid with this sudden terror, rushed all together in a knot, with stout courage, to fight to the death. The most forceful and strong captains of our people, very desirous to revenge their death; because they saw no other remedy, set themselves, with most violent force, to rush through their enemies: where they were all slain, with great slaughter of their enemies. While the Romans were busily working to stop this forceful attack of the nobles, many of the remaining Scots came fiercely through their enemies, and were saved by their flight; and yet the chase followed so cruelly by the Romans, that few were saved whom they might apprehend: but at last the night put an end to their labours.

In this dreadful battle were slain Fergus, King of Scots, the 16th year of his reign; and Durstus, King of Picts; with all the nobility of both their realms. Dioneth, Prince of Wales, badly wounded, was brought to the seaport, not far from the field; where he got a boat, and fled to Wales.

Chap. Eleventh.

How the Romans inflicted great injuries on the Scots and Picts. How Maximian was allied with Dioneth, Prince of Wales; and took the crown of Britain, defying the authority of the Romans.

After this terrible battle, such terror arose through all the lands of the Scots and Picts, that nothing was expected but utter extermination of both their realms: and because they had no hope of support, their most forceful champions being slain, they thought nothing so good as to fly to foreign realms.

Maximian, thinking best to use the present fortune as it occurred, ceased from no manner of cruelty that might be devised, in Galloway, Annandale, Merse, and Pentland; with such rage of fire and sword, that no estate was saved from his fury. The people that fled to churches and sanctuaries, he slew, without any thought of God. The town of Camelon, with many other noble cities and towns of the Scots and Picts, was taken, and cast down to the ground. This cruelty did not cease, until at last the Scots and Picts were driven shamefully over the wall that runs from Abercorne to Dumbarton, and made to swear never to return beyond the same.

A part of the Romans gave counsel to Maximian, since the Scots and Picts were so broken at this time, and could not be trusted to keep faith in any peace agreement, to destroy them all utterly, or else to banish them out of Albion; otherwise nothing might be done for the common good of the Romans. Maximian refused this counsel; for the winter was approaching, through which his army had to rest in their winter quarters; and because there were no victuals among the Scots and Picts to sustain his army, and such vehement cold in their mountains, that no skill might withstand the same; for it was for the welfare of their army to wait until the next summer. Also, because Welshmen, his nearest neighbours, rebelled against him, it was necessary to defeat them first; there was also the chance, if he pursued the Scots and Picts, leaving behind him so perilous enemies, more damage than profit might come by his wars. For these causes, he returned with his victorious army to York, where he remained all that winter; and brought victuals out of all parts to sustain the same.

At the spring of the year he raised his camp, and came with banners displayed against Dioneth, in Wales; for he was held King of Britons opposite the Irish Sea. And in the meantime, this Maximian was informed by letters, that Bonifacius had slain two Roman captains in Africa, and their army defeated: through which Africa was lost from Roman dominion, and the said Bonifacius made king thereof. Also, Franks, who were at that time a people of Germany, were coming over the Rhine, and entered into Gallia, which was afterwards called France, with more cruelty than ever was heard before; and obtained the lands of Orleans and Paris, and made a king of their own blood: through which it appeared, that all the lands called, that time, Gallia, should come under the dominion of Franks.

Maximian, knowing so many rebellions in all parts against the Romans, thought it best to rebel in the same wise; and took the crown of Britain, contrary the Roman authority: and to secure the realm to him without any disagreements, that he might be the more strong against the Romans, if they would attack him, he took the eldest daughter of Dioneth, named Othilia, in marriage; for Dioneth got on King

Fergus' sister two daughters, without any male children. The second daughter, named Ursula, was made a nun, so that she should have no heirs. By this affinity such tenderness increased between Maximian and Dioneth, that the said Dioneth was allowed to have greatest rule, next after Maximian, in Britain.

Chap. Twelfth.

Of King Eugenius the Second. Of great honour done by Maximian in Britain and France. How Ursula and her followers were married.

After these things were done in Britain, the remainder of the Scots, who had escaped out of the field described above, convened in Argyll; and made his son, Eugenius the Second, king: from the Incarnation, 430 years; from the beginning of the realm of Scotland, 760; in the third year of Emperor Valentinian.

Eugenius began the administration of his realm by pity; and took the bones of his father from the place where they were buried by the Romans, and buried them, with funeral pomp, in the Abbey of Iona. Fergus was the first King of Scots that was buried in Iona; and, therefore, it was called, after, the common sepulchre of all Scots kings, until King Malcolm Canmore's days, who built the Abbey of Dunfermline, by persuasion of Saint Margaret; where all the Scots kings have been buried since.

King Eugenius, very desirous to recover the lands taken from his father by the Romans and Britons, wrote all the names of his people, from sixty to sixteen, in each town, that might bear armour and weapons. Nonetheless, seeing them, when they were gathered, of small number and strength, he postponed his purpose until a time more suitable. And though the Scots and Picts were broken in this way, and enfeebled in their strength, yet Maximian left them in peace without their asking. And because this Maximian saw the empire of the Romans pursued on all parts, he set his business to have a part thereof; and took the crown of Britain, with favour and benevolence of all the people. Soon after his coronation, he went to Brittany, and left behind him his father-in-law Dioneth, with a legion of soldiers, to govern Britain. Finally, he defeated the Armoricans with such unsupportable affliction, that they surrendered to his rule. Then Maximian took, by sharp siege, several towns, which lay on the seacoasts of Brittany. And soon after, he came, with all his army, to a strong town of Brittany, named Redon, which was kept by Sulpicius, in the name of Emperor Valentinian. When Maximian had besieged this town for a long time, and could not get it by force of arms, he decided to attack the country, more by robbery than by honourable warfare.

In the meantime, the Armoricans were persuaded by Etius, Captain of France, to rebel against Maximian, and not only recovered all their strongholds and towns, but slew all his warriors where they were apprehended. Maximian, reacting to these injuries, returned, with all his army, to the said town of Redon. After many sharp assaults, it was taken by him, and every person found in it, without any mercy, slain, or banished the country; for he took extreme ire against them for violation of their faith.

Etius, seeing France constantly attacked by the Burgundians, sent to Britain, to bring the legion that was left there by Maximian, to support him in his wars. Thus was Britain left naked of support; and gave occasion to Scots and Picts to attack the Britons, because they supported Maximian. Finally, when this Maximian had obtained Brittany, and slain the most part of all the people thereof; yet, that it should not be a prey to Frenchmen, their next neighbours, he brought a great number of people out of Britain, to inhabit the said country. Some authors write, there came 100,000 men out of Britain, to inhabit the land of Brittany, with Conanus. This Conanus was a dear friend to Dioneth, and made King of Brittany; and so this land lost the old name

Armorica, and was called Brittany, from their Britons that came to inhabit the said land.

Then Conan, King of Brittany, knowing that every people fail within one lifetime if they have no successors, sent his ambassadors in Britain, to have women to be their wives. The ambassadors that came for this effect, got consent, by the nobles of Britain, that all the daughters, sisters, and aunts pertaining in blood to the Britons that were then in Brittany, should go to them quickly, together with Ursula the Nun, who was taken out of the abbey where she was professed, and put on board ship, with her remaining companions, so that the lineage of Dioneth should not fail; because her other sister Othila, who was married to Maximian before, had died without any children. And though the departure of their women was displeasing to the Britons, yet it came, after, to the great happiness of Ursula and her company; for when they should have gone to Brittany, they were driven by a tempestuous stream of seas, with no little danger of their lives, in the mouth of the Rhine, where they landed. And because they had such trouble by the seas, they decided, then, to go to Brittany by land. Others authors says, they took their voyage to Rome, by persuasion of this holy nun, Ursula, and were taken by the Huns; by whom they were all slain, because they would not consent to the pollution of their bodies. The church, therefore, sings, yearly, divine ceremonies, to their glory and devotion.

Chap Thirteenth.

How the allied kings came with great armies against the Britons. Of Eugenius' speech. Of the great raids made on the Britons. How Gallio Revennas was sent to the support of the Britons; and of his prowess.

Eugenius, knowing that Britain, by continual wars, was destitute of Roman soldiers, convened with Durstus, King of Picts, to a council: in which, after long discussion, it was concluded to make war against the Britons, with such caution, that they should have no knowledge thereof, until they were arrayed within their realms. Soon after, a day was assigned to both their people to convene, with 40 days' victuals, and other necessaries, in their best manner. At the day assigned, a great multitude of people came, out of all lands of his realm, to the Wood of Caledonia.

Eugenius, seeing his friends and subjects gathered in this manner, said: "There is no one among you, valiant champions, that will carefully consider both the matters pertaining to us and our enemies, but he shall think all delay unprofitable to us this day; considering the great and unsupportable injuries done to us, these many years, by Roman tyranny: my valiant and noble father, the recoverer of this realm, slain; and many other calamities suffered by us. You see Carrick, Kyle, Cunninghame, and Galloway, with many other lands of our realm, fallen prey to the Romans. And though the battle, fought before by my father against Maximian, was unfortunate to us, it was nonetheless very displeasing and sorrowful to our foes. Further, the calamities falling by this battle have not, as I believe, enfeebled your courage; but more enkindled it to revenge the old injuries done, so many years, against us and our ancestors, by the Romans and Britons. And understand, as much as our strength is diminished by Roman wars, so far are the Romans broken in their strength by the hatred of Fortune, which intends to bring their empire to naught: through which they are not only odious to all people, but also attacked with cruel wars, and their provinces falling prey to enemies in all parts: for the Vandals have taken from them, all Africa; the Visigoths, all Spain; the Franks and Burgundians have taken the most part of Gallia, now named France; the Huns have won Pannonia, Moesia, Thracia, and Macedonia: all people that are in the East parts of the world have recovered their liberty, or else surrendered themselves to enemies of the Romans: Rome, once the Lady of the World, has been twice taken by the Goths, plundered and burned. Further, the Romans are brought to such calamity, that they have no lands nor empire this day, save only in Italy and Britain; which is now naked of all garrison and warriors, from the wars of Maximian. Further, there is no Roman captain that will or may bring any support against us. Now is Britain sorrowful, and naked of all support; and so despairing, that it shall be rather a prize than an obstacle to your wars. It is unnecessary, therefore, valiant captains, to exhort you to battle, since knightly courage more abounds than fails in you; for, certainly, there is a greater prey waiting for you, than ever before fell, by chance of fortune, to any of your elders. Opportunity, the mother of all works that are to be done, offers her wilfully to you, urging all impediments and delay of battle to be set aside; and exhorts you to follow her, in adventure. If you lose her by your feeble courage, you shall not win her again, although you would want to. Be not moved, I pray you, to cease from your honourable honour, for any agreement that you have made with Maximian; for these Romans and Britons have attacked us with many cruel injuries since the said agreement was made. And since our enemies have not ceased to attack us, breaking the said agreement; how may we do any thing less than attack

them in the same manner? Gird yourself, therefore, lusty gallants, with courage, and take your weapons to this honourable enterprise: follow the spirit and courage of your elders, and you shall not fail the glory of victory."

The army, by these words, were inflamed to battle; and promised to risk all manner of danger, that they might revenge the injuries done to them; for the affliction of the Romans, which was very patent, made the remaining words of Eugenius to have the more credit. Then each man, with shrill noise, demanded their standards be raised, and to proceed forward. The Picts, in the same manner, were inflamed to battle by exhortation of their king. Immediately, the allied people attacked the Britons with fire and sword, in all parts where they came; and chased the Britons out of Pentland, Merse, Berwick, Galloway, and Annandale; and, thereafter, they went to Kendal, Cumbria, Westmorland, and York, and took all the fortifications and strongholds of the country: and when they had stripped the towns, they slew all the citizens thereof, and left no Britons alive, except them that were saved by flight. It thus appeared that all Britain would come soon under the rule of the Scots and Picts, if they were not more quickly resisted.

The Britons, not wanting to suffer these displeasures, sent their ambassadors to the Emperor Valentinian; and promised their perpetual subjection to him, provided he would support them against their unmerciful and cruel enemies. Valentinian, very desirous to keep Britain under his rule, sent a noble captain, named Gallio Revennas, with many legions of soldiers, in their support. The Scots and Picts, when they learned of the coming of this new army, left all the lands in Britain which were lately plundered and destroyed by them: then returned home; for they thought it unprofitable to risk themselves against the Romans, knowing, from frequent battles in the past, their great courage and feats of warfare.

The Romans, on their coming to Albion, chased the Scots to the Water of Forth, and slew many of them, by sudden skirmishing. And because these Romans could not long delay in Albion, because of the extreme danger coming to France by invasion of several peoples; they quickly repaired the wall described above between Abercorn and Dumbarton, at great expense; and raised the same, with turf divots and stones, 12 cubits in height, and 8 cubits in breadth, with many strong towers rising on all sides. These towers and bastions were built with such things as would not burn, to save the Britons from their enemies. On the height of their towers they set fire pans, to warn the country when danger occurred; and they that came not to the defence whereof, when the fire was seen, were punished by death.

Chap. Fourteenth.

How the Scots and Picts threw down the Wall of Abercorn, and wrought great cruelties on the Britons. Of the message sent by the Britons to Etius; and of his answer.

Having brought Britain in this manner to Roman servitude, Gallio Revennas returned to France; whose departing gave occasion to the allied kings to attack the Britons with more cruelty than before. Then King Eugenius assembled all his people before him; and sometimes inflamed them with huge ire against their enemies, and sometimes encouraged them by hope of plunder and riches to be got from their enemies. And the King of Picts ceased not to exhort his people in the same manner; and promised, by public edict, to give the capitaney of Camelon to him that first went over this Wall of Abercorn.

The Britons, knowing well the assembly of the Scots and Picts, came arrayed, in their best manner, to defend the wall described above; and put a great number of warriors in the bastions and towers thereof, to resist the attack of their enemies: against whom was sent the valiant Grahame, with a company of the Scots and Picts, armed with crossbows, slings, and handbows. As soon as this Grahame had beaten the Britons from this wall, immediately came masons, wrights, and many other craftsmen, with sundry instruments, and cast down the dike unto the ground. A great band of the Britons withstood the destruction of this wall; but they, by obstinate fighting, were all slain. Others, that knew the cruel fury of the allied people, ran away, trusting in nothing more than in their flight.

While such things were done at the wall of Abercorn, there came another company of the Picts out of Fife in Pentland, and did more cruelties to the Britons, where they came, than did the Scots and Picts that came before them, As soon as both their companies were assembled together, there was nothing but fire and slaughter wherever they came.

The inhabitants, terrified by these cruelties, fled, with their wives, children, and goods, beyond the Water of Tyne. Immediately, all goods between Tweed and Tyne, by general proclamation of the two kings, were proclaimed forfeited and prey to their army, There followed many shameful and abominable deeds, motivated by anger, hatred, and avarice. Then an outcry and terrible noise arose, by the fury of warriors ceasing from no manner of cruelty, through all the lands between the Irish Sea on the one side, and the German Sea on the other.

The Britons, for fear of these insupportable terrors, repaired the Wall of Hadrian, with huge labour and expense. The allied people, knowing, because the winter was approaching, that many might not abide together; ceased from besieging the said wall; and sat down, with their wives and children, in all the lands that were conquered at this time by right of battle.

The Britons, dreading the Scots and Picts, at the coming of the next war, would attack them with more cruelty than before; sent their ambassadors to Etius, who was Captain of France, as we have said, and desired support against the allied people. Always this Etius sent no support to the Britons: it is uncertain whether he would send none, because he favored not the Emperor Valentinian, or that he intended to usurp the crown of France; or if he would not support the Britons, for fear of the sharp warfare that his enemies made against him.

Chap. Fifteenth.

How Conanus, Prince of Wales, exhorted the Britons to make peace with the Scots and Picts; and was slain. How the Britons, after his slaughter, fought among themselves.

Now the ambassadors of the Britons returned, with this repulse from Etius, to Britain. There followed several discussions among the Britons. Some gave counsel to attack the Scots and Picts, as well by sea as land; and to defend their liberty, which was lately recovered, to the death: and not only to bring men, but all women capable of bearing arms, for the defence of their realm; and to convene, with all diligence, at the Wall of Hadrian: and rather to risk themselves to extreme danger, than to suffer such continual raids and slaughter; or to make peace, with dishonourable conditions, although it might be necessary.

In the meantime, Conanus, Prince of Wales, descended, by long progression, from the native Kings of Britain, said to the Britons: "It is necessary to all people, wise fathers, if they intend either to make conquests, or to keep their own realms from injury by foes, to have respect both to their strength, and the season, as occurs for the time. So long, truly, as we were supported by the Romans, and were sufficient to defend this realm against our unmerciful foes, we sought no peace with the treacherous Scots and Picts: but now, alas! our realm is in a different situation; for we are worn out and broken by the tyranny of the proud Maximian, who has been more troublesome to us than any enemies might have been, when he, from avarice, sought the rule of the world; and we are so wasted by the same, that we may have no confidence of victory, if we fight by our own strength. Now we have no hope by support of the Romans; and since we are insufficient, by our own power, to resist our enemies in times coming, how may we sensibly discuss such a perilous adventure? These cruel tyrants our enemies, not broken with long wars, labour, nor distress, have neither dread of God, man, nor of death, to be revenged of the injuries done to them, so many years before, by us. Among them is no difference of age, nor of kind; man and wife equally raging in battle, without any mercy. Their warfare is nothing but insane fury; for they rejoice in nothing so much as in murder of aged men and children, and such feeble persons, with such insatiable thirst, that they are not ashamed to drink the blood of their enemies; and delight in nothing but in theft and slaughter. Therefore, we must either have peace with them, or else suffer, at their will, more insupportable cruelties than before: and though peace be very shameful to us, yet it would be better to have patience for a time, than to lose our realm and liberty, with more shame. I say these words for no desire of advancement or honours, except for the singular affection that I bear unto your common welfare. Consider, therefore, whether the same would be more fruitful or troublesome to us."

The Britons were very agitated that Conanus persuaded them to peace; and said, They would have no friendship with Scots nor Picts, for the several cruelties done by them. They knew also, said they, that he spoke not for their common good, but to find some occasion, by his deceits, to usurp the crown of Britain. At last, when the nobles had taken long consultation in this matter, often lamenting their wretched fate, and knowing the estate of man so miserable, that it tends more swiftly to ruin than to any height; by counsel of obstinate and inopportune people, they finally concluded to assemble their forces, both of men and women able to bear arms, to attack the Scots and Picts; and to convene at an assigned day and place.

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Conanus, very sorrowful for these doings, went away from the council; saying, "I take the Eternal God in witness, I assent not to this intemperate decision; and believe nothing more, than that the ancient and noble realm of Britain will come to irrecoverable damage, through such foolish counsel, in our days."

Some of the Britons, hearing Conanus condemn their decision in this way said, "Your authority shall not be strong enough to stop this decision:" and after they had pulled forth their swords, they drove them through his body. Then an outcry arose quickly after his slaughter, from friends of Conanus, who sought his slayers in their great fury: through which the people were divided in two parts, and could not be pacified by the authority of the nobles, while a huge number were slain on either side.

Chap. Sixteenth.

Of great deeds done by the noble Grahame at the Walls of Abercon and Hadrian; and how the Scots obtained all lands between Tyne and Humber. Of the letter sent by Britons to Etius; and of his answer.

As soon as the news was brought to London, that the Scots and Picts had made cruel incursions in the lands of the Britons, a huge fear and terror went through all the city. And when the Britons were taking their consultation, though it was in vain, how they should address all matters; the valiant Grahame came, with a company of chosen men, to the wall of Abercorn, and broke down the same in all parts so completely, that he left nothing thereof standing, more than remains now, in these days: and for that cause this wall was called, after, Graham's Dike.

Having done this, Grahame went to the Wall of Hadrian, opposite the Irish Sea, and cast it down in the same manner; and slew all the warriors that were posted for its defence. The remainder of the Britons, hearing nothing but cries of murder and the shrieking of dying people, saved themselves by flight.

Having beaten down the Wall of Hadrian to the ground in this manner, the Scots, desiring nothing more than to revenge the injuries done before by Britons, proclaimed, by general edict, that no person able to bear arms was to be spared, except aged and feeble persons. But this edict was not observed. So far enraged was the army in cruelty, that they went, with fire and sword, through all the lands lying between Tyne and Humber; and wrought on the inhabitants thereof such ravaging and slaughter, that they were either slain, or chased out of the country.

These tidings were told to the nobles of Britain at London, and moved them to seek a new remedy against their enemies. Finally, when they had long considered this matter, it was concluded to send two separate ambassadors, to expedite these matters: one of them to go to the allied Kings of the Scots and Picts, and to give them freely all the lands lying beyond Humber, with large sums of money; provided they would condescend to peace, and desist from troubling them in times coming: the second ambassador to pass to Etius, Captain of France, deploring their calamities; with this letter:

"To Etius, thrice Consul, the respect of the Britons.

"When our forebears first surrendered themselves to the Romans, they trusted, for many reasons, that the senate and people of Rome was the port and certain refuge of all people coming under their rule. But we, their posterity, by the treacherous deceit of Maximian against our common welfare, are so broken in our strength, by our continuance in their support, that we are but a easy prey to our enemies: through which it appears, that either the Romans are degenerate from the courage and illustrious deeds of their elders; or else their broad empire, by vengeance of God, begins to decline, and be given as prey to every people. Nonetheless, if the fateful chance of time and destiny intends this our realm to be dissolved from amity and friendship of the Romans, constraining us to servitude to other barbarous people; we care not what people have dominion over us, so that we avoid the tyranny of the Scots and Picts: whose bloody sword has wrought on us such hardship and calamity, that we know not in what way our miserable lives shall be saved, since all our goods are lost and destroyed. They have now beaten down the walls and strongholds which should

have defended us from their cruelties: then entered in the Roman province, with all manner of cruelties; wasted our lands; burned our towns and castles; beaten down our walls to the ground; and slain our wives, children, and aged persons: beside infinite other sufferings, which we may not write for sorrow. We, the remainder of them, are pursued and driven to the seas: and because we cannot have passage through the same, we are driven again into our enemies' hands; wherefore, no hope appears of relief, but either to be slain, or perish in the flowing seas. Beseeching you, therefore, if you regard either our faithful kinship, or yet the glory of Roman majesty, to which we have been so many years obedient, not to allow us, the friends of the senate and people of Rome, to be subjected to such unrestrained cruelty of our enemies; but send us support in haste, so that we will not be more cruelly betrayed by the Romans, than destroyed by barbarian people: otherwise such things shall be a perpetual memory to our successors, to have no confidence nor alliance with the Romans."

Etius answered, That he was very sorrowful that the Roman empire was pursued so on every hand, that he might scarcely defend France from invasion by barbarous people; and, therefore, he could send no support to Britain. Nonetheless, he exhorted them to make the best defence they could, in hope of better fortune; for when the Romans had pacified all trouble, the Scots and Picts should be suitably punished for their actions.

Chap. Seventeenth.

How the Britons were vanquished, and made tributary to the Scots and Picts; and of the conditions of peace given to the said Britons.

In the meantime, when this answer came from Etius, the ambassadors returned from the Scots and Picts; and said, that the petitions of the Britons were not pleasing to the said Scots and Picts: for they would not cease from continual slaughter and plunder of the Britons, until either their realm was obtained, or else freely surrendered to them. The Britons were very frightened by these words: nonetheless, they forced themselves to courage, and rushed quickly to arms; detesting their degenerate sloth, by which they gave audacity to their enemies, and lost the victory by their cowardice, that they obtained before with their strength and courage.

The Scots and Picts, well informed that the Britons were repulsed by Etius of their desires, gathered their people out of all lands under their dominion; and came, with displayed banners, against their enemies. The Britons, in the same manner, were informed by their scouts, how their enemies were coming on them, with such strength, that they might not be resisted. But then they began to curse and revile them that gave them counsel to fight against such powerful enemies, to the damage to their common good. Yet, to save themselves from more suffering, they sent other ambassadors to the allied kings, desiring peace, as before: and because they could purchase no peace, unless they surrendered, with their wives, children, and goods; through extreme anger on the one side, and desperation on the other side, they set themselves all, with one consent, to battle. Immediately, by blast of trumpet, both the armies joined. There followed a most terrible battle; for the Britons, desperate to revenge their deaths, and to die for defence of their realm, set on their enemies with great force, and bore many of them unto the ground: then each one, desiring to support each other, rushed together with such obstinate mind, that they seemed to regard their death as nothing: through which many of the Scots and Picts who fought in the first battle, were nearly defeated. Grahame, the valiant captain, seeing his friends in extreme danger, sent a great company of Isles men, from the baggage train, in their support. Immediately, the Scots and Picts, that were before wounded and defeated, renewed battle: then the Britons, overcome by the multitude of enemies rushing upon them on all sides, and despairing of victory, fled to a moor, not far from the field. The carriagemen, seeing the battle defeated, left their carriages, and slew their enemies here and there, where they were taken, overcome in the moorlands. In this battle were slain 4,000 Scots, and of the Britons 15,000. The princes and nobles of Britain were so completely slain in this battle, that the remainder of the Britons could make no defence for their realm; and therefore, by general consent, they sent their ambassadors to the victorious kings, humbly desiring peace under whatever conditions they pleased.

The allied kings, no less moved by the sorrowful fate falling to the Britons, than with the present calamity falling to themselves, condescended to have peace under these conditions: The Britons, in times coming, should receive no Roman captain with armies above them in Britain; and should not suffer the Romans, Gauls, Saxons, nor yet any other people that are enemies to Scots and Picts, to pass through their lands. They should neither treat peace nor alliance, nor yet make war against any people, but by command of the allied kings. They should fight, when they are charged, in support of the Scots and Picts, against all people. All the lands lying

beyond Humber shall remain perpetually under the rule of the Scots and Picts; and the Britons to pass out of the same, with their wives, children, and goods, without any delay. Finally, they shall pay 60,000 pounds among their warriors; and yearly, in times coming, 20,000 pounds to the allied kings, in manner of tribute: and for security whereof, they shall give 100 men as hostages, at the will of the allied kings; each man no elder than 30 years, and no younger than 18 years. If any of these points were broken, the peace to be automatically dissolved.

The peace ratified in this manner, the isle of Albion was brought to better quiet than before. Britain was taken from the empire of the Romans in this manner, and made tributary to Scots and Picts, 496 years after Julius Caesar made it first tributary to the Romans, which was in the 7th year of King Eugenius; from the Incarnation, 436 years; from the rule of Brutus, the first King of Britain, 1603 years. From then the Britons began to decline, both in their courage, lands, and honours.

I know well this history that I have given, of Maximus, Roman captain in Britain; and of Octavius and Dioneth, Kings of Britain; and as of the coming of the Saxons in Albion, which I intend now to describe; is very different from the *Chronicles of the Britons*, made by Geoffrey of Monmouth. And yet no one should be surprised at that; for the authors that I follow, as Eutropius, Paulus Diaconus, Bede, Veremundus, with other more recent and expert historians, agree with this Geoffrey, neither in the narration of the history, nor yet in the date of years. We think, therefore, it is closer to the truth, to follow many proven and authentic authors in describing our History, concurring with the history of the Romans both in narration and date of years, than to follow the said Geoffrey, writing without any testimonial of other authors, and only in his own opinion.

Chap. Eighteenth.
Of many noble Clerics and Saints in different parts of the
World; and of several prodigies and marvels seen in Albion;
and of Finn MacCool.

There were many noblemen in those days; as, Anselmus, Philippus Hilarius. Among us were in those days Palladius, who was sent by Celestine, Pope, to confound the heresy of Pelagius, risen then in several parts of Albion. This Palladius was the first bishop that bore authority among the Scots, and was created by the Pope. The bishops before him were created by vows only of the monks and priests, named Culdees. This Palladius purged the Scots and Picts of many vain superstitions and rites of pagans, used in those days; and, therefore, he was called the Apostle of the Scots: and died in a town of Mearns, named Fordoun: where his blessed body rests yet, held in great veneration among the people. His bones were lately translated by a nobleman, William Scheves, Archbishop of Saint Andrew's; and put in a silver case, with many solemn ceremonies: from the Incarnation of God, 1494 years. This Palladius made Saint Serf bishop, and sent him in Orkney, to instruct the rude people thereof in the faith; also, he gave the sacrament of baptism to Tervanus, and made him Archbishop of the Picts.

About this time Saint Patrick was sent by Pope Celestine, to Ireland, to defend the same from heresy of Pelagius: through whom the Christian faith began to increase in Ireland and Albion.

Many marvels were seen in several parts of Albion, before the Britons fought against the Scots and Picts. The moon being in opposition, when it is most round, appeared suddenly as it were four-cornered. In York there were many showers of blood. The branches and leaves of trees were struck by thunder, and withered, in many parts of Albion. The market-place of London was split by a huge crevasse, and many houses beside it sank. The people said, these signs portended disaster to the Britons: nonetheless, they were calmed by the priests, who commanded them to give no credence to such fantasies.

It is said that Finn MacCool, the son of Coelus, a Scotsman, lived in those days; a man of huge stature, of 17 cubits of height. He was a great hunter, and very terrible, for his huge size, to the people: about whom there are many vulgar fables among us, not unlike those fables that are repeated of King Arthur. And because his deeds are not attested by authentic authors, I will repeat nothing thereof; but describe the remaining deeds of King Eugenius, and other nobles.

And so ends here, the Seventh book of these Chronicles.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

BOOK VIII.

Here Begins the Eighth Book of the Chronicles of Scotland.

Chap. First.

How many Roman provinces fell prey to different people; and how several realms began thereby.

When Britain was taken, in this manner, from the empire of the Romans, and made tributary to the Scots and Picts; the Vandals, Goths, Huns, and Franks made great slaughter in Spain, Africa, Italia, Germany, and France: through which appeared the manifest declination of Roman Empire in several realms, as the varying chance of fortune succeeds. For the Franks, whose beginning is uncertain, came over the river Rhine, and went through a great part of Gallia, which was, afterwards, called France by these Franks: and after they had taken Orleans and Paris, they sat down beside the river of Seine, where they chose Veremond to be king; and made the first foundation of the noble realm of France: through which it was commanded, that all the lands lying between the mouth of the Rhine and the Pyrenees, dividing France from Spain, on the one side, and from the mountains of Savoy, to the ocean seas, on the other side, should be called France.

About this same time, Genseric began the realm of Vandals in Africa, and was the first king that reigned above these people; whose posterity had no better luck in the end than in the beginning of their empire: for as they began with tyranny and slaughter of innocent people, in the same way they were attacked both with external wars and civil strife, and, finally, brought to a miserable end. The Visigoths and Ostrogoths, a people born for the destruction of the Romans, began to reign, at the same time, in Italy and Spain. And at this time too the Huns began to reign in Pannonia; and, because they grew to be of one blood with the old inhabitants of the country, called Garis, the country was called Hungary. Many other great companies of barbarous people went through the world that time, pursuing the Romans with great malice: through which it happened that no man could travel in those days without extreme danger of their life. For when travellers were inquired, what they were; if they answered, They were friends of the senate and people of Rome; those who asked said, they were enemies; and, for that cause, they were stripped of their property or lives. In this way, if they answered, they were enemies to the Romans; those who asked said would say they were friends; and so they were plundered and slain in the same manner. Such things made the Gauls, who were the old inhabitants of France, unwilling to deal with with the Romans and Franks.

The Britons, who were lately settled in Brittany, knowing this trouble from the Roman wars, suffered no foreign blood to come among them; for they knew not who were friends or foes.

Chap Second.

How Conanus exhorted the Britons to recover their liberty. Of the Message sent by the Scots and Picts to the Britons; and how the Nobles and Commoners of Britain attacked the other by battle.

The nobles of Britain, broken with frequent wars, and seeing no people without trouble, held themselves quietly for certain years, paying correctly their tribute to the victorious and allied kings: and so passed 10 years, before ever the Britons began any rebellion against Scots and Picts.

In the meantime, there arose new trouble in Kent; for Conanus, son of Conanus, who was slain before, as we said, convened several nobles of Britain, by secret messengers, to a counsel within a wood; and said: You see now, wise friends, how our people, once so powerful and valiant in deeds of warfare, and held in reverence by all people, are now made tributary to the Scots and Picts, with infinite calamities daily wrought on us. What may be, alas! the cause of this affliction? Nothing hot our own sloth, by which we have deteriorated so far in ourselves, and broken by the guile of Maximian, that we, as most feeble creatures, have taken the yoke upon our neck. We may soon consider how far we been degenerated from the courage of our noble elders, who once drove the Scots out of Albion. And though in this last dreadful battle fought by us, 10 years ago, against Scots and Picts, we were forced, because of the huge slaughter of our nobles, to seek peace, more necessary than honourable; yet now the tyrant Maximian is put down, and our strength convalesced; for now are risen in Britain many sturdy and forceful young men, ready for all labour and dangers, whose uncontrolled insolence shall be more troublesome to us than any cruelty of our enemies, if we allow them to lie inert in sloth: we have plenty of riches and strength, and nothing lacks but courage, both to defeat our enemies, and to deliver us of barbarous servitude. Remember, therefore, valiant champions, the illustrious deeds of your elders. Cast off sloth, and gird yourselves with good hope, gladness, and virtue; for such things are the sovereignest way to bring your affairs to a good end; that you may resemble the ancient excellence of your ancestors in such a way, that not only your enemies, but all other people, may understand that you are more given to virtue and glory of battle, than to any fear of death."

The nobles of Britain, hearing these words, were of different opinions. Some of them, with furious expression and countenance, desired nothing but battle: others, more prudent, feared, if they were moved in this way, that their sons who lay in hostage would be slain; and would not consent, therefore, to battle. Finally, when they had taken up the day with many altercations, they parted on each side, without coming to any agreement.

Not long after, the allied kings were informed of these consultations made among the Britons, and began to punish their hostages with various afflictions; and made ready their forces to attack the Britons, as breakers of their faith and promise. Yet, before they raised their army, they sent ambassadors to Britons, to espy the minds of their nobles and commoners. These ambassadors, at their coming to Britain, said they were sent from the victorious and allied kings, to exhort the Britons to persevere in the treaty, by their faith and promise: and prayed them to give no credit to them that persuaded them, by vain arguments, to rebellion; risking, if they did, to

labour more for their own damage than proffit. Also, they brought certain orders from the allied kings to the said Britons, with a promise, if they were not obeyed, they would be attacked with more awful battle than before. The orders were: That the Britons should hold no public counsel nor parliament among them, in times coming, without agreement of the allied kings; and they should keep the old conditions of peace, in all points as it was before contracted; and they should receive back their old hostages, and deliver double as many new hostages in exchange.

The Britons, aggrieved by these insupportable orders, thought it best to risk the extreme chance of battle: rather to be attacked, than to observe such shameful conditions of peace; and, therefore, they would have rushed, with the the same mind of greatest cruelty, to arms, had not their noise and din of armour been quickly calmed by the nobles. The commoners, broken of their purpose in this way, made a lamentable complaint among themselves, of the feeble cowardice of their nobles, through which their common good was put to great affliction. Not long after, there followed among them a more sorrowful contention than before; for the commoners, refusing to tolerate foreign servitude, rushed to arms, and by plain rebellion thought to destroy all the nobles of Britain, because they were degenerated from the virtue of their elders, and subjected them to the rule of barbarous people. This was finally decided by the sword; for the commoners, raging in great fury, fought against the nobles with more hatred than order of warfare, and were defeated, with incredible slaughter. This warlike fury of the commoners was not crushed by this defeat; for soon after, they rushed again to arms, and fought against their nobles, with little better fortune than before: through which their strength was so broken, that they dared not remain in their own houses, but fled with their wives and children to the mountains, and made frequent raids on the nobles. At last, they were forced, on either side, to have peace; for the nobles could not live without the industry of the commoners, nor the commoners without the authority and prudence of the nobles.

These civil wars hurt the realm of Britain with no less damage than did the tyranny of Maximian before, when he made it naked both of warriors and people.

Chap. Third.

Of several afflictions and plagues which fell on the Britons, for their iniquitous and corrupt life. Of the Death of King Eugenius.

There followed, by these civil battles, great mortality and hunger, and it continued three years together among the Britons. Then followed incredible plenty, with more abundance and fullness than was ever remembered in any time before: through which arose unprecedented lust, the source of all mischief, among the people; every one of them given more to riotous surfeit and gluttony of their belly, than to any virtue of their elders: through which they become of so vicious and so corrupt life, that no people of good manners might live among them; and not only, as Saint Bede testifies, were the temporal estates drowned in these vices, but the spiritual estate in the same manner. This terrible sin of gluttony hurt the Britons more in their virtue, goods, and glory of arms, than ever did any sword before. And shortly, as is the reward of gluttony, there came on them such huge mortality, that the living were scarcely sufficient to bury the dead. And though they were most cruelly punished in this way, neither the fear of death, nor present calamity, might draw them from their increased sin; and therefore their vices, in which they were drowned so miserably, were the cause that they were, afterwards, conquered by the Saxons, and lost both their royal majesty and crown, with such displeasure, that they could never recover again their ancient honours.

While Britain was in such trouble, the Scots and Picts were in good peace, giving their attention, after such long wars, to adorn themselves in riches, faith, and honourable institutions; and gave thanks to God, that caused them to persevere in good happiness, and their enemies in such misfortune, as a just punishment of their demerits, that they could neither defend themselves, nor attack their neighbours; and, therefore, trusted all the lands between Humber and the French Sea would come quickly under their perpetual dominion.

King Eugenius, having no wars nor enemies, brought his realm in this manner to more honour than ever it had before; and died, the 30th year of his reign: which was in the fourth year of Leo, Emperor; from the Incarnation, 461.

Chap Fourth.

Of King Dongard; and of the second Speech made by Conanus to the Britons: and how they sent Ambassadors to Adroemis, King of Brittany, for support against the Scots and Picts.

Eugenius having died, without any heirs of his body, his brother Dongard was made king. This Dongard was not far different from the manners of his brother Eugenius; very desirous of peace, and not detesting war when it was necessary. And because he had no occasion of war, he sent prudent men to different parts of his realm to administer justice; and repaired all deteriorated castles and strongholds of his realm, where they were ruinous or decayed, so that they might be ready against whatsoever chance might fall; knowing well all realms and people so subject to changes of fortune, that they could not persevere a long time in peace. Also, because peace engenders riches, and riches engender insolence, and insolence gives occasion of battle; he began to suspect the great happiness succeeding to his realm, trusting that nothing was more sure than that battle would follow after such long peace: and, therefore, he garrisoned all the fortifications of the Borders with most warlike forces, with no less diligence than if the war was immediately appearing. Such things done, he endowed the churches of Palladius, and others who were his colleagues, with many rich lands and rents, for the upkeep of divine service; and commanded the churches and sanctuaries of his realm to be certain refuge to all criminals, during their residence in the same, whatever offence had been committed by them. Also, he endowed the churches with other privileges, and increased them, by his royal magnificence, with more ample lands than they had before.

While such things were done in Scotland, the Britons lamented their sorrowful fortune, seeing themselves tributary to the last people of the world, and so subject to servitude, that they neither dared nor yet might receive foreigners among them, to enrich themselves by trading merchandise, as their elders did before; and as well as these calamities, they were punished for their wicked sins with sword, hunger, and death. After many sorrowful afflictions, they made general processions in all parts of their realm, and prayed the merciful God to deliver them of all trouble and plagues falling on them for their iniquity, that they might recover their ancient fame and honours. At last, these Britons were so penitent, that they made their solemn vows, all together, to amend their lives, and desist from their sins, to deliver themselves from injury and servitude to their enemies. Then Conanus, who made the speech before to Britons, trusting to have opportunity to move the nobles to recover their honour and liberty, said: "Had my words that I said in your last council moved your minds, wise Britons, to battle against your malicious enemies, it had not been necessary, this day, to make this speech; for you might not only have beaten your enemies out of all lands of your realm, but also might have had your realm extended to the old frontiers, and your people dwelling under native kings of Britain, without any injuries from enemies. Now, you are broken by sword, hunger, and plague, with many other calamities; and have now experienced what mischief, vengeance, and sorrow falls on mortal people by corrupt lust, not having God nor his institutions in reverence. Your strength, in bygone times, was more ample and strong than now: howbeit, your minds were not given then, as the results show, to regard what precious treasure is liberty, nor yet what honour it would be to recover your realm: but now, by adverse fortune, you are more prudent, and have recovered your courage to attempt such things which are most expedient for your common good; for now the desire for your ancient honours and liberty urges you to take, for your common good, the chance of fortune.

And if we carefully ponder this matter, we shall know our enemies increasing awfully, and each day more repugnant to our welfare. I see, therefore, nothing that may become us less, than to pass our days in miserable sloth, of which the end is nothing but shame. And since we, without reason, are given to riotous and vicious living, which results in all kinds of harm; let us return to God, the fountain of mercy and grace, and pray him to put an end to our affliction: for as by his wrath all realms fail, so by his favour and mercy all people recover, when they are penitent. And since we have suffered great punishment, justly deserved for our iniquity, let us have certain confidence in God to pardon our offences by his mercy, changing our wretched life to better fortune. Time shall work all things well if we calm the ire of God; for he repels none that seek him. Who is he that ever suffered any adversity of fortune, fighting in just battle, unless it came through his folly? Therefore, if we be worthy to be called the posterity of those valiant champions who vanquished so oft the Scots and Picts, let us consider how we may best recover our lands, and avenge the cruelties done to us for so many years, with certain confidence of victory; since fortune is changed by our courage, and our enemies dulled by long sloth; and most of all, that we are to fight, in just battle, against our wicked enemies."

This speech of Conanus so moved the people, that they would have run quickly to arms, had not several prudent men said, that it was obvious, they were not strong enough at the time, to withstand their enemies, unless they had the support of other countries. Thus it was concluded to send ambassadors to Androene, King of Brittany, who was but fourth in line from Conan, the first king of the blood; to say to him the intolerable injuries done to them by the Scots and Picts, and to desire support against them, to recover their lands. Not long after, Conanus, and Guitelline, Bishop of London, were sent, as ambassadors, to Androene, King of Brittany, to support the Britons against the allied people.

Chap. Fifth.

Of the Death of Conanus; and of the speech made by Guitelline to the King of Brittany. How Constantine, his son, was sent with an army to Britain, and made King thereof.

When Conanus and Guitelline had departed, to go to the King of Brittany; Conanus, from the corrupt sea air, fell in a fever, and died between Britain and Brittany. Guitelline, very sorrowful for his death, arrived in Brittany, and buried him with funeral ceremony: then went, with the rest of his company, to King Androene, in Brittany; and said to him: "Were the cause of my coming, and what I am, unknown to you, most invincible prince, it would have been necessary to begin my speech in another way; so that I might, by that, have drawn you to more favour and compassion of our trouble: but since I know these things are well known to you, I will declare the effect of my message in few words. The Scots and Picts, the most cruel people on earth, when they knew us naked of warriors and Roman soldiers, invaded us and our realm with such cruelties of sword and fire, that they put us out of all lands lying between the wall of Abercorne and Tyne; and yet, not sated by these victories, they broke down the wall of Hadrian, and came with such rage and fury against our people, that they seemed to subdue all Britain to their dominion: and in the end, they would have subdued us permanently, if they had possessed sufficient number of people, to inhabit the land, as well as to conquer it. When our people were broken with these and many other injuries, and could find no support from the Romans, they decided rather to chance themselves to the greatest danger, than daily to live daily in such misery; and soon after, as strong and undaunted champions, they came against their enemies with firm intent either to deliver themselves from such unsufferable wrongs, or to die all together. After several battles, we were finally vanquished; our strongest captains taken, or else slain. Our enemies, after this victory, more insolent than before, and desiring no less to devour our blood than to conquer our realm; made on us, each day, more frightful cruelties: until, at last, we were so broken in our substance and strength, that we were constrained to have peace with them, more necessary than profitable, and forced, by the same, to give the noblest sons of our realm in pledge for the observing of all points, after the conditions of the peace contracted with them. At last, our people, subjected every day with new and intolerable oppression, were regretful of these conditions of peace, succeeding, as it appeared, in the destruction of their common welfare: through which rose an odious contention between the nobles and commons, which was not ended without huge slaughter on all sides. After this slaughter, there followed great dearth and poverty among us; but then succeeded plenty, the mother of insolence, which was more damaging to us than was the hunger which came before: for through this huge plenty, a terrible plague was generated, with greater mortality of people than ever was remembered before in Britain. Yet all these calamities and trouble did not put us to such affliction as did the furious cruelty of the Scots and Picts, by whom new extortions are daily devised against us, new hostages commanded to be given, and new tribute so excessively taken, that our goods are confiscated, and our bodies enslaved; and in short, we find no security of life, wherever our enemies have dominion. These grievous and intolerable miseries, no less sorrowful to you, invincible prince, than to us, may not be spoken of without indignation. Finally, we were so broken therewith, that we were constrained to know God; seeing that we, by his just punishment, were fallen into so many calamities for our wicked offences. Thus, we determined, with convinced mind, so far as may be

done by work of man, to amend all offences that we have done, both to God and man; trusting, when we have pacified the anger of God, that everything shall succeed as we desire. For these motives, most invincible prince, we have purposed to deliver ourselves from servitude, and to recover our realm and honour: yet, because we are broken, for so many years, in our power and strength, we may not attempt such matters; and are come here therefore, humbly praying you to have compassion on this sorrowful fate falling to us your progenitors, who are put to such punishment, that we may make no defence against our powerful foes, unless you support us with your valiant people: which being granted, we shall deliver ourselves shortly of all dishonour falling on us, these several years, by our own default; for there is none but you, that dare oppose themselves against the cruelties of the Scots and Picts. Understand, wherefore, you shall not defend foreign houses, but the happiness of your own realm, whose crown is native to you: for though the realm of the Britons was once divided in two realms, Britain and Brittany, there now remain none alive so near of blood as you, to succeed to them both. Despise not this occasion, so courteously offered to you: support this cause, for it pertains no less to thyself, than to us. You may reign and have empire of both the realms, with good happiness."

King Androene answered, That he was no less sorrowful for the calamities falling to the Britons than to himself: nonetheless, the chance of the world is so, that mortal people are often thrown down from high happiness to supreme misery, and from supreme misery exalted again to greatest prosperity; for Nature has subjected men to such laws, that their estate is only mortal, and sometimes they have experience of good fortune, sometimes of evil: and further, he thought the Britons were worthy to be loved, because they had no less courage in their adversity, than fortune was respondent to their desires. As to his coming to Britain, he said he was so aged, that he could not sustain the charge of wars: nonetheless, he would send his son Constantine, a young and valiant prince, with all the power that he might provide, to Britain, to support them against the Scots and Picts. And when he had promised this support, he caused Bishop Guitelline to pass to the town of Redon, to reside there, until the army were ready to go with him. Immediately, King Androene commanded all the ships of his land to come, at a prefixed day, in the port of Saint Malo, with their captains and mariners, in their best array.

As soon as all things were duly provided, Constantine raised sail: and finally arrived in Britain, where he was received with incredible triumph and joy; for the people trusted, by his great courage and prudence, to recover their realm and liberty. Not long after, a council was made by the nobles of Britain; in which Constantine was made king, and sworn to fight, for the common good of his realm, to the death.

Chap. Sixth.

How Dongard, King of Scots, came with great forces against Constantine, King of Britons. Of his Speech to his army. How he was slain, and the Britons defeated.

Constantine, King of Britons, soon after his coronation, commanded, by general edict, all persons capable of bearing arms to convene, the 40th day after, at Humber, arranged in their best array, to obey the command of their captain. The people had such ardent desire to recover their liberty, that few were absent at the prefixed day; all inflamed together with such courage, strength, and spirit, that they seemed ready to completely destroy the Scots.

As soon as King Dongard was informed of this rebellion of the Britons, he commanded all their hostages to be slain; and with the greatest diligence assembled an army out of all lands under his rule, and came to York: where he, with spirit nothing afraid, awaited the coming of the Britons. On the following day, knowing by his spies that his enemies were within four miles, he raised his camp, and came quickly in his enemies' sight, who were lying not far from the mountains of Humber. On the next day, Dongard went to a high motte, and said to his army as follows: "It should be no surprise to you, good companions, that the Britons have left the fields where they should have fought, and fled to the mountains of Humber; for they are of such feeble talent and nature, that although they make great boast and menacing, as if they were most valiant against their enemies, yet their spirit and courage soon decay, when they see their enemies in sight, that defeated them before. Now you have experience, how ready the Britons are to move new trouble, so full of wind and empty threats: and now you know how soft they are to execute their enterprises. They came on us, this last day, with shining armour and weapons, desiring battle, as if they intended quickly to attack us; crying, with frequent voice, When shall our enemies come? Where are they fled now? Where are they hid? But now this ardent desire of battle is forgotten; for they are fled to the mountains, defeated only by our sight. Nonetheless, if they return to give you battle, trust in nothing but certain victory; for you are to fight against false and treacherous people, breakers of their faith and treaty: and though their strength is some part increased now, yet their courage is no more than before. Believe you that Constantine, who is brought out of a foreign realm, and now made King of Britons, may quicken the courage or spirit of them that are given only to brothels, sensualities, or gluttony of their belly, and accustomed, before the joining of battle, to fly: or believe you that they may resist you, whom they have found so oft victorious. Trust firmly, good companions, the hounds are not so dreadful to the hares, nor the wolves to the sheep, as your visage is to them. Be not abashed by their arrows, darts, crossbow bolts, and other munitions that you see in their army; because the same may not be used without strength of body and craft of talent, which is not among our foes. And since our enemies are feeble and degenerate persons, such ordnance shall by more an impediment to them than profit when they fly, unless the same be quickly thrown away by them. Nonetheless, I beseech you, have no less sight to all matters pertaining to your enemies than to yourselves; and if you intend to fight, depart not from discipline of warfare. If you happen to follow on the chase of enemies, be careful that you follow in array and order; for if you stray from your companions, you may fall prey to your vanquished enemies, to our great dishonour and shame. Go forward, lusty gallants, and see if the Britons can decide the right of battle by the sword. Go forward, my true knights, in whom never decayed courage, wisdom, nor

strength; and know well, I am he that shall suitably reward noble and valiant men with great riches, and punish feeble cowards with torment and shame."

Scarcely was this speech ended, when the Britons were seen to descend in battle array to the plains. Then Dongard, with great courage and spirit, arrayed his army, and commanded no prisoners nor spoils to be taken, until the field were clearly defeated; and most of all desired, that no gentleman suffer himself to be cowardly taken as prisoner. Immediately, both the armies joined, with huge noise and clamour. The allied people attacked their enemies with such cruelty, that they put both the wings to flight; but the middleward made resistance, where King Constantine fought most valiantly, and prolonged battle. Then King Dongard earnestly beheld in every part where King Constantine fought; and finally, was kindled, with high courage, to do some notable honour, and very desirous to slay King Constantine: and in this fury, accompanied with a few chosen men, he rushed fiercely among the thickest force of the Britons; where he, fighting with no less courage than cruelty to the death, for want of support was borne to the ground with blows of spears, and slain, because he would not be taken. Many of the Scots, daunted by the sudden slaughter of the king, took to flight; others, not afraid, but more fierce and inflamed to revenge his slaughter, persevered in continual battle to the death; and the Picts, in the same manner, fought with great courage and valour to the end of this battle: and yet the victory was uncertain until midday, and then the Britons were defeated and put back.

In this dreadful battle were slain of the Britons 16,000, and of the Scots and Picts 14,000. King Dongard was slain, the fifth year of his reign; in the seventh year of Leo, Emperor; from the Incarnation, 465 years.

Chap. Seventh.

How Constantine the First, third brother of Eugenius, was made King of Scots. Of his wretched life and tyranny; and how Constantine, King of Britons, was slain by the guile of the Picts.

The Scots and Picts were so broken by this sorrowful victory, that they could not long pursue the Britons; and returned home with the body of King Dongard, and buried it, with much funeral triumph, in Iona.

Soon after, a convention was made, and Constantine, brother to Dongard, made king; for the sons of Dongard were of such tender age, that they could not immediately succeed to the crown. This Constantine was very different from the manners and virtue of his brother; for he was born more to sensual pleasure than to governance of a realm: for he was a ravisher of virgins, defiler of matrons, great nourisher and favourer of detractors. He was always sad and sorrowful among his nobles, and came but seldom in their company. By contrary, he rejoiced and showed himself a triumphant prince among fiddlers, singers, and similar men of vile reputation. And though he was like Constantine, King of Britons, in name, yet he was far different from him in manners: for Constantine, King of Britons, no less religious than civil in his governance, recovered the realm of the Britons, and decorated it with notable manners; but Constantine, King of Scots, was so degenerate and ignoble, that he did nothing appropriate to a king. When his nobles desired him to revenge the slaughter of King Dongard his brother, he said, He knew well enough what was to be done concerning public administration, and needed no talent but his own to bear all the charges of his realm. Finally, his governance made his folly patent: for he gave peace to the Britons with a disadvantageous treaty; and, without any consultation with his nobles, he remitted not only the tribute of the Britons, but surrendered to them several strongholds of the Borders; and would have done many other things more damaging to the common good, had not the nobles withstood his insolence in time. At last, when the matter was brought to such a point, that nothing appeared but rebellion against him in all parts, Dougall of Galloway, a man of great authority, said with many arguments, what infinite trouble was threatening to the country, if it were attacked with domestic and civil wars: and then, especially, since the Britons had lately recovered their realm, and arising, each day, with more strength; having a young prince very fierce and desirous of glory, and ready, when he saw occasion, to attack the Scots and Picts with battle. Also, the Britons never kept in peace with their neighbours, except when they feared them most. Also, the Picts were a people full of deceits, inclining always where they believed victory to follow. But Constantine, King of Scots, was but a degenerate glutton, and loved no man of virtue nor honour, except them that were given to their sensuality and lust of belly. Thus he appeared able neither for private nor public administration: and, therefore, the anger and sedition that was among them was to be first calmed, and abided for a suitable time; that everything might be done with more wisdom. The people obeyed these persuasions of Dougall: although, many of them were different in their opinion, very moved that the realm was so many years misled by this wicked tyrant.

The Picts, seeing the King of Scots drowned in vice in this manner, without any sign of virtue appearing, feared that the Britons would increase, thereby, the more fierce and insolent, and attack them, to revenge old injuries: and, therefore, the said

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Picts decided to do the thing by deceit, that they might not do by force; and instructed certain men quietly to slay Constantine, King of Britons. The men that were suborned to this effect came to Britain, and were held as native people thereof. At last, they came to the king's court; where they, by false flattery and subtle behaviour, got such familiarity with the king, that they obtained his trust in his most grave matters. At last, waiting their time, when the king was resting, they came to him, as if some high business were to be done; and slew him, when he suspected nothing less than their treason. The king's guard, hearing the roaring and groans of a dying man, rushed quickly in the chamber, where they found the king slain, and weltering in his blood. Notwithstanding, full of fury, they followed so fast on these Picts, that they were both taken, and cruelly put to death.

This murder of Constantine, King of Britons, happened in the 15th year of Constantine, King of Scots: who had little better fortune than had this other Constantine, King of Britons; for he was slain by a gentleman of the Isles, for the rape of his daughter, after he had governed Scotland, unworthily, 17 years.

Chap. Eighth.

Of King Congallus, and of his administration. How the monk Constantius was made King of Britons. How Vortigern, by the murder of the said Constantius, took the crown of Britain.

Constantine, King of Scots, slain in this manner, his nephew Congallus, son to King Dongard, was made king. This Congallus was a man of high talent, as able for war as peace: yet, in the beginning of his reign, he showed himself given wholly to peace; and set himself to repair all things done by the negligence of Constantine, his uncle. Some gave him counsel to revenge the murder of his father, Dongard: nonetheless, because he was but a young prince, not established in his rule, he postponed such high matters, until a time more suitable occurred. And finally, he did such justice through all parts of his realm, that it was brought to good tranquillity and peace.

While Congallus was given to works of justice in this way, Vortigern, a man of great cunning and authority among the Britons, decided to seize the crown; and to bring his purpose to effect, he took Constantius, son to Constantine, King of Britons, described above, out of the monastery where he was professed monk, after his father found him unable to reign; and, by assistance of some great princes of Britain, this Vortigern made this Constantius King of Britain. This stroke proceeded from the avarice of Vortigern; trusting, because this monk had no experience of the world, that he might have the governance of the realm, and acquire great riches under his rule; and after he was enriched in goods, to destroy the said Constantius, and usurp the crown of Britain. Yet, to cover his deceit, as if he were given completely to the common good, he made peace with the Scots and Picts, and caused a hundred Scots and Picts to come to London, to remain as a guard about this Constantius, and to have his body in keeping. At last, when Vortigern had gathered great treasures under the empire of Constantius, he thought the time convenient to take the crown, and quietly seduced certain of these Scots and Picts, with great sums of money, to slay the king; and promised, if they brought this matter to effect, to reward them greatly for their labours. The Scots and Picts, blinded by avarice, and giving overmuch credence, slew, finally, this King Constantius. As soon as Vortigern knew the king slain, for he was not far off, waiting for the end of that matter, he rushed fiercely in the secret chamber where the king was lying dead, bathing in his blood; and immediately took the slayers of the king, and slew them quickly, that they should not say that he persuaded them to slay the king: and immediately he began to lament the king's murder, as if nothing were so displeasing to him than the king's death; for by his death, many infinite harms should quickly follow, in damage to the common welfare. Immediately, this Vortigern sought the remainder of the Scots and Picts out of all parts of the town, although they were innocent of his treason, and sent them to strong prison; then set himself to bury the king. On the following day, he came with his friends and supporters, who were corrupted with his money, to the streets where the most confluence of people was, and complained of the treachery of the Scots and Picts, who slew the king, that was committed to their keeping. Their purpose being, as it appeared, to deprive the realm of its head, either to divide the Britons among themselves, or else to make all the lands under their rule, for want of a king, open to invasion by enemies. Wherefore, if this odious cruelty were not suitably punished, more damage should follow quickly, to the destruction of the common welfare. It was necessary, therefore, to punish all the remaining Scots and Picts; for they were no less criminal than the principal persons

that were taken by him with hot blood, and put to death. When he had moved the people, to great cruelty against these innocent men, he took them out of prison where they were, and put them all to death.

This punishment of the Scots and Picts caused Vortigern to be held, among the ignorant people, as father and defender of their realm: nonetheless, to cover this deceit, he desired them to have respect to their common good, and to suffer not Ambrosius, the son of King Constantine, to reign; saying, Though he was rightful heir to the crown of Britain, yet he was of so feeble and tender age, that infinite harms should follow to the realm, if he ruled while a child. At last, when they had concluded that Ambrose should not be made king, Vortigern demanded them, whom they would make king; and immediately, all the people, with huge noise and clamour, declared him king.

As soon as Vortigern was made king in this way, he garrisoned all the castles and strongholds of London with great fortifications and warriors; then commanded certain of his associates and friends, whom he promoted before to riches and honours, to wait on him. And immediately, he set himself to slay all the friends and lineage of King Constantine: some of them, by false accusations, banished; of others, confiscated their goods, and punished their bodies with death.

Chap. Ninth.

How Ambrose and Uther, the sons of King Constantine, fled to Brittany. How Gwitell, Prince of Wales, was slain by the Scots, and his army defeated.

Through fear of their cruelties, Ambrose and Uther, sons to King Constantine, came out of Wales, where they were kept under wise preceptors, and fled to Brittany.

In the meantime, the Scots and Picts were informed of the shameful murder of their friends, in London by treachery of King Vortigern. Unwilling, therefore, to suffer this injury, they entered quickly with an army into the Britons' lands, and attacked the same with great cruelty of fire and sword. The Britons, oppressed with these afflictions, despairing of support, and not able to resist, left all things behind them that could not be carried away, and fled to the country.

Vortigern, when he heard of these cruelties done to his people, and knowing the great hatred that the nobles of the Britons bore against him for his pursuit against the sons of Constantine, began, as the nature of a tyrant is, to fear every man: and, because he dared not risk himself in battle, he sent Gwitell, Prince of Wales, with an army, to revenge the injuries done by Scots and Picts. Gwitell, dreading the ruin of Britain, if the Scots and Picts were not quickly repressed, went forward with his army, and went into the same parts of Britain where the Scots and Picts were gathered without array, attacking the country with several incursions. Immediately, with displayed banner, he set so quickly on them, that they were put to flight, and 500 of them taken, whom he gave to justice, as thieves. The allied kings, moved by these injuries, came with a new army, and made the Britons very fearful: nonetheless, Gwitell exhorted them to battle, saying, The Scots and Picts were a people more accustomed to plunder and slaughter of wives and children, than any martial deeds; and got no victory, except over feeble and miserable creatures. The Britons, inflamed to great courage by these words, went forward, and set down their camp beside the camp of their enemies. There then followed, frequent skirmishing, and sometimes single combats between valiant men. At last, both the armies, unwilling to sustain further injuries, rushed fiercely together, and fought a long time with uncertain victory; until at last the centre, where Congallus fought, was nearly defeated. Then Gallanus, King of Picts, for he fought in the right wing, seeing his allied brother in such danger, came with a company of chosen men, and pressed very hard on the Britons that fought against Congallus. The Scots, though they were nearly vanquished before, when they were supported in this manner, rushed with new courage on their enemies, and finally put both the wings of the Britons to flight. As soon as the Picts saw the victory incline to Scots, they took, quickly, the camp of the Britons, so that it should be no refuge to them afterwards. Thus were the Britons slain, without any refuge, in all parts where they fled, and were surrendered to Scots and Picts. The allied kings gave all the spoils and prisoners obtained at this time freely among their army, because they fought so valiantly that day. Such things done, the allied kings went forward with their victorious army, to take the remaining strongholds in the Borders.

In this battle were slain twenty thousand Britons, with Gwitell, Prince of Wales, and many other noblemen of Britain; but of the Scots and Picts were scarcely 4 thousand slain.

Chap. Tenth.

How Vortigern sent ambassadors to Germany, to hire mercenaries for his support. How Hengest and Orsus came to Britain with 10 thousand Saxons. And of their cruelties and deeds of violence done against the Picts.

The Britons, after this defeat, convened where Vortigern was at London, to consider by what craft and talent this dangerous fight was to be led against their cruel enemies. After long consultation, because no certain way could be devised to deliver the people from the extreme danger appearing, King Vortigern, naked of counsel, and having so many sharp adversaries, both at home and in the field, decided to depart out of Britain to some foreign realm. Nonetheless, his friends thought it unworthy that he should pass from high and sovereign dignity, having as yet no experience of adversity, to be a butt of derision to his enemies. It would be best, therefore, as they said, to attack the final cause of his problems; and more honourable to him to be vanquished in his just defence, than to be victorious in his false action. And though he was vanquished by one battle, yet no despair should follow: for there were riches and gold sufficient in Britain, not only to defeat their enemies in the chance of battle, but also to drive them out of Albion. Where might there be so pleasant, or so commodious a sight for their common good, as to see the cruel Saxons, Scots, and Picts, fighting and destroying each other, for the liberty only of Britain: for by this, and by no other way, might the cruelty of their enemies be best defeated. Vortigern took this counsel; and sent ambassadors with money to Germany, to hire mercenaries to defend his realm against the Scots and Picts. There were among the Saxons two brothers, named Hengist and Orsus, descending of the ancient blood of that region, very valiant in deeds of arms, and desirous of nothing more than of glory and honours. These two brothers, hearing the desires of the ambassadors, took their wages, and came to Britain with 10 thousand well experienced and valiant men. These Saxons were the more welcomed by Vortigern, in that both he himself and his realm were approaching to great danger. At last, when he had rewarded them with money and riches, he caused the commoners to remain in their camp, and the nobles to remain in the nearest towns, until they were refreshed from their wearisome journey by sea. Soon after, two armies were arranged; one of Saxons, and another of Britons; and came forward with such diligence, that they were past Humber before ever the Scots and Picts were informed of any coming of Saxons in Britain. The Scots and Picts that dwelt that time in the Britons' lands, were suddenly frightened by the coming of the Saxons: and because they were had not power to resist so huge an army, some of them saved themselves by flight, and the remaining fell in prey to their enemies. The Saxons, trusting all things the better to succeed, if they got the first blood, slew all the prisoners taken by them at this time, without any mercy for estate or age. And not content with the slaughter made on the Scots and Picts between Humber and Tyne, they went into the Merse and Pentland, and attacked the people thereof with great cruelties of fire and slaughter; trusting, when the Picts were brought to final extermination, the lands pertaining to Scots might be the more easy prey. The Picts, frightened by these cruelties, sent their ambassadors to Congallus, King of Scots, desiring him to come, with all his power, in haste, to resist their enemies: who were not feeble Britons, but most cruel Saxons. Scarcely was this message made to Scots, when tidings came, that the Britons and Saxons, in battle array, were coming to Pentland, putting the people in all parts where they came, to plunder and slaughter.

The King of Picts, refusing to tolerate these injuries, assembled his people with the greatest diligence, and met his enemies, without help from the Scots. Hengist, governor of all the army under Vortigern, arrayed them in such manner, that he attacked the Picts with 3 battles at once. Thus were the Picts so overcome with the multitude of enemies, that they were put to flight. This day made the Saxons more rejoiced than the Britons: for Hengist beheld the Britons fighting this day more feebly than any other people; and for that cause, he decided to conquer their realm. After that, the Scots and Picts were beaten out of all lands of Britain.

Chap. Eleventh.

Of the second message sent by the Picts to the Scots. How the Scots and Picts fought against the Saxons and Britons, and were defeated.

The Picts, broken in this manner, sent their second message to Congallus, desiring rapid support against the Saxons. When their ambassadors had described to Congallus the cruelties done by the Saxons and Britons, they desired him and his nobles not to allow the Picts, their old allied friends, to be destroyed by these cruel and unmerciful enemies; lest they be burned soon after, with the same flames with which the Picts were then being consumed. Congallus, moved by compassion for the trouble falling to his allied friends, the Picts; and seeing the same trouble, unless it were resisted, coming quickly to the Scots; commanded all men capable of bearing arms within his realm, to meet him in the South part of the Wood of Caledonia, the 20th day after, with two months' victuals, under pain of death. By this edict, he gathered 40,000 men, strong and well armed in every way; and came soon after in his enemies' sight, having with him his allied friends, the Picts. As soon as his army saw their enemies of more number and force than ever they saw before, they fled to several parts, to avoid the present danger. The allied kings immediately sent their captains, to take the deserters: who were apprehended, and put to death on gibbets, to be an example to others of their fleeing. By these punishments, all the fear and desertion of the Scots army was set aside.

As soon as Hengist saw the allied kings in sight, he exhorted his army to fight, saying, By special favour of the Gods, the people who were so long perpetual enemies of Britain were arrayed against them, whereby they might have sufficient occasion to revenge old injuries, and seize both their riches and lands at their pleasure. And no peril was to be feared; for all matters were certain to succeed with great happiness: because they were to fight in their good action against a false and treacherous people, famous thieves, robbers, and invaders of foreign realms. As to the victory, so far as he had any cognisance by long experience of battle, their foes would not fail to turn tail, as soon as they felt the force and violence of the Saxons and Britons: the victory, therefore, must be where the Gods had ordained. Hengist, by these words, inflamed the minds of the Saxons to great rage and cruelty against their enemies. The Britons, enhanced in courage by the example of the Saxons, desired battle. On the other side, the allied kings ceased not, with many pleasing persuasions, to exhort their people to battle.

Soon after, both the armies joined, when suddenly came on them, frequent showers of arrows and crossbow bolts shot on every side: and immediately they rushed together with sharp swords, spears, and bills, with the greatest hatred, but yet no party seemed to have victory; until at last, the Britons, that fought in the right wing against the Scots, were put to flight. Then suddenly came a huge shower of hail, which obscured the air with such terrible cloud of darkness as if it had been night: through which, both the armies were so daunted, that they knew not whether it was best to fly or advance. Hengist, daunted by this unknown marvel, gathered his people, at the sound of a trumpet, to the standard. By then the shower had ceased; when the Scots and Picts, believing their enemies defeated, fell to the chase of the Britons, without order, and made slaughter and spoils in their great fury. Hengist, seeing the Britons vanquished, and the allied people given to spoils and slaughter without order,

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came, arrayed, with the Saxons, and left none of them alive that could be overtaken. This day was very sorrowful to the Scots and Picts; and not pleasing to their enemies, for the most part of the army of the Britons were slain.

Chap. Twelfth.

***How Hengist was richly rewarded for his victorious deeds.
How 15 thousand Britons were slain in wars with the Scots
and Picts. How Hengist's wife and daughter arrived in Britain
with a new army of Saxons.***

Hengist, having victory in this manner, made no further persecution on the allied people; so that, that some enemies to the Britons should always remain, to cause him to be the more authorised. And that he might find the more occasion to seize the crown of Britain, as he had decided to do, he left the lands between Tweed and Tyne to the Scots and Picts, then returned with his victorious army to York. And soon after, he left his army in their camp, because the winter was near approaching, and returned to King Vortigern at London, where he, in a long speech, said by what extreme danger and risk he had vanquished the Scots and Picts, who defeated the British so many years before; and persuaded the king to send a garrison of armed men to the Border, to resist the fury of the Scots and Picts: who were determined, as he was clearly informed, to revenge the injuries done by his army. Further, he promised to bring to Britain a new army of Saxons, for the next summer: by whose coming, the Britons could either destroy the Scots and Picts, or else, if they thought it expedient, drive them out of Albion. Many of the Britons thought the coming of so many Saxons into their realm suspicious, and feared, as happened afterwards, that the Saxons should bring such a multitude of people to their land, that either they should destroy their faith, or conquer their realm: yet, because Hengist was so authorised, they dared not repeat this openly, for displeasure. Others, raised in vain hope of better fortune, supported the counsel of Hengist; but none so much as Vortigern, who greatly rejoiced that Hengist began battle, both with great happiness to Britons, and great damage to his enemies. And after he had rewarded him richly for his labours, he made him lieutenant under him in Britain, with plenty of money to provide his forces however he wished. Hengist, knowing that the minds of princes are drawn by the advice of their associates, determined to remain in continual residence at court, so that Vortigern should not change his purpose by the counsel of his nobles.

Soon after, King Vortigern sent 5,000 Britons to defend the borders of his realm: but, at last, all these Britons were defeated and slain, by frequent skirmishing with the Scots and Picts, during the winter season. Then Hengist obtained 10 thousand Britons, to be sent in the same manner as before, to defend the border of Britain: but his intention was only so that the Britons being daily wasted, their realm might be the more facile prey to him when he thought time. These Britons found no better fate than the first; for they were destroyed in the same manner: through which, many of the inhabitants fled within the realm, and left the Borders, with other parts, waste.

In the meantime, there arrived in Britain 5,000 Saxons, with their wives and children, by command of Hengist. Among whom was Hengist's wife, and Roxena, his daughter, a virgin of incredible beauty: and with them, ten noblemen of Saxon blood. Vortigern was raised with great courage by this news, trusting, not only to remain in certain peace in times coming, but to overthrow his enemies in all parts. Yet, many of his nobles were far different from his mind, having no little suspicion of so great forces of Saxons coming to their land, to their great terror and menacing. Hengist, when he heard of the coming of his wife and daughter, went quickly to them: and yet he made little delay, but returned with the greatest diligence to the king, desiring a

part of his lands, where his wife and children might remain till the end of his wars; and said, It did not conform to the practice of war, to have women following their army. Vortigern thought these desires of Hengist not to be refused; and therefore, gave him certain lands named Towhan Castle, lying in Yorkshire. Some authors write, when Hengist had got the grant of so much land as he might circle about with a bull hide, he cut it in most skilful and subtle whangs [strips], and surrounded much land with the same. In witness whereof, they say, Towhan, in the language of Saxons, is called, a whang. Nonetheless, whatsoever way that castle is called, the truth is, the Saxons made first their habitation in the said place.

Chap. Thirteenth.

How Hengist and Vortimer came, with great armies, to attack the allied people. Of several clever tricks devised by the Scots, to constrain their enemies to battle. And of several chances of victory thereafter following.

When Hengist had got the lands described, he began to prepare his forces to attack the allied people, the next summer. At the coming thereof, he went forward with his people at an easy pace, waiting for the coming of Vortimer, son to King Vortigern, who was coming with an army of the Britons, to join with him in battle. At last, both their armies met together, and came beyond Humber and Tyne, where they expected to find their enemies for the time. The Scots and Picts, informed of this huge force coming against them, gathered an army of 60,000 men, and came forward with many days victuals, to resist their enemies. Yet, before their coming to Tyne, their enemies were coming over the same, and had filled all the country thereabouts with their camps. This rapid coming of the Britons and Saxons to the Tyne, was no little impediment to the allied people, to do their duty, as they had planned; for it was a provocation to both the armies to attack the other with frequent skirmishings. Hengist, knowing the minds of the Scots and Picts full of ire and rage at their first coming, and hating nothing more than long delay, postponed the battle with all the deceits he might. There happened to be between the two armies, a vale of such marsh and mires, that none of their armies might come together in array. The allied kings, to put a remedy to their impediments, and that the courage and spirit of their army should not decay by long delay, commanded each man to lay as many turfs on the ground as he could carry, to make a way through the marsh, to attack their enemies. Such things done, the allied kings raised their camp, and made them ready for battle against the next day. And believing they could not attack the camp of their enemies without extreme danger, they came through the marsh by a secret path, to a hill that stood above their enemies. Some of them stood on the face of this hill, so that they might cast down rocks and stones among the host of foot-soldiers. The strength of this hill gave great courage to our people to attack such things as they believed might break the array of their enemies. At last, seeing the Saxons and Britons would neither go out from their camp, nor yet give sign of battle, to join; they devised, by a new and unknown deceit, to astonish their enemies. And in the night following, they brought a huge quantity of heather to the face of the hill opposite their enemies. And because this heather is of nature dry, and takes soon fire, they made several faggots thereof; and after they had set them in fire, they threw them down the hill. Immediately, these faggots were driven by force of winds among the camp of enemies: who, with great terror, were afraid; for the straw and sticks where they lay, took fire, and burned infinite people in their army. Then arose a huge noise and clamour. And some, dreading the hidden watching of their enemies, ran quickly to defend the trenches of their camp. Others made them to quench the flames, always more increasing by force of winds. Finally, the faggots fell so fast out of the heavens, all blazing together in flames, that no man knew what was to be done, through noise of men and beasts: of whom a great multitude was in their camp. And through fear of fire and smoke under night, the captains were so troubled, that they decided, rather to attack their enemies with extreme dangers of battle, than cowardly to be burned to death. And immediately, they issued from their camp, and went, in battle array, to the plains.

Hengist, seeing his people could not be held within their camp, gathered the Saxons, at the sound of a trumpet, to his standard, and waited for the coming of the day.

The Scots and Picts, trusting their enemies broken by this affray, left the fortifications where they stood, and came, arrayed, to the plains, ready to give battle. But when they found their enemies in good array, they postponed their purpose until the coming of the day. On the following day, Congallus exhorted his people to consider what glory and honour had been obtained by virtue and forceful deeds of their elders; and desired them to obscure not, by their recent sloth, the fame of such noble champions: and prayed them to keep the honour that their elders won; and think nothing was so shameful as to turn tail to their enemies, and be subjected to the yoke of servitude: for nothing was so honourable, as either to have victory, as their elders did before, or else to fight with glory and courage to the death. And Hengist, in the same manner, ceased not to persuade his army to pass forward with high courage, and to destroy their enemies: which being done, they might rejoice the remainder of their days, without any danger of wars.

Scarcely were these words said, when both the armies joined. At the first meeting, both the Saxons and Britons would have been defeated, had not a reinforcement of 3,000 fresh men come quickly out of a wood, where they were hidden by Hengist, to their support. These fresh men came with great noise and clamour on the backs of the Scots. Thus the allied people were attacked on every side, to their great terror. And yet the trouble arose the more, that every one of them was a hindrance to the other in the wielding of their weapons. Then there followed different chances of fortune: for the Picts, by sovereign courage, put the Britons that fought opposite them to flight; and persevered in such furious rage of chase against them, that many of the Britons were driven, to escape their cruelty, into the nearest river, where they perished; others, taken by the road, were slain. But the Scots, who were attacked thus on either side by Saxons, after long perseverance in battle, were finally vanquished and slain. Congallus, badly wounded, was brought out of the field by his friends, to the nearest mountains. The Saxons, after this victory over the Scots, decided to pursue the Picts; for they had vanquished the Britons, as we have said, Nonetheless, by coming of the night, they postponed their purpose to the following day. These Picts, dreading to be attacked by the Saxons on the following day, gathered all their chests, carts, wagons, and other things, which might not be easily taken away in the time, and set them all afire, so that the fume and reek thereof might obscure the air, until they were past all danger. Such things done, the Picts returned home with the remainder of the Scots, who had escaped out of the field.

Chap. Fourteenth.

How Hengist was made protector of Britain; and how he brought his son Occa, with 10,000 Saxons, to resist the armies of Ambrose and Uther. How Vortigern came to a banquet with Hengist, and married Roxena, his daughter.

Hengist, after the varying fortunes of this last battle, began to number his army; and found the allied people fled, and 4,000 Saxons slain: then returned with the remainder of them to York, and commanded them to be ready to resist their enemies, if any new trouble appeared. Immediately, he returned to London, to take consultation with Vortigern and his nobles, what was to be done concerning the wars of the Scots and Picts in times coming. Vortigern received him with great reverence and honour, and proclaimed him protector of his realm and people, with power and authority to use all the towns, strongholds, and riches thereof, at his pleasure; then commanded public thanksgiving to be made through all parts of Britain, with general procession, to give homage to God, for the excellent victory falling to him over his enemies. And to treat Hengist more favourably, he gave him and his people licence to make worship to idols, after the manner of pagans.

In the meantime, it was said to Vortigern, that Ambrose and Uther, the sons of King Constantine, were making great preparations in Brittany, to recover the crown of Britain. These tidings made Vortigern afraid; for he had a prophecy, that he should be slain by this Ambrose. Nonetheless, he asked Hengist, by what talent and power he might best resist the army of Ambrose. Hengist, glad of his trouble, promised to resist the army of Ambrose and Uther, if he would suffer the Saxons, who dwelt in Yorkshire, to come to the sea camp opposite France: and the castles and strongholds of that country to be delivered to him and his people, that he might the more easily resist Ambrose and Uther when they landed. As soon as these petitions were granted, Hengist, desiring nothing more than to have the Britons utterly destroyed, that their realm might fall prey to him and his Saxons, instructed a man of Germany, pretending to be a Briton, to come to Vortigern with dissimulated words; saying, He was lately coming from Pentland, where he saw nothing but knights shining in armour; the trumpets sounding, and the golden streamers reflecting the sun: and, in short, all the people of that region ready, in most warlike appearance, to come quickly upon the Britons. This German that was suborned in this way, said to Hengist, There were 100 young and valiant men of the Scots sworn, all of one mind, to destroy him; and had no sight to their lives, provided they might bring their purpose to effect; for they held him the pillar of the Britons. Several of these persons were coming, at the same time, to London, to do their intention; and, therefore, no place would be safe for him, but, when he expected it least, some of these men, sworn to the effect foresaid, would try to kill him; and though he escape one, he would have to risk the rest; because the Scots and Picts expected, when he was slain, to be delivered of all trouble.

Vortigern, daunted by this lie, asked Hengist, what was to be done. Hengist appeared very afraid, in the same manner. Nonetheless, several of the Saxons, who were instructed by the said Hengist, prayed Vortigern to be of good comfort; for though he were attacked on every side by enemies, he should be sure of Saxons to defend him in all his wars: "For the allied people, who have seen the dreadful results of fighting against us, shall never attempt a thing more to their damage, than to attack your people with injuries, and provoke us again to battle. And if Ambrose and Uther

come, as is believed, with huge people, on the South parts of the realm, just as the confederate people intend to do on the North parts thereof; then Occa, the son of Hengist, who is a valiant knight, and exercised in warfare since his first youth, shall come with a new band of Saxons: through which, you shall be safe from all attacks that may be made on you and your realm; for Occa shall resist the Scots and Picts in the North, and Orsus the army coming with Ambrose out of Brittany; and Hengist shall remain always with yourself, to keep your body from treason of the Britons, if any of them, by favour of Ambrose, would pretend any rebellion against your authority: by which way you shall have merry days, without any fear of enemies."

Vortigern, seeing no other way to defeat his enemies on all sides, because many of the nobles of Britain hated his doings, pleaded with Hengist to send for his son Occa, to come quickly to Britain, with a band of Saxons, to resist his enemies. Hengist, working his purpose with dissimulated mind and deceit, pretended to oppose the king's wishes; saying, It was irrecoverable damage to have both himself and his son so far distant from the governance of his lands and possessions: nonetheless, by long insisting of the king and other Britons, who were more set for the king's folly and pleasure than for the common good, condescended to his desires.

Within a few days after, Occa arrived in Britain, with 10,000 Saxons and their wives and children, and settled in Northumberland, ready to fight against all people that would attack them. Hengist, knowing of the coming of his son, and this new army of Saxons, desired King Vortigern to come and see his wife, children, and friends, who were ready to do all service and charges, as he would command; and said it should increase his army in great courage, if he would do that honour to adorn them with his presence. Vortigern, very glad of the coming of this new band of Saxons, condescended to his desires: although, many of his nobles were very downcast, and had no little suspicion, that so huge a number of Saxons were coming to Britain against their common good. Finally, Vortigern came, with certain of his nobles, to Towhan Castle; where he was welcomed, and feasted with all manner of dainties and pleasures that might be devised. Then Hengist prolonged the banquet during the night, that the king might be taken with the wine. Immediately, Roxena, the daughter of Hengist, as she was instructed, went to the king with a cupful of mighty wine, and said, "I drink to you." King Vortigern drank mightily of the cup; and when he had embraced her in his arms, he set her down next himself in the banquet. After long eating and drinking, he fell in blind rage of lust: which thing was not only the occasion to him, afterwards, to do adultery, but also to lose his kingdom; for immediately, through burning flame of new lust, he had neither respect to the law of God, nor yet to the law of matrimony, before contracted with his lawful wife; and, without more delay, he took the said Roxena to his wife; then gave to Hengist all the lands of Kent, with castles, towns, and fortifications pertaining thereto. Soon after, the Saxons settled there, with their wives and children, and put out the old inhabitants thereof. Such things done, Vortigern returned with his new Queen to London, and repudiated his lawful wife.

Chap. Fifteenth.

How Vodine, Bishop of London, with many priests, was slain by the tyranny of the Saxons. How Hengist made himself King of Kent. How Vortigern was deposed, and Vortimer, his son, made King of Britain.

Vodine, Bishop of London, a man of singular devotion and life, by the advice of Vortimer, went familiarly to Vortigern, and said that he had not behaved as a Christian prince, departing from his lawful queen, and taking another woman as his wife, whose father, Hengist, Duke of Saxons, was both enemy to the Christian faith, and intending, with deliberate mind, to seize the crown of Britain; and said, since he had done so, he would soon experience what damage would follow to his people, not only in the destruction of the Christian faith in Britain, but also in the transfer of the noble realm of Britain, (which was brought, whole and unbroken, under many noble princes, to his days,) to foreign blood. Then said Vortigern, "I have failed, and was not prudent, when I brought Saxons first in Britain to support me against my enemies; and that was the first beginning of my folly. But I seemed more imprudent, when I was taken by immoderate lust of his daughter Roxena; for I know well the end of my reign shall be terrible, unless my offence be quickly repaired to God; and therefore, so far as I may, I shall put remedy thereto."

Hengist hearing the sound of this lamentable regret, came to the secret chamber where he was, and reproved him, why he made so heavy cheer in the time of his marriage, by persuasion of a profane man of feigned life; and immediately, he slew the holy man Vodine, with many other priests and religious persons, being with him for the time: and, to attempt a thing of more audacity, he searched for Vortimer to put him to death. Vortimer, knowing his evil mind against him, fled where he thought expedient.

In the meantime, Hengist sent secret writings to his son Occa, commanding him to abstain from any further injuries of the Scots and Picts, and allow them to peaceably enjoy all the lands beyond Tyne; providing always, that the strongholds between Tyne and Humber be well garrisoned with men and supplies. And further, he commanded him to seek some occasion to slay all the nobles of the country where he was; and to have such respect to the common good of Saxons, that Britain might come, sometime, under their rule. Occa, knowing the mind of his father, took first York, and many other strongholds and fortifications of the country; and, as his father devised, he slew many nobles and barons by false accusations. And when he was accused by Vortigern, why he did such cruelties on his nobles; he answered, he was instructed by his father. That these nobles who by him were slain, were enemies to the king, because he had Saxons in more reverence than Britons; and their nobles intended to have surrendered York, with many other great strongholds and fortifications of Britain, to Scots and Picts, had he not quickly prevented it: also, the borders of Britain, given to his keeping, would not have been governed prudently, if they had not been purged of all enemies of their common good; for such things should bring great profit of the king, and honour to his realm. The cruelty of Saxons each day more increasing against the Britons, made Vortigern no little disturbed; and the more, that he considered them daily seeking occasion to seize his realm: and when he could find no certain remedy against the said danger, he began, with dreary countenance, to deplore his misfortune. Some of his associates gave him counsel to defeat the cruelty

of Saxons, while he might do it without great exertion; otherwise, the Britons, broken by their injuries, would be brought to such calamity, that they might neither have sufficient strength to destroy their enemies, nor yet to defend their realm. King Vortigern holding the Britons in no less suspicion than the Saxons, because he was odious to them both, postponed attempting this great matter, for some days.

In the meantime, the Britons, broken with intolerable injuries, sustained more cruelties from the Saxons than ever they suffered before of any other people; and in addition to these injuries, there followed several other outrages, more odious and insupportable to them: for Hengist left King Vortigern, and came to the remainder of Saxons at Kent, and, by general edict, ordered all Britons to leave, within a short time, under the pain of death. The day past, he slew both commoners and nobles, without any favour, mercy, or ransom, that did not obey his command. Always the Saxons engaged in such inhuman cruelties, that all the churches and sanctuaries of Kent were drenched with Christian blood; the nuns and religious men were taken by force out of their abbeys, and constrained to marriage, or pollution of their bodies. The lords of Britain, moved by these sorrowful injuries, made a convention at London, where they reproved Vortigern, That he put the Saxons in his secret council, knowing them but a heathen people, living after the laws of pagans, and not brought in Britain to bear the governance of the realm, except to sustain the wars against their enemies. Also, they said that he was imprudent, in so far as he enriched the Saxons with lands, rents, and authority, to the destruction of all his realm and laws; and not only repudiated his wife, but, against the institutions of Christian faith, married a woman who was of the rite of pagans. Finally, because he deserved the hatred of God for several abominable cruelties fallen in the realm by his folly and negligence, exposing both their people and the common good to extreme danger; they degraded him of all authority, and sent him in Wales: where he remained, many years after, in prison. And, that they should not be without a head, they made his son Vortimer king.

Chap. Sixteenth.

How the Scots and Picts were allied with King Vortimer against the Saxons, and defeated Occa in Northumberland. How Hengist and Occa were vanquished in Kent, and beaten out of Britain. How King Vortimer was slain by poison.

Vortimer, made king in this manner, thought nothing so honorable as to attack the Saxons, enemies of God, by strong battle: and to do the same with more success, he sent ambassadors to the allied kings, who held the Saxons in greatest hatred, to show that the injuries done to them by the Saxons proceeded only by King Vortigern, without any approval of his nobles: for though the Saxons were enriched with lands and rents by Vortigern, yet all the nobles of Britain were enemies to them; knowing the Saxons' minds set to the utter destruction of their realm and liberty, as appeared well by their cruel deeds, exercised lately no less to blasphemy of God than martyrdom of Christian people. And because these, and many other unsupportable cruelties, came by the negligence of Vortigern, their supporter; the nobles had degraded him of authority, and made Vortimer, his son, king. And further, they said how Vortimer had made great preparation for battle, to expel the Saxons out of Albion; and desired, therefore, the allied kings to set aside all injuries, and concur with them to resist the common trouble appearing to all the people of Albion; and promised, if they would support the Britons in this extreme danger, to give the lands beyond Humber, without any argument, in times coming, to their perpetual rule, with the consent of all the nobles and commoners of Britain.

Congallus, King of Scots, hearing these offers, said to their ambassadors, He understood well in what danger the realm of Britain stood from the treachery of the Saxons, enemies to the Christian faith; and was very sorry thereof, knowing nothing better than if they were not resisted in time, the Catholic faith would expire in Britain. And though the Britons had been great enemies to his people, yet, to make his labour manifest, both for the common good of Britain, and the good of the Christian faith, he should raise his army, and join with them against Saxons to the death; so that peace was ratified in such manner among their people, that all disagreements might cease, and the lands beyond Humber never to be reclaimed in times coming, by the Britons. These ambassadors being dispatched with the same answer by the Picts, returned to Vortimer. The treaty of peace was ratified, soon after, among the Britons, Picts, and Scots; and immediately, they rushed all together to arms against the Saxons. The Scots and Picts came with greatest hatred against the Saxons dwelling between Humber and Tyne; and when they were attacking these Saxons with the greatest cruelties that could be devised, they perceived Occa coming with displayed banners against them. Occa, seeing his enemies appear of such strength and multitude that he might not well give them battle, knew not what was to be done: nonetheless, that long delay should not enfeeble the courage of his people, he made a sign, at the sound of a trumpet, to join battle. The first meeting was equally fought on all sides; but at last the Saxons, having no strength to resist such great numbers of enemies against them, began to turn tail. Occa stopped their fleeing so far as he might, sometimes by threats, sometimes by invoking their sense of honour: nonetheless, the fear of death, more powerful among abased people than any order of their captain, made their defeat very clear. Occa seeing no other way to save his life, fled to the mouth of Humber, where he got a boat, and came to Thames, with a few persons. The Scots and Picts used this victory with great cruelty on the Saxons, and spared none that persevered fighting in

the battle; and then each one began to exhort the other to follow fast on the chase, that they might revenge the cruelties so many years done by their Saxons. A great number of Saxons were slain in the battle, but more number of them in the chase.

In the meantime, Vortimer, very desirous to recover the liberty of his realm, raised the banner of the cross, and commanded all Christian people to follow the same. Thus he gathered an army of 80 thousand men, of priests and religious men as well as of temporal estates; and by the same he slew 10,000 Saxons, and got such a huge victory over them, that Kentshire, with many other lands adjacent, were recovered to the Britons; and all the lands lying between Tyne and Humber, restored to the Scots and Picts. Hengist and Occa came out of the field with the remainder of their vanquished army, and fled to Northumberland; intending to remain there, until new power came to them out of Germany. Nonetheless, they were beaten out of those parts by Scots and Picts, and chased to the mouth of Humber; where they found ships, and returned, with certain nobles of that same blood, to Saxony.

King Vortimer was so merciful after this victory, that he brought little cruelty on the remaining Saxons, but suffered them to return to their own country; and others, who were but commoners, were suffered to remain in Kent, with their wives and children, to work the land, under servitude to the Britons. Roxena, daughter to Hengist, was suffered, because she was with child, to remain in the Tower of London, with servants to wait on her. Then Vortimer set him to purge his realm of all heresies brought in it by the Saxons, and to repair the churches lately beaten down by them: for several Britons were constrained, by cruelty of the Saxons, to make sacrifice to idols; and many of them fell again into the heresy of Pelagius: and to purge such errors, there were sent to Britain, out of France, two holy bishops, Germanus and Lupus, by desire of King Vortimer. Finally, all the Britons that were found repugnant to good religion were either slain, or banished the realm; and so many as would not be abjured, nor revoke their errors, were burned.

Vortimer, recovering the realm of Britain, and bringing the same to the true faith, lived certain years after, very pleasing to God and his subjects; but at last he was poisoned by Roxena, and others, nobles of Britain, who supported her.

Chap. Seventeenth.

***How the Britons, after the death of King Vortimer, fell in great
disputation, who should be king; and how Vortigern was
restored to the crown of Britain.***

After the death of Vortimer, a convention was made at London, where the nobles took long consultation, whether Vortigern should be taken out of prison, and restored to his authority and honours, as he was before; or if the sons of Constantine should be brought out of Brittany to succeed to the crown, since they were most native thereto. Some argued that Vortigern was penitent of all offences done by him against their common good, and knew, by long experience, what heavy damage and injuries had fallen lately to his people by his negligence and uncontrolled lust; and argued, since he was a prudent prince, unbroken with travel and wars, he should be restored to the crown: for he had nothing in more hatred than the treachery of the Saxons, and knew well how the realm should be governed, specially in such extreme danger as then appeared, both from Franks, Britons, and Saxons; and was, therefore, most able to follow their wishes, if he were sworn never to admit any foreign blood in Britain, to sustain their wars; and to attack the Saxons with all manner of violence, if they returned to Albion. As to the sons of Constantine, to be brought out of Brittany, to succeed to the crown of Britain, they seemed unsuitable thereto; for they were young, without experience of warfare, and not able to sustain such great charges as appeared then against their enemies in all parts. For the Franks, who lately obtained the realm of Gaul, now called France, and very desirous to overcome more realms, were allied with the sons of Constantine to come to Britain, and waiting for nothing but sufficient occasion, to attack them with similar injuries and title of conquest as the Saxons would: through which, the coming of King Constantine's sons in Britain was no less suspicious than the coming of Saxons. Others thought it very dubious to restore him to the crown, whom they before degraded by their authority; for it might happen that all they who were of that opinion should either beslain at his returning, or else exiled the realm. But yet this last opinion was rejected, by universal voice of all the nobles; saying, Vortigern was a man of peace, without desire for vengeance; and set rather to amend all offences done against the welfare of his subjects, than to revenge any injuries done to him; not unknowing how profitable all the nobles were for the common good, who deprived him of authority, and gave it to his son Vortimer, as more able for the governance thereof. After long consultation, Vortigern was taken out of prison, and restored, with great triumph, to the crown: and he not only remitted all offences and hatred which he took against his nobles when they degraded him of authority, but also received them with great benevolence, and rewarded them richly for their good minds.

Chap. Eighteenth.

How Hengist and Occa returned, with a new force of Saxons, to Britain; and slew many nobles thereof, and took Vortigern prisoner. How Vortigern was banished to Wales, and Hengist made King of Britain.

Vortigern, after his restitution to the crown of Britain, garrisoned all the strongholds of his realm with great forces, against whatsoever adventures might befall, and held strong bands of warriors about him, with no less cost than if he had been presently to fight with enemies; and behaved so prudently, that both his nobles and commoners knew not what honour and pleasure they might do him. Not long after, he renewed peace with the allied kings, in the same manner as it was made before by King Vortimer, his son.

While Vortigern was given to such matters, tidings came that Hengist had arrived at Thames, having with him his son Occa, and his two brothers, with incredible number of Saxons; and did no injuries nor offences to the inhabitants of the country. Vortigern, moved by the damage appearing to his people by the coming of these Saxons, commanded the nobles of Britain to meet him, quickly, with their forces, at Kent, to withstand Hengist; who was coming with so awful an army, that he intended, either to subdue the country to his rule, or else to subject the same to irrecoverable plundering: whose inhuman cruelties, if not quickly repressed, his people would have no security of life. The princes of Britain hearing these tidings, came quickly to Vortigern, with all people from their lands able to bear arms.

Hengist, knowing the minds of Britons were moved with extreme hatred against him, thought it not expedient, at that time, to risk the chance of battle; for since they were determined to fight, in defence of their realm and liberty, to the death, he might not have victory without great slaughter of his people. For these reasons, he set himself to do the thing by deceit which he might not do by force of arms; and sent ambassadors to Vortigern, saying, He was not coming to Britain to defraud his son-in-law Vortigern of the crown of Britain, for he was more dear and precious to him than any other thing on earth; nor yet was he set to defraud the young infant got on Roxena his daughter, but rather to support them both, and to punish them that slew the noble prince, King Vortimer, by poison. Also, he was informed, before his coming out of Germany, that his son-in-law Vortigern was brought to such infirmity by long incarceration, that he might not live a year; and, therefore, he was coming to keep his young nephew undefrauded of the crown of Britain. And further, if these matters were not pleasing to the Britons, he would quickly return again to Germany, or else to remain where they pleased; provided they would suffer his army to come to Kent, not to enjoy the lands thereof, except to recover the goods which they left behind them at their departing. And further, he desired King Vortigern, if it were pleasant, to assign a day and place, to discuss these and higher matters, concerning perpetual amity, kinship, and peace between Saxons and Britons: and if they would set this day, he would come there, with so many as they thought needful, armed or unarmed, at their pleasure.

When the nobles had considered for some days, whether these desires of Hengist should be rejected or not, they were divided in several opinions. Many of them, by long experience, knew well his falsehood and deceits, and believed noting but treachery hidden under deceitful words; and, therefore, thought it should be

refused: Others, dreading the ferocity and courage of Saxons, thought their realm too broken with wars to suffer any new affliction; and, therefore, proposed to meet his guile and falsehood by similar deceits, having no confidence in his words; but to labour, most craftily, to cause him depart out of Britain with amity and friendship, and to spare neither labour nor expense to bring his purpose to a good result; and if he would in no way depart with good will, to attack him most cruelly, and to drive him out of their lands by force: and proposed, for that same effect, a company of most forceful and valiant men, to be held ready against whatsoever adventure might fall, while they saw to what purpose or end his mind was bent. As to the meeting of Vortigern and Hengist, to discuss high matters, as he suggested; they thought that would be honourable, provided that King Vortigern and Hengist met away from their armies, with equal companies on all sides, without weapons. Many of the nobles agreed with to this last opinion, trusting, once Hengist had received the goods left behind him in Kent at his last departing, that he would depart out of Britain with pleasure. Yet several other princes of Britain were not satisfied in their mind, suspecting, always, some hidden treachery under these desires of Hengist, because he was coming to Britain with such awful power. Nonetheless, the 10th day after was finally set for Hengist and Vortigern, and both sworn to come only with 30 of the most noble of both their armies, without any sword or dagger in their company, to confer on all matters as agreed. The place where they convened was not far from Salisbury, on an hill called Ambry; and when they were coming to the same, as was devised by Hengist, each Saxon had a dagger hid under his sleeve, to slay the nobles of Britain, when they saw suitable occasion; and when they were at their most earnest discussion, Hengist made a sign to the Saxons, and they, without any delay, slew all the nobles of Britain that came to this convention, except one named Heldolus, who pulled a dagger from a Saxon, and with the same slew several Saxons, and delivered himself out of their hands. By this treachery, King Vortigern was taken, and brought shamefully to the army of Saxons.

Hengist delivered by this manner of all fear of enemies, came to Kent. The remaining Britons, very disturbed by his coming, after pitiful lamentation for the slaughter of their nobles, decided, with the greatest hatred, to revenge it. Nonetheless, seeing no man able to take charge for this, they postponed their purpose, and returned home, with great discontent. Vortigern being daily threatened with death by the Saxons, surrendered to Hengist all the fortifications and strongholds of his realm, with huge treasure of gold and silver, in payment of his ransom. And when he was delivered of bondage by this way, he went, with the remainder of the Britons, with their wives and children, to Wales; where all the people descending of the Britons' blood, ruled many years after. All the remaining lands of Britain then fell under the rule of the Saxons. The valiant deeds of Hengist described in Germany, caused a multitude of people to come to Britain, of greater number than before, with commoners, wives, and children, to inhabit the land: through whose coming, Hengist grew of such strength, that the Britons were of no power compared to the Saxons in Britain.

Hengist seeing Vortigern put from the crown and banished in Wales, thought it best to secure the crown to himself; and called a convention of Saxons in London, and made himself king: then commanded the country never to be called, in times coming, the realm of the Britons, but the realm of Saxons; and so the realm was called Hengistland, and the people Hengistmen: but now, by corruption of language, the realm is called England, and the people Englishmen. By this same decree, it was

commanded, that no Britons should be found outside Wales within 20 days after the proclamation, under pain of death; similarly, that no man should live of the faith of Christ, or to do any ceremonies after the rite of Christian people, under the same pain. Once the day had passed, great murder and punishment was made on all them that were repugnant to this proclamation: the prelates were slain at the altar, the churches burned; and, as Bede says, both the public and private houses were beaten down to the ground, by the tyranny of the Saxons. And yet there was another thing more miserable to them than all these calamities: the cruelties of Saxons raged so far, that no men dared bury the Christian people. Many miserable Britons were taken in the mountains seeking their food, and, without ransom, favour, or mercy, slain: others fled out of the country; others remained still in Britain, among the waste lands and mountains of the same, always in fear of their enemies.

Chap. Nineteenth.

How Vortigern asked the prophet Merlin, about the end of his life; and of Merlin's answer. How Ambrose and Uther came to Wales, and burned Vortigern, with his son, and riches.

As soon as the Saxons had obtained Britain in this manner, they garrisoned the strongholds thereof, in all parts, with men, munitions, and victuals; and used the cursed rites of pagans, abhorrent to the Christian faith, and made adoration to idols, as they were instituted in their first errors: through which, the churches one held in reverence among Christian people, were defiled with the blood of their cursed sacrifices. And, so that their enemies should not attack them unprovided for, they laid a strong garrison of armed men against the Borders, in all parts of their realm; and brought, each day, new people out of Germany, to expel the Scots and Picts out of the lands that lay between Humber and Tyne.

Vortigern, stripped of his crown, and seeing his enemies multiply both at home and in battle, and seeing the Saxons and Franks hated him no less than the Britons; was so desperate for his corrupt life, that he expected no support of God, nor yet of other mortal creatures, to recover his realm; and, therefore, he set his talent to have knowledge of things to come, by reference to prophets, as is the custom of desperate people in extreme danger, without refuge. Immediately, he brought before him a prophet, named Merlin; and asked him, what would be the end of his rule and life. This Merlin was begotten, as was said, by commixtion of a devil, in the form of man, with a lady of Britain; and had learned, by witchcraft, to raise wicked spirits to speak with him: and, by their speech, knew many things to come. As soon as Vortigern had brought this Merlin before him, he inquired what would be the end of his wars, or if he might recover the crown of Britain; and finally, what should be the end of his son and himself: if any of his blood should reign after him in Britain; or if he might have any injury by wars of Ambrose and the Franks. Merlin answered promptly to these questions, That both Vortigern and his children, within a short time, should be vanquished by Ambrose and Uther, sons of Constantine; and should be burned, with all his treasure and goods. This prophecy of Merlin was well proven in the end of his rule; for soon after, the said Ambrose and Uther came out of Brittany to Wales, with an army, to revenge the murder of King Constantius, their brother, who was slain by deceit of the said Vortigern. As soon as Vortigern heard of their coming, he assembled a great force, having no confidence in this prophecy; and came, with arrayed host, against Ambrose and Uther; and left behind him his son, with all his treasure, in a castle of Wales; believing, if he should perish, it would be more honourable to die fighting in battle against his enemies than in any other way. Scarcely were the armies joined, when many of them that fought in the first wing of Vortigern's army, came over to Ambrose. Thus succeeded victory to Ambrose, without any blow struck. Vortigern seeing his army vanquished, took off his coat of armour, and fought with incredible stubbornness, so that, he might have died among the commoners, and avoided the death which was prophesied to him before by Merlin. Nonetheless, he was brought out of the field by his friends, in hope of better fortune, to the same castle where his son and treasure was left before the battle. Ambrose having victory in this way, followed on Vortigern, and surrounded the castle with strong siege forces; and although he could not take it quickly, yet, so that his army should not be in danger through long delay, he brought many huge tree trunks out of the nearest wood, then filled the moat and trenches of the said castle with them. After

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this, he cast burning faggots, with great multitude of tree branches, into the castle: through which the fire grew so fierce, that the castle, and all that was within it, burned, and was reduced to ash; thus agreeing with the prophecy of Merlin.

Chap. Twentieth.
Of sundry Illusions and Deceits of Evil Spirits.

To declare what prophet was this Merlin, begotten, as was said, by the devil; or if such generation be possible to nature of man; it pertains little to the purpose which we took on hand. Nonetheless, because we have fallen in discussion of such detestable conversation of devils with the nature of man, we will write some things that happened not long before the making of this book; the year of God 1486 years.

Certain merchants were passing between Forth and Flanders, when there suddenly came such a squall of wind, that sail, mast, and rigging were blown into the swelling seas: through which they expected nothing but certain death. The captain thereof, daunted with such a huge tempest, unknown at the season of the year, because it was about Saint Barnabas' Day, <89> when the seas appear more calm than raging, believed the same rather coming by illusion of the devil, the enemy of man, than by violence of weather. In the meantime, the voice was heard of a woman, in the hold of the ship, accusing herself; for that same time she had conversed with a devil in image of a man: and said how this devil had used her in that manner many years before; and, therefore, besought the people to cast her in the sea, that, by her death, the remaining people in the ship might be saved. Then, by command of the captain, a priest went to her in that heavy trouble; commanding her to make confession of her abominable life; and to have confidence in God, by whose mercy all sins are purged, when the sinner has repentance and tears. When this woman was making her confession, with great repentance, to the priest, in sight of all the people; an ugly cloud, with a burst of fire and foul-smelling smoke, flew out of the ship, and fell down, with a venomous stink, in the seas. Immediately, this tempest ceased, and the merchants arrived at the port where they desired, without any further trouble.

And about this same time happened a similar example, in a town of Garioch, not fourteen miles from Aberdeen. A child of great beauty complained to the Bishop of Aberdeen, that he was troubled, for a long time, by a devil in form of a woman, appearingly the fairest creature that ever he saw in his life; who came to him, when doors and windows been closed, then enticed him, by voluptuous embraces, to her pleasure; and departed always at the breaking of the day, without any noise: and though he had tried many ways to be delivered of her, yet he could find no remedy. The Bishop, comraanded this young child to go to some other place, and to be more fervent in fasting and prayer than he was before; through which it might happen that the devil might be vanquished, and leave him in times coming. And as the Bishop advised, so it happened afterwards to this young child; for he was delivered of this illusion by the same means.

Not long after this time, there happened a thing not unlike the same illusion, in the land of Mar; as was said to us by several that saw the same. A maiden of noble blood, and excellent beauty, after she had refused the marriage of many noblemen, fell in abominable conversation with the devil. Her friends seeing her belly rise, commanded her to name the deflowerer of her chastity. To whom she answered, That a lusty young man, as it appeared, used to come to her in the night, and sometimes in the day: although she knew not how he came, nor how he departed. Her friends, very desirous to know this happened, were informed at last by the maiden, as she lay in her chamber, that the deflowerer of this maiden was coming. Immediately, they came, with great light of torches and candles, to the bed where she lay, and found in her arms a most terrible monster. Many people ran to see the sight: among whom was a

priest of good life and spirit; who, seeing the remaining people frightened, had no fear, but stayed still, reading the Gospel of Saint John, named *In Principio*: and when he had read to *Verbum caro factum est*,^{<90>} the devil flew away, with a horrible cry, and bore the bed and roof of the house with him. The third day after, this woman was delivered of an monster, of more terrible visage than ever was seen by any people before. The midwives burned the same, that it should not remain to the dishonour of the house.

And because these illusions of devils were seen in our days, we have collected them in our book, that the readers may understand that such illusions of devils may happen. Further, touching the prophecies of Merlin, although many of them be verified in our days, we will leave them to be discussed by theologians, whether they should be denied or accepted; for we will stand content to obey their conclusions: and will write forth the valiant deeds of noblemen, as we have begun; and return to our history where we left.

Chap. Twenty-first.

How Ambrose was allied with the Scots and Picts; and how he slew Hengist, and drove the Saxons out of Britain. How his two Sisters were married to the allied Kings; and of several holy Men.

After the death of Vortigern, each day there came to Ambrose more confluence of people: through which he had so strong an army, that he decided to recover his realm. And to do the same more easily, he got the Scots and Picts, because they had extreme hatred against the Saxons, allied with him. In the meantime, a great number of the Britons came to him, who were banished before by Hengist among the Scots and Picts. Ambrose seeing, each day, so great a multitude of people coming to him, all of a mind to recover their realm, went to a high mound, where he might be seen; and complained of the treacherous deeds of Vortigern against the house of Constantine, damaging to the Britons and their common good; and lamented the huge cruelty of the Saxons done against God and man: through which he inflamed all the people with such desire to recover their liberty, and to revenge the injuries done to them, that they, with one consent, decided to follow his banner against Saxons. And to make their purpose more secure, they made him King of Britain: from the Incarnation of God, 498 years; after Vortigern, and Vortimer his son, had reigned 17 years in Britain.

Ambrose, made king in this manner, began to put his people in such order as he was taught in the wars of France; and came forward, with displayed banner, against the Saxons. The 6th day after, Loth, King of Picts, and Conrannus, Lieutenant to Congallus, King of Scots, met him with a great army. Ambrose, very glad of their coming, received them with great benevolence, and promised, when he had the opportunity, to recompense their kinship. Immediately, Ambrose raised his camp, and came, with three armies of the Scots, Picts, and Britons, to a place named Mahesbel; for Hengist was there with an army of Saxons, waiting for their coming. While the camps of both the armies were standing thus in sight of each other, there followed frequent sallies, skirmishing, and single combats on either side; until, at last, they joined together: and when they had fought long with uncertain victory, the people of Brittany, with Franks, fighting against the centre of the Saxons, by new talent and practice of battle, did them great trouble. By then, the Scots and Picts had broken both the wings of their enemies, in such manner, that the standards of the Britons, Picts, and Scots were coming out through the Saxons, and met together: immediately the Saxons turned tail. Hengist seeing no way to renew battle, mounted on his horse, and was the last man that fled to his army. Ambrose seeing the field defeated, followed Hengist with great hatred, and ran him through the body with a spear. The remainder of the Saxons, daunted by his death, fled, with Occa his son, to the nearest mountains.

After this victory, Ambrose came, with his victorious army, to London, and made all the Saxons and soldiers who were left to defend the town, so afraid when they heard Hengist was slain and his army defeated, that they opened the gates, and fell on their knees, piteously desiring mercy. Then Ambrose sent a detachment of armed men to the gates, so that no man should depart, until he had considered what was to be done; and immediately he went to the castle. The nobles who were left to defend it by Hengist, seeing him come with victory in this way, fell on their knees before him, and said, "The Gods have given to you, most invincible prince, licence to

punish us at your pleasure, because your courage and fortune is invincible. Nonetheless, if it be lawful for surrendered and miserable creatures brought down to extreme ruin, by hatred of the Gods, to implore mercy and grace before a victorious champion, when life and death is in his hands; we humbly beseech you, for the happy victory falling by strong battle to you, as righteous prince of this realm, to allow us, by your benign grace, to return, naked, weaponless, and scourged with wands, if it by your pleasure, to our own land. If you will condescend to this, you shall be remembered, not only for a most honourable victory against so powerful enemies, but also for your mercy given to desolate people."

Ambrose, moved by these words, wrought no injuries on the Saxons; but took the castle, and suffered them to go home, with all their goods. Soon after, by general edict, all Saxon men able to bear arms were commanded to go to Germany; but the rest remained, as labourers of the ground, content to pay tribute to Ambrose, and to receive the Christian faith. After this victory, all Britons that were exiled in different parts of the world, to avoid the tyranny of the Saxons, returned to Britain. Then King Ambrose commanded all churches to be repaired, the priests and religious men to be restored to their liberty and territories: through which the Christian faith was in great veneration through all parts of Britain; the images of idols put down, and all idols, wherever they were found, broken; and general procession made, for several days, by the people; the churches and houses decorated with flowers, cloths of arras, and tapestries; and the streets resounding with heavenly noise and melody, in most delicious music, to the consolation and rejoicing in people.

Then Ambrose, to show his benevolence more fervent to the allied people, brought Loth, King of Picts, and Conrannus, Governor of the Scots, to London, leaving their armies not far away; and feasted them, for some days, with all manner of dainties that might be devised. And when he had rewarded them with riches and jewels, as promised, he commanded them, by assent of his nobles, to be honoured among his people, as defenders and recoverers of his realm. Such things done, a new peace was made between them, under these conditions: All lands lying beyond Humber should pass under perpetual dominion of the Scots and Picts, without any claim of the Britons in times coming; and the Saxons to be held enemies to them both: and if the Saxons returned to any part of Albion, the people of Albion, with equal mind, should concur together to resist them. These conditions of peace were the better kept by affinity that followed after; for Ambrose had two sisters, of which the eldest, named Anna, was married to Loth, King of Picts, and the youngest, named Ada, was married to Conrannus; to this end, that the people of Albion should be held together under one blood and friendship, to withstand the Saxons. This Ada parted with child within two years after she came to Scotland, and died; and so the affinity ceased between Ambrose and Conrannus: but Anna bore unto Loth, King of Picts, three sons, Modreid, Gawain, and Thamete; as we shall describe below. The Britons, Scots, and Picts, stood many years in good friendship and concord, without any injury of enemies.

In the meantime, part of the Saxons, who were suffered to remain under tribute, and to take the Christian faith, made private sacrifice to idols, and were burned, when it was known. In the same time, Congallus, King of Scots, vexed by long infirmity, died, the 20th year of his rule, and was buried in the Abbey of Iona.

About this time, there were many holy men in different parts of the world: as, Remigius, Bishop of Rheims, who gave the sacrament of baptism to Clovis, King of

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France. This Clovis built a church of Saint Genevieve, patroness of Paris. In those days there were among us Colman, Medane, and Modane, great preachers. Several Britons were martyred, before this time, in Albion, by the cruelty of the Saxons: through which many of them fled to Scotland; among whom was Patrician, a man of singular devotion, who was, after, Bishop of the Isle of Man, and died in the time of Conrannus; of which shall be our next history.

And so ends here, the Eighth book of these Chronicles

Hector Boece

BOOK IX.

Here Begins the Ninth Book of the Chronicles of Scotland.

Chap. First.

Of King Conrannus; and how he made laws to punish extortions. How Occa and Passentius arrived with a new force of Saxons in England; and how they were vanquished by Ambrose.

Congallus buried in this manner, his brother Conrannus was made king: for the sons of Congallus were of so tender age, they might not succeed, by the laws described above. Their names were Eugenius, Conwallus, and Kinnatillus; and were sent to be nurtured, under wise teachers, in the Isle of Man. Conrannus, after his coronation, so that no trouble should arise among his lieges from over-long peace, went through all the lands of his realm, for the execution of justice; and punished many criminals, according to their demerits. And when he was passing through the country in this way, he was informed that several of his commoners were so oppressed by tyranny of his nobles, that they dared neither complain, nor yet follow their action before his justice: and, therefore, this noble prince, to punish such extortions done to his people, commanded certain scouts to go through all lands of his realm, and to find out where any such suspicious persons were, that both their names and their crimes by written in the king's rolls: and if any of these persons were found criminal after, when they were accused by the king's advocate, they were punished by death. Thus were the common people, for many years after, delivered of all oppression by the nobles. This manner of justice is contereited yet, in our days. It is said that Conrannus used, when his council sat in any part of his realm, either to be present, or else to be in a wood at his hunting, not far from them, to make his officers of more authority. And when he was hunting in Atholl, not far from the mountains of Grampian, he slew a hart after a long chase; and found a huge multitude of serpents in his belly, to the great wonder of the people; for the horns of a hart are a singular remedy against the bite of serpents, and drive away all other venomous beasts.

While such things were done in Scotland, Ambrose, King of Britons, fell in a wasting sickness, named the hectic fever; by which his body was so pined, without remedy from medicine, that he could have no rest, and was despairing of his life. Occa and Passentius, the sons of Hengist, informed of this infirmity falling on Ambrose, expected, if he were dead, to recover the realm of England; and, therefore, gathered a huge force, by the support of all the princes of Germany, and returned to England. At this time, Uther, the Prince of Wales, brother to Ambrose, was in great suffering from the malady of flux, with vehement thirst and fever: through which the Britons were desolate, as it appeared, without any captain to sustain the wars against the Saxons. Nonetheless, a convention was held of the nobles, to decide what was to be done in this most dangerous matter. After long discussion, they were divided in several opinions. Ambrose seeing, such great danger threatening his realm by their disagreements, took no care for his infirmities; but caused himself to be carried upon a litter between two great horses, then went forward against the Saxons; and sent his ambassadors to solicit the Scots and Picts, his allied friends, to come, with the greatest diligence, join him. But before their coming, the injuries and cruelties of Saxons were so insupportable, that Ambrose was forced to fight with them; and though he was very ill, yet he lacked nothing that might pertain to a forceful champion, or to raise the spirit of his army to most courage. At their first joining, the Britons were partly driven back, and great slaughter made on them: nonetheless, Ambrose, trusting nothing more honourable than to die, if that were his fate, among his valiant knights, went about the

army, exhorting them to persevere in continual battle, and to remember what excellent palm of glory was waiting for them, if they, by force of arms, defeated their enemies, or died in defence of their realm, liberty, and faith. The Britons raised to high spirit and courage by his words, rushed with great fury into battle, and finally put their enemies to flight; on whom the Britons followed with long chase, and made great slaughter. Ambrose seeing the night fast approach, called off the chase, and brought his army, at the sound of a trumpet, to his standard. The Britons, during the night, stood arrayed for battle, and on the following day they divided the spoils thereof, by the custom of arms: yet, when they began to count their army, they found more of them than the Saxons had been killed, although they had the victory. Ambrose finding his army broken in this way, feared, if he risked them any further against the Saxons, no good result would follow; and, therefore, dispersed his army, and took four months truce with Saxons.

Occa, informed that Scots and Picts would come in support of Ambrose, sent his brother Passentius, to bring a new army out of Germany. Some authors say, when Passentius was going to Germany, he was driven to Ireland by contrary winds, where he hired a huge number of warriors, and returned with them to Britain. Occa, notwithstanding this strong army brought to Britain by his brother, thought the chance of battle against the Britons very dangerous, during the reign of Ambrose; and, therefore, he instructed a Saxon, who had perfect language of the Britons, to slay Ambrose. This Saxon that was suborned to his murder, was a monk, named Coppa; and pretended to be a doctor of medicine, having remedy against all manner of infirmities. At last he was brought to the king, where he lay, at Gownton. After long consultation, he promised to give the king certain drinks, by which he should both recover his health, and be delivered of all maladies. When Coppa was commanded by the king to make his drinks, he made nothing, the first day, but delicious syrups, made of soft spices, and liquors pleasing to the mouth: through which he got credence to use, after, what drinks he wanted. At last, this Coppa, biding his time to poison the king, gathered sundry herbs inducing men to sleep, and mixed the juice thereof with poison: of which he made a syrup, and brought the same to the king, saying, "This drink shall make you recover, and be delivered of all sorrowful infirmities." Ambrose having no suspicion, took the drink, and was commanded by Coppa to rest, so that the venom might disperse through all the veins of his body: and when he found the king asleep, he commanded the chamber to be kept without any noise; and, in the meantime, he stole away to the nearest wood, where he found Saxons waiting, with swift horses, to take him away. When Ambrose had dispersed the venom through the veins of his body, he gave a little sob, and died, the 8th year of his reign. His body was buried in the Abbey of Stenthend, which had been built by him, in memory of the noblemen that were slain by the treachery of Hengist.

Chap. Second.

Of great cruelties done by Occa to the Britons. How Scots and Picts were frustrated of their expedition. Of great marvels seen in Albion. Of the interpretation of them by Merlin.

After Ambrose died as we have described, the Britons made such huge lament for his death, that the Saxons were informed thereof. Occa, glad of their sorrows, and knowing, by the death of Ambrose, and of the long illness of King Uther, there was no strength in Britain to resist against him; decided to oppress the Britons, before they could assemble, in the most cruel manner that might be devised. Many of the Britons, in fear of his cruelty, fled to Wales; others fled to Scotland; others remained still in Britain, subjected to servitude, and the pleasure of the Saxons. In the meantime, the Scots and Picts came, with a strong army, to Britain, in support of Ambrose, to expel the Saxons out of there: but when they were informed of Ambrose's death, and knew not if he were slain by treachery of Saxons, or division of the Britons among themselves; not knowing who was friend or foe, they returned home, the same way they came.

At this time there were seen many strange marvels in Albion, and they were interpreted by Merlin to the great terror of people. A fiery comet was seen, with many terrible beams; a crowned dragon was seen burning in the sky; green trees took sudden fire, and burned; old trees, that had been cut down, flourished and bore leaves; the river of Thames appeared bloody; a well sprang up in the midst of York, with such abundance of blood, that all the streets were filled with it; in Kent, a child laughed in his mother's belly. These marvels, by interpretation of Merlin, caused the Britons to come to battle against the Saxons: for Merlin interpreted this comet to King Ambrose; this crowned dragon, to Uther, his brother; the blood signified his bloody sword against the Saxons; and the fire signified the utter extermination of the Saxons. Uther gave such credence to their interpretations of Merlin, that he took the crowned dragon for his arms, and bore it burning as gold, in a field of azure, the colour of the sky; and was called, therefore, Uther Pendragon by the people.

Chap. Third.

How Uther was made King of Britons; and how he was defeated by the Saxons, and driven into Wales. How peace was made between the Saxons and Britons.

The nobles of Britain were so persuaded by Merlin and his prophecy, that they came to Uther in Wales, and made him king; then commanded the people to be ready, in a short time, to attack the Saxons. King Uther, after the Britons were gathered at the appointed day, gave the charge of battle to Nathaliodus, a man of vile and obscure lineage, more for his familiarity than virtue. The nobles of Britain took no little indignation, that a man not equal to them in lineage nor strength was preferred to them in honour and dignity; and said, The king was imprudent, his rule not being secure, to adorn a man of low lineage with such high charges, in their contempt; and judged, therefore, that if he had certain peace, without trouble of enemies, he would magnify men of small lineage with honours above them: yet, because their common good was in such great danger, they were silent on such matters, having been so advised by prudent men. Nathaliodus, notwithstanding the indignation of these nobles against him, took charge smartly, and went forward with proud banner against the Saxons. Occa, informed by his scouts what the Britons intended, brought forward his army with diligence. There soon followed, a battle very displeasing to the Britons; for Gothlois, Prince of Cornwall, refusing to tolerate Nathaliodus preferred to him, came out of the field, with all his host, and left the remaining army of the Britons ready to receive the injury of their enemies. Thus the Britons were finally defeated. Occa, notwithstanding this discomfiture, brought his army, by the sound of a trumpet, to the standard, and prevented any further chase to be made on the Britons; thinking Gothlois fled only by deceit, to attack the Saxons when he saw occasion. Gothlois, seeing the Britons put to flight, so that he would not be a prey to his enemies, fled during the night, by the shortest way he could, to Cornwall. Occa, on the following day, seeing the camp deserted, understood the Britons were defeated, and sent a herald to Uther, ordering him to go to Wales, with the Britons, under pain of death; and to leave England, which he obtained by the sword, to be inhabited by him and his Saxons. Uther, considering how dangerous and uncertain it would be to renew battle against the Saxons, and knowing his realm a easy prey to his enemies, if they fiercely pursued; began to detest the damage of all wars, and answered to the herald, He would give up all enmity against the Saxons, and have peace; not for fear of them, but to prevent trouble, so that his people might live in peace: and desired Occa, since there was no great occasion of war between him and the Britons, to put an end thereto in time coming. And further, he would be content that four prudent men were chosen, on each side, to settle all disputes between them, so that Britons and Saxons might increase together under a perpetual friendship, in times coming. Occa, knowing these offers proceeded more from faint-heartedness than any courage, agreed peace gladly; and rejoiced, since victory and chance of battle was uncertain, that the realm of England was so easily obtained. After this, peace was made in this manner: All the lands of England lying opposite the German Sea should pass, in times coming, under the rule of the Saxons; the remainder of that region called Britain to remain under the rule of the Britons, as it was before; and each people to live under their own laws. Through this peace, both peoples increased together in good order and riches, without any injuries from the others; the Saxons living on their heathen laws, and the Britons

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after the Christian faith: yet many of them were infected with Pelagius' heresies, departing from the true faith.

Chap. Fourth

How Uther slew the Prince of Cornwall, and got Arthur on his wife. How Loth, King of Picts, claimed the crown of Britain; and how the Britons were purged of their heresies. How Terdix and Kenrik came to Occa, with a new force of Saxons; and how the Saxons were vanquished by a miracle.

At this time, Uther, King of Britons, had degenerated from virtue, to most shameful lust; for the surfeit, idleness, and excess of pleasure reigning then among the Britons was occasion not only of his adultery, but also of slaughter: through which succeeded many terrible wars, to the great affliction of his people. A short time after, Uther made a riotous banquet in London, on Christmas Day; at which all the nobles of Britain, with their wives, were present: among whom was a lady of great beauty, the spouse of Gothlois, Prince of Cornwall. Uther, ravished by the beauty of this lady, sent his chamberlain, with rich jewels, to solicit her to his pleasure. Gothlois, knowing Uther lecherous and desiring to defoul his bed, fled quickly with her to Cornwall. Uther followed with a great force, having no concern for his dignity nor princely estate; and, finally, had this lady at his will; and got on her a son, named Arthur, who succeeded to him, as after we shall show. Such things done, Uther besieged the castle where Gothlois was, and slew him, after the castle was taken; giving as his reason that he fled from Nathaliodus when the Britons fought against the Saxons: although, his motive was to slay this Gothlois, that he might enjoy his wife freely in times coming. Some men write, that Uther was transformed, by craft of Merlin, to Gothlois' similitude, and in that way he got Arthur: notwithstanding, in whatsoever way it was, the truth is, that Uther got him on another man's wife. As soon as Arthur was coming to full age, Uther gathered all his nobles of Britain to a council, and caused them to be sworn on the Gospel, to suffer none other to reign in Britain after him, but Arthur, his son: which thing raised the Picts with great hatred against Uther; for Loth, King of Picts, was very enraged, that Arthur, got in adultery, should be preferred to his children, got in lawful bed, and rightful heirs of the crown of Britain. Nonetheless, when this King Loth of the Picts had tried for a long time to change Uther's mind, and could in no way do the same, he postponed all his intent until he saw the times more suitable.

Many of the Britons, by frequent association with Saxons, left the true faith, and worshipped idols; others followed the errors of Pelagius, and set themselves to destroy the Christian faith in Britain: through which their errors were so great, that baptism was forbidden, with many other articles of the faith. The prelates of Britain, having great displeasure that their errors had risen so high among their people, brought Saint Germanus and Saint Severus to Britain: who finally, by their holy life and continual preaching, performed many miracles; and made the Britons penitent of their errors, and to return to the true faith of Christ. These holy men also obtained licence from Occa to preach among the Saxons.

Such things done in Britain, there arrived in England two noblemen, named Terdix and Kenrik, with new armies of Saxons; and all these Saxons were welcomed by Occa: but Kenrik was a sharp persecutor of Christian men; and was slain, afterwards, by the common people of England, because he made Saint Germanus lie out-of-doors in a night of foul weather. The coming of these Saxons to England was very suspicious to King Uther; and made him believe that Occa was tired of peace,

and was seeking a new occasion, contrary to the peace before contracted, to attack the Britons: and, therefore, he sent a herald to Occa, exhorting him to keep the friendship and peace before contracted with the Britons, and to abstain from all things that might generate occasion of discord between the two people; and to cause these Saxons lately come to England to return to Germany; otherwise little tranquillity would appear between the two people in times coming. Occa thought Uther over-proud to desire such things, or to inhibit him to receive friends, as he pleased, to England. Nonetheless, he answered, That he was as well set to keep the treaty between the two people as Uther; and did never, since the peace was contracted, injury to Britons: Thus might the Britons have no sufficient cause to lament. Nonetheless, he understood well that King Uther was seeking occasion to move war between Britons and Saxons, commanding him to receive no Saxons in England, but to send them shamefully back to Germany, although the Saxons did not come to England by command of the Britons, nor yet were to depart at their pleasure. It was therefore to be avoided, that Uther and his nobles, by foolish charges, not bring themselves from certain ease to a most dangerous fall. And since they first sought occasion of battle, they should have it, until one of them were utterly destroyed. Uther and the nobles of Britain, very daunted by this answer, sent their second ambassadors to Occa, with large sums of gold and riches, to draw his mind from battle. Occa received the gold, and, in contempt, made the ambassadors to return home without any answer. The Britons, moved by these injuries, and seeing no treaties nor peace could hold the Saxons to friendship, made their preparations, in their best manner, for battle; and, immediately, the peace was given up on all sides.

Loth, King of Picts, knowing these wars rising between Saxons and Britons, offered willingly to come with all his people, in support of Occa against the Britons, because they intended to defraud his sons of the crown of Britain, which pertained to them by just title; and sent his ambassadors to Conrannus, King of Scots, to concur with him to the same effect: but Conrannus refused, saying, He would neither violate the peace made before with the Britons, nor yet support the enemies of God against Catholic people. The Britons, knowing the strength of the Picts and Saxons against them, complained to their holy bishops Germanus and Severus. These bishops commanded them to assemble their army, and commit themselves to God; and if they did so, they should not fail to have victory over their enemies. The Britons, although they had no little fear of the Saxons, came, with their holy bishops, in battle array: and when they were doing divine service on Easter day, tidings came that the Saxons and Picts were coming to battle. Immediately, by command of Uther, each man went to his best array; and Saint Germanus promised to fight in the first battle, with the priests. The Saxons and Picts, knowing their feeble forces, expected nothing but victory, and were, therefore, the more eager in battle.

Saint Germanus bore the banner, and exhorted the people, in a loud voice, to go forward. At the first joining, the priests cried, with a high voice, *Alleluia!* And immediately, the echo of the voice resounded against the rocks, where they joined, with such force, that their enemies believed that all the mountains and crags were tumbling down on them at once; and immediately they fled, without any more debate, to the nearest river, where many of them, by their eagerness to fly, perished. The manner of this battle and victory is described at length by Saint Bede, because it came by a miracle of Saint Germanus.

Chap. Fifth.

How Occa and Nathaliodus, attacking each other in battle, were both slain, with 15,000 Britons. How young Occa was made King of England, and of his battle against the Scots and Picts; and how they were vanquished, and King Uther slain by poison.

The Britons, proud of this victory, took no care for their welfare, nor hatred of Saxons; and gave themselves to their old corrupt vices with such riotous surfeit, that they spent sometimes two, sometimes three days, without interruption, in their banquets: through which they were degenerate, from valiant people, in most shameful drunkenness. The prelates and other priests, very sorrowful for these vices of their people, ceased not to preach continually; saying, If their vicious lives were not amended, their realm would fall prey to their enemies. And as these holy bishop conjectured, so it followed; for Occa, a short time afterwards, attacked them with battle, and slew Nathaliodus, Lieutenant to Uther, with 15,000 Britons. Nonetheless, he followed so fiercely on the chase, that he was slain, and many valiant captains with him. The Britons were so broken by this battle, that they ceased, in times coming, to attack the Saxons. After the slaughter of Occa, the Saxons made Occa, his brother's son, King of England. And because Loth, King of Picts, supported the Britons in this last battle, as certain prisoners of the Picts taken in the field said, the Saxons made their preparations to attack the Picts: yet, fearing that Scots should come to their support, they brought a nobleman, named Colgern, with a new army, out of Germany; and promised, if he destroyed the Picts, to give him all the lands that the Picts enjoyd beyond Humber; because the said Picts were allied before with them, and, contrary to their agreement, fought lately with Britons against them.

Soon after, Colgern arrived in Northumberland, invading the country with insupportable cruelties. The inhabitants thereof, unwilling to sustain such high injuries, fought against him with great fury: nonetheless, they were defeated. As soon as Occa knew of the coming of Colgern, he made peace with the Britons, and came, with great array, against the Picts. This latest cruelty done by Colgern in Northumberland moved the allied kings to come, with all the people under their rule, to revenge the same: yet, when their army was coming in sight of their enemies, and saw such a great multitude of people against them, they were afraid; specially by the witness of the Britons who came to their support, sayng, The Saxons were of huge bodies and stature; so powerful in battle, that often they put their enemies to flight by their terrible visage. These words made the army so daunted, that many of them would have fled immediately, had shame not constrained them to remain. On the following day, the allied kings, seeing them so low in spirit, called the nobles of both the armies, and said to them: "We marvel, good companions, why your proud courage been so cast down, that many of you that are in this powerful army appear to be frightened by the sight of your enemies only, and so degenerate from courage, that you seem despairing without any danger appearing; for Saxons are not of such great virtue and strength, that no other people may defeat them. You have experience that these Saxons have often been vanquished in Albion, to our great triumph and honour. They were vanquished by King Vortimer, and chased by him out of Britain; and they were vanquished also by Ambrose; and because they dared not meet him in plain battle, they slew him by treachery: and the Britons, of whom many are now

mercenaries of the Saxons, have been oft defeated by you, and many years made tributary to you. There is nothing, therefore, forceful champions, to make you afraid. Also, since your action is just, and your adversaries wrongfully invading you, how may you believe in any other thing but victory? If any frighten you by the great magnitude and strength of Saxons, they are bad judges; for no people are of more stature on earth, or of stronger bodies, than are the Scots and Picts. And if you are of less spirit and courage than Saxons are, that may be imputed to nothing but to your own sloth; for your bodies are of no less stature and strength than theirs. Thus none of you should accuse Nature, if your courage is not corresponding to your bodies. And since Nature has made you strong, lusty, active of body, and ready to sustain all labours, nothing remains but to cast aside all shameful cowardice, remembering the courage and virtue of your elders; and that nothing may result more to your shame and damage, than to be miserably vanquished, bringing yourselves, your wives, children, and lands, under servitude to our enemies. And, so far as pertains to our duty, believe not but we shall risk our lives in your defence; that our enemies may understand whether the nobles of the Scots and Picts are moved more to shame or dread, to defend their realm in extreme danger."

By these words, the army was inflamed with burning desire to fight. Many of their captains said they never intended to fly, nor yet to do any thing contrary to the mind of their prince. Scarcely were these words said, when both the armies joined, and fought with incredible hatred and uncertain victory; but at last, the allied people, overcome by the multitude of enemies, turned tail: on whom followed the Saxons, attacking them with continual slaughter, until the night put an end thereto. On the following day, the King of Scots, with the remainder of his army, returned to Galloway, and the King of Picts to Pentland. After this victory, Occa slew all the Scots and Picts found between Tyne and Tweed, and garrisoned all the strongholds thereof with strong munition and mercenaries; and made Colgern Prince of Northumberland, to defend the same against all invaders.

After this victory over the Scots and Picts, King Occa came, with his victorious army, against the Britons, because they supported the Scots and Picts, contrary to their agreement; and shortly drove them out of England to Wales, and repaired the strongholds in all parts of England; often making skirmishing on Britons, Scots, and Picts, make the people understand, that they could not live without exercise of wars.

King Uther, about this time, fell in a fever, and desired one of his servants to bring him a drink of clear water from the nearest fountain, to slake his vehement thirst; and immediately, a Saxon, instructed to the same effect, gave him a drink envenomed with poison: and, soon after, he died, in the 18th year of his reign; from the Incarnation, 521 years.

Chap. Sixth.

Of Roman Boethius, and of his works and martyrdom. Of the institution of the order of Saint Benedict; and how excessive riches make evil religious men. How Loth, King of Picts, claimed the crown of Britain.

In those days lived Boethius^{<92>}, the Roman senator, very expert in theology, philosophy, mathematics, and several other sciences. He wrote excellent works of the Holy Trinity; and similarly of logic, rhetoric, geometry, arithmetic, music, and astronomy, so profoundly, that his works are yet in great admiration by all people. At last, he was slain at Ravenna, by Theodoric, King of Ostrogoths, with many other holy men, for they would not applaud the heresy of Arius. But this cruelty was not long unpunished by the justice of God; for this Theodoric died miserably soon after, and the name of Goths put out of memory; and the said Boethius, with his companions, added to the number of Saints. In those days also lived Saint Benedict, who instituted the order of monks, though it was begun before by Basilius in the Orient. And, because he was irked with frequent company of people, he came to Cassino, where he converted the temple of Apollo to a abbey of his order, and dedicated it to Saint John the Baptist.

Such happiness has succeeded to this order, that thereof have been 24 Popes, 188 cardinals, and innumerable other prelates. Among us, similarly, there are many rich abbeys of this order, with men of great devotion: although, they would have been more religious and devout, if they had been endowed with less magnificence of princes; for the superfluous rents of these abbeys, given by the magnificence of princes, induce religious men more to sloth and sensual lusts than to any fervent devotion. This Benedict died at Cassino, from the Incarnation 518 years; where he was buried, with Scolastica, his sister; in the time of Emperor Justin. And at this time, Brigida, the holy Virgin, having only 14 years in age, dedicated her virginity to God; and was confirmed by the Bishop of the Isles, in the Isle of Man. She bore a leather belt above a white gown, with a veil over her shoulders; and was held in great reverence in Scotland and Ireland, for her singular holines: of whom there are many churches in this region. She died in the 18th year of Conrannus, and was buried in Ireland, in a town named Downpatrick. Although, some of the Scots hold that she lies in Abernethy.

In this time lived Saint Gibirinus, Scotsman, who fled to France, with his brothers and sisters, to avoid the cruelty of the Saxons, and was, afterwards Bishop of Rheims, where he performed several miracles. And in this time was instituted the procession of the Gang-days in France, three days before Ascension-day, by Mamertus, Bishop of Vienne; and it was received in Scotland by Convellanus, Abbot of Iona. This Convellanus was a prophet, and described many things which were to come, concerning the extermination of the Picts and Britons. He said, also, great fortune would come to the Scots; and how the Englishmen were to be converted to the true faith. He said, also, great calamity would fall on the nobles of Albion, unless they quickly amended their corrupt life. This Convellanus lived in the time of Arthur, who was King of Britons after the death of Uther.

While such things were done among the Scots, Loth, King of Picts, sent his ambassadors to the Britons, claming the crown of Britain, by the laws used in Albion, when any man married a virgin, his children should succeed to the heritage that might

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justly pertain to her: and because he married Anna, the sister of Ambrose and Uther, who were dead without lawful heirs, he claimed that Mordred and Walwan, his sons by Anna, should succeed, by just title, to the crown of Britain. Nonetheless, the ambassadors were dispatched by the Britons with displeasing answer, and got nothing of their desires.

Chap. Seventh.

How the Saxons were several times vanquished, and made tributaries to King Arthur. How Occa arrived with new forces in Northumberland, and drove Arthur to Wales. How the gluttonous feast of Yule was evilly instituted. How Picts and Britons were allied.

A short time after, King Arthur gathered an army of the Britons, and fought against the Saxons, not 10 miles from London; and defeated them with so huge a victory, that they were made tributary, and reduced to servitude under his rule. The Britons, proud of this victory, came to London, where they remained several months, making their preparations against the Saxons dwelling beyond the Humber; who were allied, that time, with the Picts, and all injuries redressed on both sides. King Arthur came in this manner to York, arrayed his army, and made the Prince of Brittany his lieutenant to fight against the Picts; for he had come with a great force out of Brittany in his support. The armies finally being arrayed with most awful ordinance, joined together, and fought with incredible hatred, until, at last, both the Picts and Saxons were defeated; after whom the Britons followed, attacking them with continual slaughter, until they came to York, where many of them were received. Arthur having such a victory over the Saxons, laid a siege about York. And when he had been three months at the siege, and it was ready to be surrendered for lack of victuals, he was informed that Occa, who was driven before into Germany, had returned to Northumberland with new force of Saxons, and collected the Picts again to him, with more ardent fury of battle than before.

And because he understood so great number of foes were ready to attack him, he left the siege, and fled with his army to Wales; leaving behind him Hoell, Duke of Brittany, with a part of his army, to withstand his enemies during the winter season. A short time after, he returned to London, to suppress the fury of Saxons, who were coming to Kent, and other regions thereabouts; and used such liberality to win the favour of his people, that sometimes he lacked money for his necessary uses. In the next summer he raised his camp, and came forward against Colgern and Occa, who were making great raids in several parts of his realm; and finally, he defeated them in several victories: and took York, the third day after his returning, by the treachery of a Briton, who was taken for a Saxon in the town: by whom he brought a great number of Britons into the said town, at night, so quietly, that it was taken, and all the soldiers thereof cruelly slain; the remaining people were saved by his mercy. The next summer passed with frequent skirmishing between the Saxons in Northumberland and the Britons in York. This city was very populous, all the next winter, with many nobles and commoners of Britain; who were given to lust, sleep, riotous banquets, and sensuality, confiding more in their previous victory than in their present strength. It is said, the gluttony that is used yet among Englishmen and Scots, 13 days together after Cristmas, was instituted that time by King Arthur. Nonetheless, however that shameful gluttony first began, it has so corrupted the talent of Englishmen and Scots, that, in the days of Christ's Nativity, they are more given to greediness than virtue, and more to their belly than to divine service: through which that solemn feast, once held in such devotion and reverence among our ancient fathers, is so corrupted, that it is like unto the feasts of pagans made in honour of Bacchus, Flora, and Priapus; which

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were devised more for the lust and pleasures of men and women, than any good religion.

In the next summer, when Arthur was coming to Humber to attack the Saxons, he found his army so degenerate and soft, that they were not able to sustain labour nor similar warlike business as they were before: through which, many years after, they did little harm to their enemies; and had no hope of victory, while Loth, King of Picts, was allied with King Arthur in this manner: That Arthur should enjoy the crown of Britain during his life, and after his death the sons of Loth should succeed: the Picts to concur with Britons against Saxons in times coming; and all lands which the Picts might conquer beyond Humber, to come under their dominion. Also, Mordred, King Loth's son, should marry the daughter of Gawolane, greatest prince under the King of Britain; and the children got between them to be nurtured with their grandfather Gawolane; and that Gawain, brother to Mordred, should remain in continual residence with King Arthur, to be treated according to his estate.

Chap. Eighth.

How the Scots and Picts were allied with King Arthur against the Saxons. How the Saxons were vanquished by the people of Albion, and driven out of Albion.

The peace confirmed as described above, King Arthur, desiring to banish Christ's enemies out of Albion, solicited the allied kings to come at an appointed day, to join with him for defence of Christian faith; on which day the Britons, Scots, and Picts convened together under one mind and purpose. King Occa informed of this, raised his camp, and met the people of Albion in his most vigorous manner. When the armies were arrayed on either side, Colgern, Prince of the Saxons in Northumberland, came on a swift gelding to the Picts, reproving them for their unfaithful mind, considering they received the people in friendship and kindness, who were lately their deadly enemies, and bore arms against their ancient friends, allied with them long before; and yet, if they pass forward that day to support the Britons, they should have some experience whether their own falsehood or the faith of Saxons were most able to have victory. The Picts, unmoved by these words, displayed their banner, and fought with incredible hatred against the Saxons. There followed a terrible conflict; for the Scots, that fought in the right wing, slew Childeric, chieftain of the Saxons, opposite them, and put that unit to flight. Colgern, who fought in the left wing against the Picts, very desirous to acquire glory, rushed so fiercely against Loth, King of Picts, that he knocked Loth from his horse. Nonetheless, Loth was rescued by the Picts, and Colgern attacked by them so cruelly, that he was brought with spears to the ground, and slain. The middle part seeing both their wings defeated, turned tail; on whom the Britons followed with long chase and slaughter. Occa, badly wounded, fled out of the field among the horsemen; and when he saw no place secure for his defence, he got a ship, and fled to Germany. The remaining Saxons, broken with this slaughter, and seeing no rescue, surrendered themselves to King Arthur, under these conditions: They should receive the faith of Christ, and live as tributaries under him. And if these conditions were not accepted, to leave their weapons and goods behind them, and depart from the country by a certain day. So many Saxons as might get ships before the said day, fled to Germany; and when the Germans saw them return with such misery and trouble, they made their solemn oaths to revenge the shameful ejection of them out of Britain, whenever they might have sufficient opportunity. Part of the Saxons feigned to take the faith, waiting for a better fortune; and others were slain, because they would not renounce their idolatry.

Chap.Ninth.

How the Scots and Picts came, with 20 thousand men, in support of King Arthur, against the Saxons; and how the Saxons were defeated.

After the Saxons were banished and subjected to servitude in this manner, King Arthur set himself to repair the churches and all other enormities done in York; for the Saxons wrought in it great cruelties. In the year following, he was informed, that the Saxons that inhabited the Isle of Wight, with others of Kent, were assembled together, making great cruelties and raids in the Britons' lands. To repress these incursions, Arthur went, with a great force, to London: and to bring his purpose to an better end, he solicited Eugenius, the son of Congallus described above, and Mordred, son to Loth, to come, with 20,000 Scots and Picts, to his support. Arthur, knowing the great damage that came to his people, in time past, by riotous living and gluttony, determined to withstand their insolence, that nothing should occur to weaken his army. Within short time after, he took the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary as his standard, and went forward in hope of victory. Mordred and his father-in-law Gawolane, very desirous to win honour, went before the army of the Britons, with 5,000 horsemen. The Saxons, knowing Arthur within four miles of their camp, sent their ambassadors, desiring him to go no further, and to give them licence to pass out of Albion, with their goods, without injury from the Britons. As soon as Arthur had condescended to their petitions, they desired 3 days' truce; but that was denied by Arthur: for he suspected, as was afterwards proven, some hidden treachery under their desires. Nonetheless, he promised to go little further on for that day. The Britons being advised what would be done in this matter, and believing nothing less than treachery, the Saxons set on the forces of Mordred and Gawolane, because they were some miles from King Arthur's camp, and slew a great number thereof, and the remaining chased to the camp of the Britons. Arthur, immediately, called before him the ambassadors of Saxons, and said, He would neither here their desires in times coming, nor yet have peace with them during his life; because they treacherously attacked his people under talk of peace. Scarcely were their words said, when 60 of the noblest men among the Saxons came to the king, to excuse the treachery recently committed; saying, It was done by young men, without the approval of their nobles. Arthur, presuming no less treachery under this last message than under the first, commanded them to remain still in his camp, with the first messengers; then raised his army during the night, and came arrayed with three squadrons on the Saxons, before they were informed of his coming. The Saxons were greatly afraid, knowing neither what was to be done, nor yet what was answered to their ambassadors. In the meantime, Mordred and Gawolane attacked them with such eager diligence, that many of them were defeated before they could come to order; and then Arthur followed with such raging fury, that none of them were spared, where they could be taken: through which nothing was heard but the crying out of dying people in all parts thereabouts; the camp replete with dead carrion, and the rivers running with bloody streams to the sea. In this battle were slain such a huge number of Saxons, that it seemed they might never recover the damage thereof, nor yet have strength to resist the Britons in times coming. Thus were the Saxons subjected to more servitude than before; but the nobles were allowed to go to Germany. The Scots and Picts stayed some days in London, and returned home, richly rewarded by King Arthur, without defeat in their wars.

Chap. Tenth.

How Tonset, Chancellor of Scotland, was slain for his wrongful administration of justice. Of King Conrannus' Death. Of Emperor Justinian; and of his prudent constitutions, fame, and warfare; and of several captivities of Rome.

While these things were done in Britain by Arthur, the realm of the Scots was governed, in great happiness and justice, by King Conrannus; until at last, by feebleness of his great age, several damages followed in his realm. There was a man of poor lineage, named Tonset, who was made chancellor by King Conrannus; but he was more set for the king's profit than justice, giving his mind and whole industry to punish men by extreme rigour, to acquire money for the king. Conrannus, like many kings, had them in most favour and reverence, that could most craftily seize the goods of the people for his profit. Tonset, after several wrongs and oppressions done by him under the king's authority, called before him certain merchants of Forres, in Moray, and for small or false accusations put them to death, as misdoers; then confiscated their goods for the king's benefit. The nobles of Moray, moved by these oppressions done to the merchants, their friends, rushed quickly to arms, and slew this Tonset in plain judgement, because he was doing more injury than justice to the people. An outcry arose after his slaughter, and made these men to be searched for with greatest diligence; and they, as desperate men, fled to the mountains, trusting no grace nor remedy, unless they did some greater cruelty to redeem the first, as it is the common opinion yet in our days; and therefore concluded to slay the king, and deliver the people of all extortion done by him; through which they might acquire the favour of the commoners, and be restored to their peace.

A short time after, Donald, captain of Atholl, very familiar with the king, and knowing of this conspiracy, sent his secret servant, to cause these scoundrels to come to Inverlochy, where the king was resident for that time, and promised them support to accomplish their intentions; and, finally, received them with great humanity, and put them, with their swords and weapons, in a secret chamber, where the king was accustomed to be alone; then departed out of the town, as if he had known nothing about it. The king at last entered the chamber where these scoundrels were, waiting for his slaughter: as soon as he saw them, he fell down on his knees, and desired grace; nonetheless, their scoundrels, without any mercy, slew him, in the 35th year of his reign: which was in the 16th year of the rule of Arthur; in the twentieth year of Emperor Justinian; from the Incarnation, 535 years. His body was brought to Iona, and buried among the ancient tombs of his forebears. This Justinian was as noble an Emperor as any before his days; for he caused the Roman laws and constitutions to be collected together, with such reason and eloquence, that the same is held in great admiration by all people. This Justinian pacified many lands pertaining to Roman rule; for he delivered Africa from the Vandals, Italy from the Goths, and Dalmatia from the tyranny of Mundus, by the warfare of a very valiant captain, called Belisarius. He delivered Rome from the tyranny of Theodoric, King of Ostrogoths, after it was besieged for many years. This Belisarius fought many strong battles for defence of Rome, against Totila, King of the Goths: but at last this Belisarius fell into great infirmity, and so Rome was finally taken by the said Totila, King of the Goths; the walls and strongholds beaten to the ground, with the Capitol, and many other

buildings, private and public, in the same manner; and all the citizens thereof slain; to be a perpetual memory to all people, how little confidence should be had in happiness of man.

Rome was destroyed in this manner, from the Incarnation, 550 years. It was taken by the Gauls, burned and destroyed, when it began first to flourish; and not long after,[i.e. after the sack by Totila] it was destroyed by Alaric, King of Goths; and in the same manner, it was taken by Athalpus, who reigned after Alaric; and soon after, it was taken again by Gensiricus, King of Vandals, and put to no less ruin than Carthage was before by the Romans. That this town, which been honoured by so many valiant deeds, which was the Conqueror of all people, was so often taken by barbarous people, shows well that nothing is certain, but fragile and mortal, in this world. But we will return to our history, where we left.

Chap. Eleventh.

Of King Eugenius the Third, and his laws. Of Conrannus' Wife. How she fled with her sons to Ireland. Of King Arthur's fame, chivalry, and round table. How the Britons, contrary to their promise, made Constantine Prince of Britain.

Conrannus having been slain as we have described, Eugenius, the son of Congallus, was made king. Many friends of Conrannus gave him counsel, in the beginning of his reign, to punish the murder of his uncle; so that others might take example, in times coming, of the consequences of slaying a king. Eugenius, unmoved by their counsel, not only left his slayers unpunished, but also put them on his secret council; and, therefore, he was suspected of his father's slaughter. Conrannus' wife suspecting him in the same manner, fled, with her children Regiman and Aidan, to Ireland, where she remained certain years, and died, with her first son Regiman; but Aidan remained with the King of Ireland, well treated, for many years after.

King Eugenius, to show himself complaisant at the beginning of his rule, sat often in judgement, to cause himself to appear benign to the people; and where any persons were condemned wrongly, he gave them licence to appeal to his other judges. He supported the indigent people from the common purse, when they had no money to support themselves. By this law, he commanded that no man call a child in judgement before his lawful age; and no widow to be drawn a mile from her dwelling place to judgement. He made great punishment on thieves and receivers, and kept good peace with the Picts and Britons, his neighbours.

Some authors write, that Arthur, in those days, defeated Scotland, Ireland, Orkney, Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, Zealand, Gotland, Holland, Braban, Flanders, Picardy Normandy, Brittany, and all France; and made all the people thereof tributary to his rule. And, likewise, he subjected all Greece, Persia, Arabia, Egypt, Africa, and Spain; and finally vanquished Lucius, Roman Emperor, in single combat. This History shall have faith with them that are authors thereof; for we know firmly, that Arthur died in the time of Justinian, Emperor, when the Goths, Burgundians, Vandals, and all other nations, attacked the Roman rule: and, therefore, it is not appearing, since so many several people made divers wars among themselves that time, that they might be gathered under a mind to fight against Arthur. Also, there were, at this time, most horrible wars between Goths and Franks, and the historians that wrote about those wars made no mention of Arthur. Nonetheless, since we are set to diminish no man's honour nor fame, we find that Arthur was, in glory of martial deeds, no less valiant than any other prince of Britain, and increased his realm equally in good government and riches. It is written that Arthur took great delectation in jousting of strong champions, having them in such familiarity, that when he used to dine, or take consultation in his wars, he had them sit down with him, in manner of a round crown, that none of them should be preferred over others in dignity; for which his seat was called The Round Table. And though his valiant deeds were worthy to have memory, yet the vulgar fables which have been invented about him have cast doubt on them.

The Britons, insolent by long peace under the rule of Arthur, were regretful of the contract made before with Loth, King of Picts, thinking it not profitable for their common good, that foreign blood should reign above them; and desired King Arthur to show to them whom he thought most able to succeed. Arthur bade them choose one, by their general voice, that was wise, and descended of the blood royal of

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Britain; and they, without more delay, named Constantine, the son of Cadorus, Prince of Cornwall; who was admitted by Arthur, and declared Prince of Britain: not that he was then king, but the rightful heir, to succeed after his death: through which it came in use, that the eldest son of a kings is called Prince of the realm.

Constantine, having been declared prince in this manner, appeared, by many evident signs, wise and gracious to the people, and obtained a good name among the Britons.

Chap. Twelfth.

Of the Message sent by the Picts to the Britons, and of their answer. How King Arthur was slain, with many the nobles of Britain, by the Scots and Picts. How Guinevere, his wife, was brought to Angus. Of her sepulchre; and of the calamity that fell to people of Albion by this battle.

At this time Loth, King of Picts died; by whom the lands that was before named Pentland were named Lothian. After his death, Mordred, King of Picts, sent his ambassadors to King Arthur, and to the nobles of Britan, saying, It was not appropriate to princes to violate their faith and promise, without some lawful cause. The agreement made between him and King Arthur was not unknown to them; by which it was ratified, that no one should reign after Arthur in Britain, but the sons of Loth and Anna his wife, and the heirs descending of their succession. And because it was said, that Constantine, Prince of Cornwall, was named by them to succeed to the crown of Britain, contrary to their word and faith agreed before; he required King Arthur to give no agreement to the unjust persuasion of his people, who had no respect to religion nor piety, but only to cause him to break the law of both God and man; and therefore prayed him to persevere in the agreement before contracted, that no punishment come on his people, by the justice of God, for violation of his faith and promise. It was answered by the nobles of Britain, that the agreement between Arthur and Loth was made for the lifetime of the two kings; and since Loth was dead, the agreement was dissolved. Also, they did not violate their faith, although they made Constantine, a nobleman, of the blood royal of Britain, to be their prince; because nothing became kings more than to keep their realm with providence and wisdom, so that it should not come under the rule of foreign blood. Also, it was unacceptable that Britons should come under dominion of the Picts, since they had been always their old enemies.

When this answer was repeated to the Picts, it made them detest the treachery of the Britons, and to regret that they supported them in subduing the Saxons. Nonetheless, they took consultation what was best to be done; and finally, with one consent, decied to attack the Britons, and to bring into their country all people that were their enemies. Yet, before they attempted this matter, they thought it suitable to discover the mind of the Scots and Saxons, and found them ready to assist them in peace or war. Eugenius agreed more readily to their petitions, because the Britons received all the rebels of his realm.

Arthur seeing the peace ended up between him and the Picts, garrisoned all the strongholds of his realm; then came, with a huge force, against the Scots and Picts: trusting, although the Saxons returned to Britain, they should be easily vanquished, since they were so oft broken and defeated by his wars. Nonetheless, a strong army of the Scots and Picts were assembled, before his coming, at Humber, because in that place they had been always most successful. When the armies were arrayed in each other's sight, the bishops and prelates of the Scots, Picts, and Britons came as mediators, desiring them to remember how dangerous it would be to their common good, and unnatural, to persevere in battle, since they were ordained by nature to live together within that isle, and defend it from invasion by other foreign people. Also, their civil wars, and contentions among themselves, would be occasion for the Saxons to return to Albion; for they rejoiced in nothing more than in dissension of the people

of Albion. Mordred and Eugenius, moved by the wise words of these prelates, condescended to put an end to all their wars, if the Britons would hold to the prior agreement. The bishops, with this answer, went to Arthur, and brought his mind to peace. But the friends of Constantine not only rejected their petitions, but also gave unpleasing words, and said, Because the allied kings first proclaimed wars against Arthur, it was not honourable for him to desist therefrom. Also, it was but folly to them to propose peace, when the armies were arrayed in each other's sight, unless it were to work some treachery under colour of peace. Scarcely were these words said, when huge noise and clamour arose on all sides; and, soon after, both the armies joined, with more cruelty than ever was heard anywhere before. The place where they joined was full of marsh and swamps, and so unpleasing to the Britons, that they could not wield their ordinance and weapons as they desired: through which the battle was prolonged, and such a huge multitude of people slain, that the river of Humber ran full of bloody streams to the sea. While the armies were fighting with greatest hatred in this manner, one of the Picts, instructed for this, cried, in a loud voice, "Fly, fly! Arthur is slain, with all the nobility of the Britons!" This cry raised the Scots and Picts with more spirit than before; and made the Britons so daunted, that no authority, nor sound of trumpet, might make them delay; but quickly left their weapons, and fled to their best refuge. In this sorrowful battle was slain, of the Scots and Picts twenty thousand, with Mordred, King of Picts, and all the nobles of both their realms slain; of the Britons, and Bretons, that came to their support, thirty thousand. Among all the others were slain King Arthur, and Gawain, brother to Mordred, King of Picts, who fought that day, for love of King Arthur, against his natural brother. On the following day, all the spoils of King Arthur's camp were divided among the allied people, by custom of arms. Guinevere, the Queen of Britain, and spouse of King Arthur, was taken, with many ladies and knights attending on her at the time. The horses, riches, and chests of goods got with her fell prey to the Scots; but herself, her ladies and knights, fell to the Picts, and were brought to Angus, to a castle called Dunbar, of which nothing remains now but the outline of the walls; where they lived the remaining days of their life. In memory whereof, in Meigle, a town of Angus, ten mile from Dundee, there are many ancient tombs, held in great reverence by the people; and specially the sepulchre of Guinevere, as the title written thereupon says: "All women that trample on this sepulchre shall be always barren, without any fruit of their womb, as Guinevere was." And whether that this be true or not, let them show that have experience thereof; but one thing we know: all women abhor to trample on that sepulchre.

It is said by Galfride, writer of the history of Britain, that Mordred and Arthur fought not at Humber, but at the town of Camlann, and came out of the field alive; and Guinevere, in shame, entered a convent: which are not far discrepant from the history, as we have written. Nonetheless, we follow Veremond, Turgot, and others many authentic authors, who write the true deeds of noblemen, without any fiction. Also, wherever this most dangerous battle was fought, such harm came to the Britons, Scots, and Picts by this huge slaughter, that for many years after, they could not recover from the damage thereof.

Chap. Thirteenth.

How Constantine, King of Britons, slew the sons of Mordred. Of strange marvels seen in Albion. How Eugenius gave several lands, with arms, to noblemen of his realm. How Constantine, King of Britons, was made monk in Ireland; and of Eugenius' Death.

The Britons, after this defeat and slaughter of King Arthur, made Constantine, who was previously declared prince, King of Britain. This Constantine, so that no succession of Mordred should claim the crown of Britain, slew the sons of Mordred in the presence of their mother, who was daughter of Gawolane: through which all the succession of Mordred failed. These afflictions fell on the people of Albion, from the Incarnation, 542 years; in the 23rd year of the rule of Arthur, and the 8th year of the reign of Eugenius.

Many strange marvels were seen before this last battle in Albion. Herbs were seen in York full of blood; a calf was found, not far from Camelon, with two heads, and a lamb, similarly, with double nature; the sun at midday appeared bloody; the sky shone, two days continually, full of stars; the magpies and owls fought with the ravens, and made incredible slaughter on every side. But we will return to our history.

King Eugenius, after his return to Scotland, numbered the remainder of his army, and rewarded richly the friends of them that were slain in this field: and to cause their valiant deeds to remain long in memory, he gave them lands, with several arms, that their posterity might understand how they were decorated by noble kings, for their valiant and worthy deeds. Eugenius, with such victorious and virtuous deeds, obtained a good name, and was held in no little veneration among his people; and governed them, in times coming, more by benevolence than rigour.

Jurmirik, Duke of the Saxons, informed of this intolerable slaughter of the Britons, came, with a huge navy and people, to England; where he, with little difficulty, defeated King Constantine, and drove him, with the remaining Britons, to Wales. This Constantine finding no security for his life in Wales, fled to Ireland; where he lived some years, with his wife and children, unknown, among the indigent and poor people, on alms. As soon as he was known, by the persuasion of monks, he shaved his head in an abbey of the same country; where he lived a devout life, and was slain, afterwards, by Scots, and added to the number of martyrs. In memory whereof, many churches are among us dedicated to him. This Jurmirik, although he was not instituted in the true faith, allowed the Gospel of Christ to be preached to Englishmen, and made a treaty of peace between him and the Scots and Picts, which endured to the end of his life.

Eugenius, having good peace the remainder of his days, died, the 34th year of his reign; and was buried in Iona, from the Incarnation, 568 years; in the 6th year of Emperor Tiberius, the second of that name.

Chap. Fourteenth.
***Of King Conwallus, and his Laws, and Death. Of the coming
of Saint Colm to Scotland; and of Saint Mungo.***

Eugenius was buried in Iona, and his brother was made king; a prince very Catholic: for he commanded all the principal castles and towns of his realm to be painted with the sign of the cross, so that the people thereby might have remembrance what cruel pain and dolour our Saviour suffered thereon. He had a silver crucifix borne always before him wherever he went, and kissed it before he mounted on his horse. It was written with golden letters about the crucifix, *The Glory of Christian People*. He forbade to paint or carve the sign of the cross on any pavement of churches, that the people should not trample on the same. He was never seen in the church but with his head uncovered. He made many laws for the liberty of holy church: He that struck a priest should lose his hand; he that slew a priest should be burned, and his goods confiscated; the tenth part of every fruits that grew on the ground should be given to the church; he that was excommunicated by authority of the church should be banished from good company, and none should do him reverence, no laws to be patent to him, no faith to be given to his disposition. He adorned the churches with rich jewels and possessions, to sustain divine service. He gave all vicars and parsons certain farms and lands lying about the churches, to cause them to be the more fervent in their residence and devotion. Thus the Christian faith was honoured in all parts of his realm.

The fame of this Catholic prince caused Saint Colm, a man of singular life, to come out of Ireland to Albion, with many religious people; at whose coming there was a great confluence of the Scots and Picts, for the great felicity and sweetness they found in his preaching. He gathered several monks who were that time vagabond through the realm, and put them in several abbeys, which were founded before by Conwallus; and not long after, he came to Lothian, where he purged Brudeus, King of Picts, and his people, from Pelagius' heresies.

At this time also lived Saint Mungo, the holy Bishop of Glasgow, who was begotten on Saint Thanew, the daughter of Loth, King of Picts, oppressed, contrary her will, by Eugenius, last King of Scots. This Mungo, hearing Saint Colm preach before Brudeus, was overcome in spirit by his divine words, and followed him to Dunkeld, where Conwallus had previously built a rich abbey; but now, by the magnificence of princes, it is made a bishop's seat, skilfully built with square and polished stones. When these two holy men had remained 6 months in Dunkeld, they departed home: Saint Mungo returned to Glasgow, and Saint Colm to Ireland; and said to the princes thereof, how generously he was treated among the Scots and Picts, what fervent desire they had for his preaching; but a thing there was, above all marvels seen by him before: Conwallus, King of Scots, notwithstanding his princely estate and riches, which should induce him more to pleasure than virtue, was no less religious than any other prelate or churchman in his realm; and, for his proven virtue, was held in such reverence among his people, that no person dared be injurious to another, nor yet speak of him any detraction: through which all vices of his people, though they were naturally inclined thereto, were defeated, more by his virtue than any rigour. In the year following, Saint Colm returned to Albion, and brought with him the son of Conrannus, named Aidan, who had fled to Ireland, as we have said, to avoid the wrath of Eugenius. At his coming to the Isles, he was informed how Conwallus was dead, the 10th year of his reign, and his body came, with great lament

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of the people, to be buried in Iona; and, therefore, he went to his abbey, and did his funeral obsequies in devout manner.

Chap Fifteenth.

Of King Kinnatill, and how he resigned the crown to Aidan. Of the Speech made by Saint Colm. How Scots and Picts fought among themselves, and were reconciled by Saint Colm.

After Conwallus died as we have said, a council was held in Argyll, from our redemption 578 years, in which Kinnatill, brother to Conwallus described above, was made king. Kinnatill, as no man expected, received Colm and Aidan with great humanity; and prayed Aidan to be of good courage, for within a short time he should enjoy the crown of Scotland, and have such succession, that he should deliver the realm of many damages: and yet it was uncertain, for the time, by what divine revelation or prophecy he might say such things. Within a few days after, an immoderate flux of catarrh fell into his throat and chest, and caused him to resign the governance of his realm to Aidan. Saint Colm seeing him approach to the extremis of death, exhorted him to hold all thing in contempt, saving the happiness of heaven, where he was quickly to pass. Kinnatill, devoutly following Saint Colm, surrendered his soul to God, the third month of his reign. His body was buried in Iona.

A convention was held, soon after, in Argyll, in which Aidan was made king. Saint Colm, because he was present at this convention, put the diadem on King Aidan's head, and said to the nobles in this way: "It is not necessary, most noblemen, to exhort you to any great devotion, since the it increases daily, as can be seen among you. Yet I think not unsuitable to exhort you to be obedient to your prince Aidan, with one mind and assent; for he is not only brought to this solemn occasion by my industry, but more so by provision of God. His office shall be, to govern you in equal justice and peace, and deliver you from trouble, when it occurs. Your part shall be, therefore, to live together under him with a good mind and benevolence; standing so content with your own goods, that you covet no others; and remembering the several benefits given to you by the ineffable goodness of God, who has instructed you in his blessed laws, and made you his dear people. And you are fortunate to have a prince of singular virtue, by whose prudence your faith shall be certain, and your common good put to profit, with such happiness, if you be obedient to him, that no enemies shall appear against you. By the contrary, which God forbid! if you decline the constitutions of God, and be rebellious to the ministers of justice; or if your prince, Aidan, be unmindful of the gifts of God, abusing him in the administration of his realm; then sundry plagues and civil contentions shall not fail to come on you, which shall give occasion to your enemies to attack you to your utter extermination, unless then you amend your sinful ways in time. Provide, therefore, that you be not so insolent, in your great prosperity, that you incur the hatred of God, exposing both your personal and collective welfare to extreme danger."

The people being exhorted by these words, promised their faithful obedience to King Aidan. Such things done, Saint Colm returned to the Isles, and Aidan went to Galloway; where he, by justice, defeated the thieves who infested the country. And to repress other enormities done in his realm, he set up a convention of his nobles in several parts thereof; in which, by prudence of Saint Colm, there were devised several things for the common welfare: through which great tranquillity succeeded, for many days after. Nonetheless, as the chance of man oft occurs, few people have that prudence to make them stand long in happiness. Certain nobles, who would not long suffer peace, fell in a high contention at the hunts, from a quarrel of no importance:

through which great slaughter quickly followed. The slayers, knowing themselves fiercely sought by rigour of justice, and having no refuge to avoid the king's laws, fled to Brudeus, King of Picts. As soon as King Aidan was informed thereof, he sent his ambassadors to the King of Picts, requiring him, by the obligations of his alliance, to deliver these men to his justice. Brudeus, moved by commiseration and pity of these banished men, refused his desires, and, by frequent messages, excused their iniquity. Thus he made the injuries of others to be occasion of war against himself. King Aidan, because these rebels were not delivered at his pleasure, sent a company of armed men to Angus, to attack the country with all the damage that they might. The Scots, who were sent in this behalf, brought a huge plunder of goods out of Angus, and slew all them that made resistance. The Picts, refusing to suffer this injury, revenged the same with similar raids and slaughter on the Scots. The fury and rage of insolence each day more increasing, made this dispute to be finally decided by the sword. Soon after, they gathered on both the sides in Stirling, where they fought together with great slaughter: and though the victory succeeded to the Scots, yet it was unfortunate; for Arthur, eldest son to King Aidan, and Prince of Scotland, was slain in this battle. Thus the Scots took more heaviness and sorrow by his death, than pleasure by their victory.

Saint Colm, when he heard of this dreadful battle, came to King Aidan, and reproved him, in that he, for a small occasion, made war on his allied friends; through which he was the cause, not only of most lamentable slaughter, but also bringing many people to shameful and utter poverty: and therefore declared, if the same were not soon repaired, he and all his blood, by justice of God, should be cruelly punished. Aidan, abashed by these words, prayed Saint Colm to show by what way he might amend the offence he had committed. This holy man, seeing Aidan penitent, in commiseration, went to Brudeus, King of Picts, and said how unprudently this dreadful conflict was begun, and what mischief was to follow on both the people, if they persevered in war against other. By these words, Brudeus condescended to have peace. Thus were both the kings content that Saint Colm be judge in this debate, to settle all disagreements as he thought best. Finally, both these kings were reconciled, and brought, by his prudence, to the same tenderness as they were before. Within short time, this holy man, Saint Colm, returned to the Isles, and fell in a great infirmity, by immoderate flux of catarrh, which followed him to the end of his life.

Chap. Sixteenth.

How the Saxons divided England into seven separate kingdoms. How the Picts and Saxons were allied together, and defeated the Scots and Britons. Of the Speech made by King Aidan to his army. How the said Aidan was vanquished by the Saxons, and his son slain.

When the Saxons had driven the Britons into Wales, and punished them each day with new afflictions, they divided the realm of England in seven separate kingdoms; so that, the Britons might never have place to recover their old territories; and made seven separate kings: among whom was Ethelfred, King of Northumberland, who had a singular malice against all Britons. And because he was very desirous to increase his rule, he solicited Brudeus, King of Picts, to attack the Scots; and promised, if he would attack them in battle, since the injuries done by his people were not redressed, to support him with all the power that he might. This war was not persuaded by Ethelfred for any affection he had for the Picts, except to have them broken by the Scots, so that he might then more easily conquer their realm. Brudeus refused at the first time to raise any army against his allied neighbours: nonetheless, by inopportune solicitation of his nobles, he condescended thereto. The motive of this war was, because the goods taken before from his people by the Scots were not restored, as the agreement provided. King Aidan, to meet the treachery of both the Picts and Saxons, was allied with Malgo, King of Britons, in this manner: If the Saxons and Picts attacked the Britons, King Aidan should come to their support: and if the Picts and Saxons came on the Scots, the King of Britons should support them in the same manner.

The Saxons, well informed of this confederation to draw the Scots from their territories, and to make them lack victuals, entered with the Picts into the Britons' lands. King Aidan soon after assembled all the strength of his realm, and came with the same in support of the Britons. The Saxons and Picts, notwithstanding his coming, avoided battle by long delay, waiting for the coming of some other Saxons to their support. Then there suddenly appeared in sight, Cenline, King of West Saxons, with a new force, to support their army. The Scots and Britons, although they were afraid of their coming, thought it best, since there was no help but in their own hands, to meet this new army of West Saxons; and finally put them to flight, and slew Cutha, son to Cenline.

After this victory, the Scots and Britons rejoiced with such excellent mirth as was customary in those days. In the meantime, the North Saxons, with the remainder of their people, who were lately defeated, came on the Scots and Britons with a new battle. Thus were the Scots and Britons so afraid, that no noise was made nor word spoken in all their army. King Aidan, knowing this silence no sign of audacity, but rather of dejected mind, said: "Now, good companions, where is your knightly courage? Where is now your invincible spirit? Is your gladness vanished before you are vanquished? Are you defeated by the sight only of these our feeble enemies, since you, by martial prowess, have previously put such valiant people to flight? Never let this, your strong army, surrender to enemies. Never let your foes have glory by your cowardice, nor yet have victory without combat. Return, therefore, my heartfelt friends, to your ancient virtue and courage: and understand, your enemies attack you unjustly, by motion of the treacherous Ethelfred; and, therefore, exercise your wrath

and cruelty on him, since he is the first cause of all this trouble: and you shall have whatever reward that I may give you, if you have victory, which now is in your hands." These words were scarcely spoken, when the Saxons fighting on the right wing were put back: and immediately, Ethelfred came with a chosen company in their support, exhorting them to take no fear of their feeble adversaries, whom they so oft vanquished before. Brudeus, fighting on the right wing with the Picts, and his most valiant captains on the left wing, greatly afflicted the Scots. Nonetheless, the Scots persevered in continual battle, while they saw the centre, where the Britons fought, defeated; and then they turned tail: on whom followed the Picts and Saxons with long chase.

In this battle were slain, Brennius, Thane of the Isle of Man; Dongarus, the third son of Aidan; with many nobles and commoners on all sides. King Ethelfred lost one of his eyes. Brudeus was badly wounded, and many of his nobles slain in his defence.

Chap. Seventeenth.

How the Saxons and Picts were defeated in Northumberland by the Scots and Britons. Of the death of Saint Colm and Saint Aidan. Of the vengeance that came on the Saxons for striking of Saint Augustine. And of several holy men.

Ethelfred, nothing satisfied by this victory over the Scots and Britons at Deglaston, came the next summer, with the Picts, into Galloway, with purpose either to bring the same to utter devastation, or else bring the same under their dominion. Aidan, well informed of their mind, sent to the Britons to come to his support; then went with all the power that he might get, to Galloway; and found, at his coming, the Picts and Saxons busy at their incursions, without organisation. And immediately he set on them with arrayed battle, and slew many of them, and put the remainder to flight. And in the night following, he came to the army of the Britons, and combined both the armies together. As soon as the Picts and Saxons were informed thereof, they prepared strong fortifications, to secure the entrance and narrow ways of Annandale. Thus there was no way nor passage to the army of the Scots and Britons, except to pass through the dangerous river and sinking sands of Solway. The Britons and Scots seeing themselves enclosed thus on all sides, quickly occupied the strongholds of the country, as if they were to remain in the same: then raised their army during the night, when their foes suspected nothing less than their departure, and came over Solway, in the most eager way they might, to Northumberland; and left behind them a huge fire, burning all night, so that their enemies should have no presumption of their departing: and at their arrival in Northumberland, they attacked the people thereof with the greatest cruelty of fire and sword. The Saxons and Picts, knowing their people in Northumberland oppressed by this violence, left Galloway, and with great effort came in their enemies' sight. On the following day, both the armies, raging in greatest hatred against each other, joined together. The Saxons with such incredible fury rushed into battle against the Scots, without any sight to death, that many of them were beaten, by blow of swords, to the ground. Yet, because fresh men came in all places where there were gaps made, the victory was long uncertain, and the chance of fortune neutral. Until at last, Aidan, with his valiant captains, began to raise his people in hope of victory; and inspired them with such courage, that they, by persevering in fighting, put the Saxons and Picts to flight, and made more slaughter on them in the pursuit, than was in the first battle. On the night before this battle, Saint Colm was in the abbey of Iona, and said to the brothers thereof, that King Aidan was to fight on the following day, and commended him and his army to their prayers. And there is no doubt, but that the prayer of this holy man was a great support to King Aidan: for, in the same hour that victory fell to Scots, he revealed it to his brothers in the said abbey, and had them express the gratitude thereof to God.

After this victory, the king, at the sound of a trumpet, gathered his people to the standard. And after great praising of their courage, he gave the tenth part of the spoils got in this battle, to repair the churches of Scotland; and sent the banners of Saxons and Picts to Saint Colm, to remain in his abbey of Iona, in memory of this excellent victory.

In this battle was slain, Cenline, King of West Saxons, with Culen and Whiteline, his principal captains. Short time following, Saint Colm, broken by long infirmity, died, and was buried in the said abbey. Although, other authors say he was

buried in a town of Ireland named Downpatrick, where he is held in great veneration; and on his sepulchre are carved these verses:

"Saint Colm, Saint Patrick, and Brigit poor;
These three here lie in one sepulchre."

King Aidan lived but a short time after Saint Colm, and died the 27th year of his reign, in the time of Emperor Maurice; from the Incarnation, 606 years.

About this time, was instituted by Saint Gregory, the procession called *Latania Major*, on Saint Mark's day, to implore the mercy of God against a terrible plague, which arose in Rome by inundation of the Tiber. This Gregory sent to England two holy men, named Augustine and Mellitus, to bring the Saxons to Christian faith; for the Saxons bore such hatred against the Britons, that they would hear no doctrine nor preaching from them: and therefore, it was necessary that these two holy men should come to England to instruct the Saxons in the Christian faith. Finally, when this holy man, Saint Augustine, was preaching to the Saxons in Rochester, they not only rejected preaching, but in his contempt they sewed fish tails on his clothing. Others say they threw skate tails at him. Nonetheless, this derision resulted in their great displeasure: for God took on them such vengeance, that they and their posterity had long tails many years after. In memory whereof, the children that are yet born in Rochester have the same deformity: but the women having experience thereof, go out of this town in the time of their birth, and escape this malediction in that way. Nonetheless, these holy men persevered with such fervent preaching, that many of the Saxons received the sacrament of baptism. Ethelfred, King of Northumberland, hearing so great a number of Saxons had converted to the Christian faith, become very angry, and vowed himself to be their perpetual enemy.

At this time there were in Scotland, three holy men of our nation: Baldred, Dunstan, and Connal. The first was an excellent doctor, and died in the Bass, a strong castle in the sea. The parishioners of Auldhame, Tynninghame, and Preston, contended which of them three should have his body to adorn their church. Finally, they were content to postpone their debate, until the next morning, to be considered by the bishop. On the following day they found, by miracle of God, three biers, with three bodies in no way different in size, colour, nor clothing. Then, by command of the bishop, each parish took one of these bodies to their church: and so the body of this holy man lies, by miracle, in all the three churches. The second, Dunstan, was uncle to King Aidan; but he despised the world, and was a religious man. The third, Connal, was the disciple of Saint Mungo; and is buried in Inchinnane, not far from Glasgow, where he is greatly venerated by the people.

Chap. Eighteenth

Of King Kenneth. Of Eugenius the fourth. How the King of Britons was driven out of his realm by the Saxons, and recovered the same. How Ethelfred, King of Northumberland, was slain. Of several holy men.

A convention was held in Argyll, after the death of King Aidan: in which, Kennethkeir, son to Conwallus, described above, was made king; and died, the fourth month after his coronation. After his death, Eugenius, the fourth of that name, and son to Aidan, was made king. It is said, that Saint Colm said, before his death, to King Aidan, that although he had many other sons elder than Eugenius, yet none of them should enjoy the crown of Scotland, except Eugenius: which was proven well after; for the remainder of his sons were slain by several chances of battle. Eugenius was so instituted in his youth by the teaching of Saint Colm, that he was given rather to defend his own than to attack others. He was a just and virtuous prince to his true subjects, and very harsh to misdoers. He commanded all idle people, as jugglers, minstrels, bards, and scroungers, either to go out of the realm, or else to find some craft to make their living. He punished theft with no less cruelty than robbery or murder. He made rigorous punishment on his nobles, when he found them oppressors of his poor subjects. By contrast, he treated them with great reverence and honours, when he found them virtuous. In the tenth year of his reign, Cingell, King of West Saxons, and Ethelfred, King of Northumberland, came with a great army against Cadwallo, King of Britons, and chased him to Scotland. Nonetheless, he stayed for only a short time there, but went to Brittany; where he got such support from the king thereof, that he returned to Wales, and not only recovered his realm, but slew great number of Saxons.

At this time, Keidwald, King of East Saxons, and Ethelbreid, King of South Saxons, came with great armies against Ethelfred, King of Northumberland: for he put them before to great affliction, for taking of the Christian faith. Their armies fought together at Wintringham, where Ethelfred was slain, with the most part of all his people. His last words were their: "I die as I lived, protector of religion of the Gods, and enemy to Christian people." And with these words he surrendered his wretched soul to pain. There succeeded in his place, a Christian man named Edwin.

This Ethelfred had 7 sons, named Eufreid, Oswald, Oslaws, Oswan, Offas, Osmond, and Osik. These 7 brothers detesting the treachery of the Picts, because they came not in support of their father, fled to Eugenius; where they were welcomed, and took the Christian faith. Their sister Ebba, avoiding the pollution of her body, got a boat, by divine miracle, and came, without help of man, to the head of Humber: where she was professed as a nun, and died a holy virgin. Such things done. King Eugenius repaired all the churches of his realm, which were before destroyed by cruelty of the Saxons; and garrisoned the strongholds of his borders with strong munitions, men, and supplies; and died, the 15th year of his reign, from the Incarnation 620 years, and was buried in Iona.

At this time, bishop Boniface, came with a company of holy men out of Italy, to the mouth of Tay. Some authors say he was chosen Pope after Saint Gregory, and wilfully renounced the papacy, and came to the Scots. And though he is not numbered among the list of Popes, yet we find him a man of singular life and doctrine. At the place where he landed first in Scotland, he erected a church, in honour of Saint Peter

the Apostle. After this, he went to a town named Tealing, three mile from Dundee, where he raised another church, in name of Saint Peter. He founded the church of Restenneth, which is now an abbey of Canons Regular. After this, he went through several parts of Scotland, where he preached the gospels. At last, he came to Ross, where he persevered to the end of his life, and was buried in Rosemarkie. And in this time lived the holy man and bishop, Saint Melok, a great preacher, who was buried with Saint Boniface. And in this time, Gilham and Columbanus, Scots, descending of the noble blood thereof; for their singular and holy life, were held in great reverence among Franks. At this time also, Pope Boniface dedicated the temple of the Gods, called the Pantheon, in the honour of the blessed Virgin Mary, the mother of God, and of all Saints.

Chap. Nineteenth.

Of the vicious tyrant King Ferquhart, and how he slew himself; and of the holy man Fiacre.

Eugenius died, as we have said, and had three sons, Ferquhart, Fiacre, and Donald. The eldest, Ferquhart, was made king. These three sons of Eugenius were given, in their youth, to the holy man, Saint Conan, Bishop of the Isle of Man. Ferquhart and Donald profited nothing in the said isle, believing learning unprofitable to their estate. The third brother, Fiacre, was given to contemplation, and decided to avoid the company of men, with all worldly dignities. And to make himself unknown to the people, he took poor clothing, and departed out of Scotland to France; where he lived a solitary life, and got a croft given to him by Saint Faro, Bishop of Meaux, and a chapel erected for him, where he lived the remainder of his days. It is said, that all women that go into his chapel will become either blind or insane.

In the rule of Ferquhart, through long peace, there arose great division among the nobles, to the great damage of the realm. This king was so negligent and steeped in all manner of vice, that he gave no labour to calm the sedition among his nobles, trusting, so long as trouble and slaughter endured among his nobles, no rebellion should rise against him; through which the realm was put to great mischief. And because all this trouble came through negligence of this wretched tyrant, he was hated, and reputed most abominable to his people; through which he came to such misfortune, that he had neither reverence to God, nor sight to the common welfare. And as is the custom of tyrants, he feared all men, and no man had him in reverence. The nobles having great displeasure that the realm was misgoverned by him in this manner, convened among themselves, and repaired all injuries without his involvement. It was believed by the nobles, because they saw so many enormities in him, that he should fall into Pelagius' heresy; although all other Scots kings before him were never tainted with such things. Their suspicion was the more vehement, because he was accompanied by Britons who had the same errors. At last, he was witnessed making derision that young children were brought to the font to have baptism, and that the people made their confession to priests. The nobles, moved by his detestable works, sent a herald to bring him to their council, to know if such things as were said of him were true. And because he rejected their request, they took him by force out of the castle where he was, and put him in prison. And immediately, they took consultation, whether he should be degraded, or held in perpetual prison. After long discussion, it was concluded to keep him still in prison, and to send ambassadors to France, to bring Fiacre, the second son of Eugenius, to Scotland, to receive the crown thereof; and, if they could persuade him by no arguments, to desire Clotarius, King of France, to interpose his authority to cause Fiacre to be sent to Scotland, to receive the governance thereof. The ambassadors who were sent to do this, came finally where this Fiacre was at his contemplation. But yet, before their coming, he was informed, by a vision, of their desires, and besought God not to allow him to be frustrated of the heavenly pleasure that he had in his solitary contemplation. God heard his prayer; and when these ambassadors were brought to his presence, he appeared to their sight so full of leprosy, that he was seemed to them the most horrible creature on earth. The ambassadors seeing him in this condition, demanded of him coldly, if he wanted to return to Scotland, where he might be purged of his malady by his native food; and said they were sent by the nobles of Scotland, to provide him with everything necessary for the same end. Fiacre, who had no more respect to honours

than to the most abominable pestilence, answered, "I believe you know how I have taken myself from the company of the world, to a solitary life; and I believe that the sorrowful malady that I suffer, is a visitation from God to induce me to humility, rather than any fault of nature. I have sufficient with this poor cell, and simple food, which I prepare with my hands, and I am so content with this, that I desire no worldly dignity. Therefore, return home, and bid my brother and his nobles have sight to God, religion, and justice, and arm them with virtue, which may be vanquished by no invasion or violence of enemies. And understand, that I am brought to this condition by the will of God, and that a private life is most suitable for me."

Fiacre had a sister named Syra, who, when he heard of her brother's holiness, came to him at Meaux; by him she was professed nun, with many other virgins of the same mind; and persevered in good religion and devotion, to the end of their life.

The nobles of Scotland knowing, by their ambassadors, the condition of Fiacre, choose four men to be governors of the realm, while they were more profoundly resolved concerning the governance thereof. Around the same time, Ferquhart, vexed with melancholy and sickness by his imprisonment, slew himself so that he should not remain suffering, the 12th year of his reign; from the Incarnation, 632 years.

Chap. Twentieth.

Of King Donald; and of the death of Edwin, King of Northumberland. How Eufred and Osrik, Kings of Northumberland, were punished for their tyranny done to Christian people. And how King Oswald converted the Saxons to the faith of Christ.

Ferquhart the tyrant having been slain, as we have said, a council was held in Argyll; in which, Donald, the third son of Eugenius, was made king. This Donald, following the governance of his father, repaired all places which were decayed before by the negligence of Ferquhart. At this time, Cadwallo, King of Britons, and Penda, King of South Saxons, were allied together, and slew Edwin, King of Northumberland; and came, with great cruelty, through Merse and Berwick, and took several lands from the dominion of the Picts. The Picts having no power to resist their cruelties, sent to King Donald for support: and because they got no support, they were oppressed with insupportable injuries. King Donald when he heard of the death of Edwin, sent to his allied brother, Cadwallo, King of Britons, praying him to admit Eufred, the son of King Ethelfred, to the crown of Northumberland. And when the same was granted, Eufred left his remaining brothers in Scotland, and was admitted to half of the crown of Northumberland; and the other half was given to a false and wretched man named Osrik. These two Kings of Northumberland were finally allied together by affinity, for Osrik's daughter was given to Eufred in marriage; and they renounced the Catholic faith, and become most odious tyrants, and persecutors of God's servants, filling the country full of false errors of pagans: through which, many Picts fell into the said errors; until at last, by correction of the bishops, they were reconciled to the faith. Cadwallo, King of Britons, very displeased that Eufred and Osrik, who were promoted by him to the rule of Northumberland, were fallen into such errors, that they desired rather to be heretics than Christian people; sent priests to purge them of their errors; but these priests returned, cruelly beaten, and nothing came of their purpose. The Christian princes of Albion, when they heard of this disrespect, sent other messengers to these two kings, with sharper writing than before; but these priests, for the more disrespect, were slain. The rage and cruelty of these scornful tyrants grew so great, that all Christian people dwelling near them were martyred, except so many as were saved by flight. The princes of Albion, moved by these cruelties, decided to punish them with greatest rigour: and to bring the same to a good end, they made Cadwallo and Penda general captains of their wars, and gathered a great multitude of Britons, Picts, and Saxons, holding nothing in more hatred than the errors of pagans. Osrik and Eufred, knowing the coming of so many princes against them, raised all the people under their dominion, and fought against the said princes of Britain. Nonetheless, their army was defeated, and themselves taken prisoners; and within few days after, they slew themselves in desperation. In this battle, none was found so cruel against Osrik and Eufred as Oswald their brother; and for that cause he was made King of Northumberland. King Oswald, after his coronation, sent to King Donald, desiring certain preachers to be sent out of Scotland to convert his people to the faith. King Dowald sent, at his request, a man of no less gravity than erudition, named Corman. And this Corman preached at length among the Northumbrians; he was so curious in his theology, that his sermon appeared more for vain ostentation and pride, than any doctrine, to the people. And finally, he returned to Scotland, and said to the prelates thereof, that the Northumbrians were so dull, that no doctrine might

profit them; and were not only repugnant to his command, but despised the same, as contrary to their laws and constitutions. The prelates, hearing these words, took several consultations, what was best to bring their people out of their errors. Some men thought expedient to send Cormac again in Northumberland, with many other doctors, and to spare no labour for the welfare of the Christian faith, and pleasure of their friend, King Oswald; trusting, by continual labour, that the Northumbrians might be brought to the faith, though such things might not be quickly done. Others said, If the Northumbrians might in any way have been reconciled to the faith, they would have been brought by Cormac rather than any other, because he was very resolute in divine letters, and was a profound clerk: and since his teaching did not succeed, it was not necessary to send any other doctors to the same effect. Then Aidan, the holy bishop, said: "To bring men from errors, and to reduce them to certain faith, I think it expedient, wise fathers, to show such things in the beginning, as may persuade them to the fervent love of God; and when the preacher has made the people desirous to hear his sermon, and acquired their benevolence, to preach first the foundation of the Christian faith, without any ostentation or arrogance, not involving the people with such difficult matters as they may not understand; for, as men are not drawn quickly from evil habits, similarly they learn all science and virtue gradually, and learn the easiest matters first. In this way, I trust that knowledge is the more imprinted in their breasts. Therefore, if the reverend Bishop Cormac had observed this practice in the beginning, and abstained from curious questions of our faith, I doubt not but the people should have been obedient to his commands. Therefore, since nothing is accomplished which was desired by King Oswald, I think the same due no less to the fault of the doctor than the people. For this reason, it would be best to send a new preacher to Northumberland, that shall first, in his preaching, give them milk, and after, give them more firm food; otherwise, they will never be brought to the faith." The bishops approved his advice, and all agreed to send himself to do this mission in Northumberland; and he did not refuse the task, but came gladly to King Oswald. At his coming, such confluence of people convened, that he was constrained to preach outside the churches, because of the multitude of people that came to hear his preaching. Always, because this Aidan had not the language of Saxons, he had great impediment in his preaching; nonetheless, King Oswald had the language both of the Scots and Saxons, and interpreted all his preaching to the people; through which, they were both held in great veneration, and converted 7,000 Saxons, within a few days, to Christian faith. The Saxons then were called Englishmen. The Northumbrians choose Aidan to be their bishop: and because they saw each day their devotion increase, and great number of priests come in support of Aidan, they built several churches in Northumberland, and dedicated them to the honour of God and the Virgin Mary; through which, the said region grew no less Catholic than any other province of England.

At this time, Penda, King of the Marches, decided to attack King Oswald, and to conquer his realm. Oswald, to withstand his invasion, assembled a large number of people, and was slain, and his army defeated. Oswald, for his holy life and miracles, was counted among the number of Saints. His slaughter was in the 12 year of the rule of Donald, who lived not long after his death; for, in the 15th year of his reign, he perished in Loch Tay, where he happened to be fishing with his servants, for his solace. His body was found by grappling-irons, and buried in Iona; from the Incarnation, 645 years.

Chap. Twenty-first.

Of the wretched prophet Mohammed, and his false laws. Of several holy men. Of King Ferquhart, and his extortions against the people; and of his miserable end.

About this time died the accursed creature Mohammed, who lived in the time of King Ferquhart: he was got by an idolator, it is uncertain whether he was of Arabia or Persia; and his mother was a Catholic woman of the Ishmealites. This Mohammed was educated, in his youth, both in the Heathen and Christian laws; and because he thought none of them according to his pleasure, he made a false and superstitious rite, very accursed to mankind. When he was coming to man's age, he obtained his living by theft and robbery; and married a widow named Cadigane, by whom he obtained great riches, lands, and possessions; and came, by several chances, to so great estimation among the people of Arabia, that he made laws to govern them in justice. He was instructed by a excommunicated monk named Sergius, by whom he collected his laws, from institutions of several people. He approves the sacrament of baptism, and holds Christ born of a clean Virgin. He commends the psalms and evangels, and say they were amended by his Koran. This Koran was like a bible, gathered by him with many false proniciples and laws. He approves circumcision, as Jews do. He denies the Trinity, as the Sabellians do. He denies that the Father is coequal to the Son, as the Ennomians do. He says, the Holy Spirit is a creature, as the Macedonians do. In short, his laws are all made for the sensuality of man; through which, he drew many people to his opinion. This corrupt faith of Mohammed is spread in Asia, Africa, and much of Europe. It began, from the Incarnation, 635 years.

At this time there were in France, many holy men, as Fursius, Stoilanus, and Vulcanus, brothers, got of the blood royal of Scotland and Ireland. Among us were, in that time, Conan, Columban, Croman, and Domian, with many others. This history, touching Saint Colm, King Aidan, and Saint Aidan, with many other holy men, described above, is collected by Saint Bede. But we will return to our history.

After the death of King Donald, his brother's son, Ferquhart, son to King Ferquhart, described above, was made king. He was a man of high talent; but, after his coronation, he was altered from a liberal and humane prince, to a most insatiable and bloody tyrant. When he was without authority, he was liberal above his power, and gave his goods to support maidens to their marriage; and had such commiseration on every person that was cast down from good fortune into poverty, that he obtained great favour of the people, and was judged, therefore, to be a noble prince. As soon as he was clothed with public authority, he become an oppressor of the people, full of avarice, like a bloody butcher, enemy to religion, compared justly to a bottomless whirlpool; and claimed again all the goods which he gave before his authority to his nobles, and said they were but lent. And finally, he slew all them that were repugnant to his ways, or else confiscated their goods, and held them in prison. He oppressed all the rich men of his realm, and confiscated their goods by false accusations.

At this time were two holy men, named Finnan and Colman, held in great veneration by the Scots. These holy men when they heard of the cruelty done by this bloody tyrant, came for zeal of justice, urging him to amend his life. At last, finding him impenitent, they proclaimed him excommunicated. This wretched man took little notice of this; and, with assistance of some vicious scoundrels, who were ready to encourage him in his insolence, he took pleasure, thrice each day, to stuff his belly

with all the surfeit and delicious fare that might be devised to make him inebriate and drunken, with other vices not worthy to be described. His mouth was so insatiable, that no fowl in the air, nor fish in the seas, was safe from his shameful gluttony. And yet nothing made him so odious to the people, as his rebellion against the censures of Holy Church. Among many other enormities, he defiled his two daughters, and slew his wife, because she detested his vices. The people seeing him persevere in such horrible tyranny, gathered, determined to put him to death.

Nonetheless, they were dissuaded by Saint Colman; who said, by divine prophecy, if he did not quickly amend his life, he would be punished by the justice of God: and that was well proven within a month after; for this king was hunting a wolf in the fells, and when she was wounded by the hounds, she rushed on the king, and bit him in the side. Finally, this king fell in a most vile and shameful malady, uncertain whether it came by the bite of the wolf, or by any other cause. A venomous humour ate and consumed the inward members of his body, with intolerable pain. His hands, feet, and secret members, with vile fetor, were dissolved. His belly, through immoderate greediness, was swollen, as if he had dropsy. And when he had continued two years in this infirmity, as abominable to all creatures, he became penitent, saying, "Had I been obedient to the counsel of Colman, I had not been devoured with this horrible malady, and eaten by vile worms, by the just punishment of God. This unknown and insupportable dolour now shows my many great offences, both against God and man. Now I am destitute of all remedy, without his mercy. These worms that are bred in my flesh, show me a most horrible and wretched creature." His servants ran to him, and inquired if he desired a priest to hear his confession. Then he said, "Bring to me Bishop Colman." As soon as this Colman was brought to him, he absolved him first of the excommunication; and after he had heard his confession, he persuaded him to be of good courage, and to have hope in God, whose mercy was more than any sin that he might do; for God said, "Turn you to me, and you shall be saved." King Ferquhart, raised in hope by these words, fell on his knees, asking mercy with pious tears, and received the blessed body of Christ. Soon after, he was brought out of the house where he lay, with vile clothes, to the nearest hill: where he gave up the ghost, the 18th year of his reign; from the Incarnation, 664 years. And in this same year, Saint Aidan, Bishop of Northumberland, died. In his place succeeded Finnan, who died soon after, in the same manner. After his death, Bishop Colman succeeded; by whose holy preaching a great multitude of Saxons were brought to Christian faith. This Colman went through all the churches among the Saxons, preaching the word of God, and was translated to the cathedral church of Lindisfarne.

Chap. Twenty-second.

Of King Maldwine, and how he was slain by his wife, and his wife burned. Of great mortality, by raging plague, in several parts of the world; and how the Scots were preserved from it.

Ferquhart having died in this way, Maldwine, son of Donald, was made king. He was a pious prince, and made peace with the Picts and Saxons. He took such diligence in administration of justice, that his people lived without injuries. Thus all things went pleasantly in the beginning of his rule. At last, there arose a sedition between the men of Lennox and Argyll; and drew many of the nobles in, increasing the dispute: and, because the Isles sided with Argyll, and Galloway with Lennox, many plundering raids followed on all sides. King Maldwine, to punish these extortions, came with an army against the principal movers thereof; and ceased not until they, by extreme rigour of justice, were punished by death. Thus, trouble that was so foolishly begun was defeated so quickly, that it made the name of Maldwine so fearful to his nobles that no sedition followed thereafter, during his rule. Not long after, the king went to Iona, to visit the tombs of his elders; and repaired the abbey with new building from the ground, and dedicated it in honour of God and Saint Colm.

At this time reigned a terrible plague, to the great mortality of the people in several parts of the world; and ceased not until the people, by continual prayer, fasting, and good works, pacified the wrath of God. The Scots, in those days, knew no manner of hot fever; and were preserved from the same by temperance of their mouths: for this cruel pestilence reigned never among the Scots, until they left the wholesome temperance of their elders, and made themselves ready to receive all infirmities. Colman, Bishop of Lindisfarne, seeing a huge multitude of Saxons perish in the plague, returned to the Isles, where he built an abbey, and dwelt in it, with his brothers, to the end of his life. After the departing of Colman, the Northumbrians, with support of the Picts, made raids on the Scots. King Maldwine ceased not until the same were recompensed with similar raids, on both the Picts and Saxons; and, for that reason, he incurred their extreme hatred. There followed, by persevering malice, great raids and slaughter on all sides; until, at last, King Maldwine was slain, during the night, by his wife, for suspicion of adultery, in the 20th year of his reign; from the Incarnation, 634 years. This cruelty was not long unpunished; for, on the next day, this wretched woman was taken, with all her accomplices, and cruelly burned to death.

Chap. Twenty-third

***Of Engenius the Fifth; and of the Message sent to Edfred,
King of Northumberland; and of the peace made thereafter.
How King Edfred was slain by Eugenius, with 20,000 Saxons.
And of the holy man, Saint Cuthbert.***

Maldwine having been slain as we have described, his nephew, Eugenius the Fifth, was made king. He sent his ambassadors to Edfred, King of Northumberland, desiring peace. Edfred hearing the desires of Eugenius, feigned himself a lover of peace; although his mind was given to nothing more than battle. Nonetheless, he gave a truce for 12 months; so that, that he might, during that season, make provision of all things necessary for his wars. The truce was given under these conditions: "The Scots should repair all enormities done to Saxons and Picts, and redress to be made on all sides. If Scots attacked the Picts or Saxons in times coming, the peace to be dissolved, and the Saxons and Picts free to attack the Scots, notwithstanding any contract of peace." Maldwine suspected the deceit of Saxons, and made great provision for battle; then garrisoned all the strongholds of his Borders with men, munition, and victuals, against all danger that might fall. At the beginning of the tenth month, Edfred sent a detachment of Saxons into the Scots' lands; and after they had slain a great number of the Scots, they returned, with great plunder of men and goods, to Northumberland. Soon after, ambassadors were sent by Eugenius to Edfred, desiring redress; by whom was answered, That he would attack the Scots with more trouble than before, without any redress. Eugenius, seeing the peace violated during the truce, besought God, the punisher of wrongs, to turn the damage following by the wars on them that gave the first occasion of battle. Finally, hearing that his enemies were to come to Galloway, he gathered a great force, to prevent their coming. Yet, before his coming, the Saxons and Picts were lying at the siege of Dunskey, the strongest castle of Galloway in those days. Edfred, by the rapid coming of the Scots, was constrained to lift the siege, and met them at the river of Lewis, in Galloway; which was that time, by inundation of snows, swollen above the banks. The Scots, seeing their enemies in sight, made oaths never to pass out of the field while one of them were alive, unless they had victory. The armies joined quickly, with equal hatred. Edfred exhorted his men to remember their ancient virtue, and to defeat their enemies only by violent force. Similarly, Eugenius ceased not to go about his people, exhorting them to show their invincible courage, so that they might enjoy the palm of victory. While the Saxons and Scots were fighting thus with the greatest fury, the Picts fled to the nearest hill. The fleeing of the Picts greatly dejected the courage of Saxons; for they feared that these Picts would come on their backs. Nonetheless, King Edfred exhorted his people to persevere, and continue the battle. And when he was speaking most especially, he raised up his visor, to be the more fervent in speech; and immediately he was struck through the head by a crossbow bolt, where his face was bare, and fell to the ground. The Saxons, seeing their king slain, turned tail; on whom followed the Scots, with long chase, and drove them to the river of Lewis, where many of them perished, and few of them taken. In this battle were slain, 10,000 Saxons, with Edfred their king; and of the Scots, 6,000; the remainder of their army was badly wounded. The Saxons of Northumberland were not only defeated in this battle, but as many of other Saxons of England, who came to their support.

Brudeus, King of Picts, knowing himself odious both to Scots and Saxons, and seeing each one of them broken by each other's wars, came with a new army on the

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Northumbrians; and had subjected them, without any recovery, had not Saint Cuthbert of Durham supported them by a miracle. This holy man said to Edfred before this battle, that he should not avoid the destruction of his realm and subjects, if he attacked innocent people with treacherous wars. The Picts ceased not from invasion of Northumbrians; until at last, they fell in contention among themselves, for the spoils fallen to them by frequent raids on the said people; through which they were broken, and finally content to have the lands of Berwick peacefully in times coming, without invasion of the Northumbrians. King Eugenius, after this victory, returned home. And from thence, the Saxons began each day to decline in Northumberland, and might not recover their honours until many years after. Eugenius lived not long after this victory, and died the fourth year of his reign; from the Incarnation, 688 years.

Chapter Twenty-fourth.

Of great trouble done by the Saracens to Christian people. Of King Eugenius the 6th; and his deeds. Of strange marvels seen in Albion.

At this time, there came a huge number of Saracens out of Egypt to Sicily and Africa, to the great damage of Christian people. After the death of Eugenius the 5th, Eugenius the 6th, son to Ferquhart, was made king. He was so well instituted in his youth by the reverend bishop named Adamnan, that he held religion in great reverence. He held peace with the Northumbrians, but yet nothing might persuade him to be allied with the Picts; for he bore them in extreme hatred, because they fought treacherously against the Scots before, in support of Saxons, and did not keep their faith to the Northumbrians. Nonetheless, he took truce with them for a year. As soon as the truce had expired, he sent a herald, and proclaimed war on them. The holy bishops, Saint Cuthbert and Saint Adamnan, went, as ambassadors, to bring these two people to agreement. And because their labours were frustrated, they went to their prayers, beseeching God to send concord to the two people. It is said, these holy men got it granted by God, to whom all rule and thought of man are subjected, both in peace and war, that Scots and Picts should not meet against each other with the full power of their realms, so long as Eugenius lived. Thus the wars between Scots and Picts continued, without any great damage to their realms, to the end of Eugenius' life; which was in the 10th year of his reign; from the Incarnation, 698 years. His body was buried in Iona.

Many strange marvels were seen, at this time, in Albion. A fleet of ships was seen, with all manner of ordnance, in the river of Humber, and suddenly vanished out of sight. Great noise of armor and weapons was heard in the church of Camelon. In the farthest lands of Scotland, was a shower of blood. In several lands of the Picts, the milk turned into blood; and the cheese similarly, into lumps of blood. The corn was bloody in harvest. These marvels, when they were known, made the people afraid.

Chap. Twenty-fifth.

Of the vicious tyrant Amberkeleth; and of his death. Of King Eugenius the 6th. How the Scots and Picts were reconciled together by affinity; and of the murder of Eugenius' wife. Of 7 holy virgins endowed by the King of Picts in Abernethy.

After the death of Eugenius the 6th, Amberkeleth, son, or else grandson to Eugenius the First, was made king. This king altered his manners when he got authority. Before his election, he seemed to be a defender of the poor people and churchmen. Nonetheless, as soon as he was clothed with authority, he appeared a vicious monster, drowned in lust, avarice, and degenerate vice. Garnardus, King of Picts, seeing this shameful monster doing nothing appropriate to a prince, took the opportunity to attack the Scots, trusting to find sufficient time to revenge the injuries done to Picts, and made great raids and slaughter on the Scots' lands. Amberkeleth, that his feeble courage should not move enemies to high attempts, assembled his army to resist the Picts. And though he dared scarcely confide in his nobles, as is the custom of tyranny, which lives always under fear and dread, yet he went forward with displayed banner. He came, the first night, to the Water of Tay; and after supper, went forth in the gloaming to do his ease, with two servants. And, in the meantime, he was shot through the head with an arrow; by whom, it was uncertain: and died, the second year of his reign, and was buried in Iona. The nobles, little troubled by his death, made Eugenius, the 7th of that name, king, so that their army should not perish for want of a commander. This Eugenius was brother to Amberkeleth, a man of great body and good conditions. And because he understood his army broken by long wars, he made peace with his neighbours the Picts, and caused redress to be made on either side. And, in the meantime, the two kings were allied by affinity; for Spontana, daughter of Garnard, King of Picts, was given in marriage to King Eugenius.

In the year following, two brothers of Atholl, who conspired the king's death, for slaughter of their father, slew this lady great with child, instead of Eugenius; for she was lying in his bed when he happened to be away. Eugenius, by murmur of the people, was long time suspected of her death; and was forced, therefore, to show the piteous manner of her slaughter. The murderers at last were taken, and put cruelly to death. Eugenius gave himself to religious and civil matters; and caused all the martial deeds of his predecessors to be put in chronicles, to raise the knightly courage of his posterity by desire of honours and praise. He caused these Chronicles to be kept perpetually in the abbey of Iona; and expert historians to be sustained there on the common purse, not only to write the deeds of the Scots, but of all other people, as the chance and time occurred. This Eugenius repaired several churches of his realm, and did great reverence to the bishops and prelates thereof, and increased their patrimony with several possessions, lands, and rents. He persevered in good peace with Picts and Saxons; and died the 18th year of his reign; from the Incarnation, 716 years.

In his time lived Donald, the holy man, held among the Picts in great veneration; who lived a sober life at Ogilvy, six miles from Dundee. It is said, that he had 7 daughters, who lived with him in great austerity, on barley bread and water. They never ate but once in the day; and the remainder thereof occupied in continual labour and prayer. His eldest daughter, Mayot, prohibited the wild geese from eating her father's corn, and they obeyed her holy commands; and therefore, wild geese were never afterwards seen on that ground. These holy Virgins, after the death of their

father, knowing no security to live in waste lands without some defenders of their chastity, came to Garnard, King of Picts, requesting some place where they might live a solitary life, to the honour of God. Garnard condescended to their desires, and gave them a house in Abernethy, with certain rents, to be taken from the nearest lands, for their support: where they lived a devout life, and were buried at the root of an oak, which is held yet in great veneration among the people. Abernethy, in that time, was a city of the Picts, honoured with the first seat of bishops of their realm. But it was afterwards so destroyed and burned by wars with the Scots, that it never came again to its first state. These virgins were not in time of Conrannus, with Saint Brigitta, as is commonly held, but in the time of Eugenius the 7th; for he persevered in good peace with Garnard, and often visited these virgins with liberality and goods. He resigned the crown to Mordak: of whom shall be our next history.

Chap. Twenty-Sixth.

Of King Mordak, and his works; and of his death. Of sundry people in Albion. Of the great miracles of Saint Ninian. And of Saint Bede.

The nobles, after the death of Eugenius, chose Mordak, son of Amberkeleth, to be king. He was a humble and liberal prince. He took great labours to cause all the people that were in Albion, to live together in friendship and concord. He made peace between the Picts, Britons, and remaining kings of England. In This time, as Saint Bede remembers, four several peoples were in Albion, allied together in peace, very different in their manners, language, and institutions; that is to say, the Britons, Scots, Picts, and Saxons, who were called Englishmen. And because the words of Bede are relevant to this history, I have inserted them here: "The nation of the Picts was allied with the Saxons that time, rejoicing to be participant with the universal church in peace and Catholic truth. The Scots, who inhabited Britain, were so content with their own lands, that they wrought no injuries nor deceits against the Saxons. And suppos the most part of the Britons had a natural hatred against Englishmen because of sundry superstitions, yet, by repugnance of the law of God and man, they might not obtain their purpose nor desires; for though the Britons be partly free, yet they are partly subjected by Englishmen: and therefore, many of them, both nobles and commoners, from complacency, and happiness of long peace, are more given to contemplation of books and religion, than to any warfare or deeds of arms; and what end shall come thereof, shall appear soon to our posterity." These are the last words of the history written by Saint Bede; from the Incarnation, 731 years. But we will return to our history.

King Mordak repaired many abbeyes and churches in his realm, which were destroyed before by the wars of his elders. He founded the abbey of Whithorn: where the blessed bishop, Saint Ninian, daily performs more miracles than ever was seen of any other Saint in Albion. King Mordak died, the 16th year of his reign; from the Incarnation, 731 years.

Saint Bede calls Whithorn, Pithynnia; and calls the bishop that succeeded immediately after Saint Ninian, Octa: but yet it is necessary to say, if any bishop had their see in Whithorn, they soon left the use thereof; for the Isles obeyed the Bishop of Galloway and Sodor, who had his principal seat in the Isle of Man, unto the time of King Malcolm the 3rd; and in his time the abbey of Whithorn was not first instituted, but restored to the Bishops of Galloway. Saint Bede died soon after the completing of the history of the Britons, and was buried at Durham; from our redemption, 734 years. A contention is yet between the Italians and people of Albion, concerning the place where Saint Bede was born. The Italians say, he was born in Genoa, and buried in the same place; and his sepulchre is there yet, held in great veneration. In whatever place he died, or was got, the truth is, he made long residence, when he grew in age, in Northumberland; and was often in Melrose, which is an abbey of good religious men in Scotland: and died in the time of King Ethfine; of whom shall be our next history.

Chap. Twenty-seventh.

Of King Ethfine; and how he made four regents to govern his realm. Of great cruelties done by Donald of the Isles. And of the death of King Ethfine.

After Mordak, was buried in Iona, a convention was held by the nobles; and Ethfine, son to Eugenius the 7th, made king. This Ethfine was a man given to justice and peace; and kept the treaty made before with the Britons, Englishmen, and Picts, by Mordak and Eugenius. He purged his realm of all misdoers, and set his labour both to the defence of his lieges and the honour of religion. Thus grew the Scots in riches and honourable manners. All thieves, robbers, and sowers of discord among the nobles and commoners, were put down and punished by his justice. And finally, he was held in such reverence and dread for his virtue, that no man dared, nor might truthfully say, any displeasing words of him. Until at last, he fell in age. Then he gave the administration of his realm to 4 regents, by decree of council: whose names were Donald, Treasurer of Argyll; Collane, Thane of Atholl; Mordak, Thane of Galloway; and Conraith, Thane of Moray. These regents ruled not the realm with such justice as it was ruled before by the king; for each one of them laboured so busily for their friends, that they had no respect for justice: through which, the nobles and other young men returned to their old insolence, to the great damage of government and the common good of their realm. Donald of the Isles, a man of strong body, uninclined to virtue, held a company of vagabond scoundrels with him, and made continual raids and inroads on the country, without any punishment. And though Mordak was one of the four regents chosen to govern the realm, yet he would not punish thesde cruelties done by Donald: it is uncertain whether because he was joined to him in blood, or participant with him in the profit of his raids. The commoners, brought to utter ruin and poverty, complained to Mordak most lamentably, and desired restitution of their goods. And because the king was that time extremely ill, there was no one to remedy their damage. The commoners, oppressed with these sorrows, and seeing no remedy, raised their hands to heaven, and complained of their miseries among themselves. But always the more they complained, the more cruelty followed by this Donald. Thus there appeared no hope of tranquillity: Until at last, King Ethfine died, the 30th year of his reign; and was buried in Iona, the year of God, 762 years.

Chap. Twenty-eighth.

Of King Eugenius the 8th; and how he was slain for his tyranny, and his evil counsellors hanged on gibbets.

After the death of Ethfine, Eugenius the 8th, son to Mordak, was made king. In the beginning, he seemed the more pleasant, in that he ceased not until this Donald and his accomplices were punished by death, in the presence of the people, for their crimes. And yet, the king was not fully sated with his justice, but, with more rigour, punished Mordak with death, because he was allied to the said Donald, and participant with him in his treachery. Such things done, King Eugenius accused the remaining regents, Donald, Collan, and Conraith; because they might have saved the people from the trouble done to them, and were found negligent in that way, during the king's infirmity. They paid great sums, to the king's profit, in redemption of their lives. Through these punishments, the realm was pacified in all parts, and the king held in such dread by his people, that no rebellion appeared to rise among the commons during his time. The people believed they had got a good prince, when this Eugenius began to reign over them; but, as often occurs, the talent of man is more inclined and ready to evil works than to good. This Eugenius having his rule under long peace and sloth, fell into most shameful vices, raging in more lust than seemed possible for any man. He was a defiler of virgins and noble matrons, delighting in nothing more than in brothels and taverns. He loved none but only those that could bring him the most concubines to provide for his lust and pleasure. Through which, he increased each day in more vice, and become so avaricious, that he regarded neither the law of God nor man; and slew several true men of his realm, both spiritual and temporal, by false accusations, to seize their lands and riches, to sustain a company of vicious scoundrels about him. But his cruelty and vicious deeds were not long unpunished; for the nobles, seeing that he could not be prevented from such enormities and shameful works, and seeing that he had neither the censures of holy church nor God in reverence, conspired quickly against him, and slew him in the Tolboth, where he was pursuing an innocent man to the death for his own profit; then took his familiars, who assisted in his wretched deeds, and hanged them on gibbets, to the great pleasure of the people. Eugenius the 8th made this end, in the third year of his reign. His body was ordered to be cast in a privy, or else to be devoured by hounds and ravenous beasts. Nonetheless, that such things should not disgrace his ancestors or posterity, his body, by licence of his nobles, was brought to Iona, and buried among the tombs of other kings.

Chap. Twenty-ninth.

Of the vicious King Fergus the third; and how he was slain by his wife. Of her Speech made to the council, and how she slew herself.

Fergus, the third of that name, and son to King Ethfine, was made king, after the death of Eugenius the 8th: and was not much different in manners from Eugenius the 8th; for he became a drunken glutton, with such degenerate lusts, that he neglected the administration of his realm, and took pleasure in no one but scullions, insatiable drunkards, and such vicious and detestable persons. He was hated by all virtuous people; and had a great number of whores following on him, and held them in such familiarity with him, that he slighted and despised his own wife; and brought her to such poverty, that she was constrained to serve other noble women for her sustenance. This woman, refusing to tolerate such injuries, came several times to the king, and prayed him to amend his life, if he desired to have long rule; and said, if he continued in adultery, he should not avoid divine punishment, when he least expected it. The king, disregarding her words, ceased not each day to rage with more insolence. At last, the Queen, seeing herself defrauded of the rights of matrimony, thought it would be better for her to be a widow, than to live in daily contempt among these concubines. And finally, she slew the king sleeping in his bed, in the third year of his reign. His body was brought, on the following day, in the council house, to find out, by diligent inquisition, who dared attempt so great cruelty. Many of the king's friends and servitors appeared in court with sorrowful faces, desiring the workers of this cruelty to be searched for with the greatest diligence. And because no man had any suspicion that the Queen could pursue her husband with any displeasure, many of the king's associates were taken, and by sharp questions demanded, and several punished with insupportable tortures. The Queen, seeing these innocent men punished for the crime that she committed, came quickly to the council, and said, "I know not, my tender people, what conscience accuses me, nor what divine vengeance harries me with sundry thoughts; for all this day and night past, my mind and body is afloat, especially since I heard these innocent men so cruelly tortured: for if my anger had not been calmed by some temperance, I had done myself most shameful harm. The king's murder is my deed: conscience persuades me, for the welfare of my soul, to say the truth, so that these innocent men may not be punished for the crime that I committed. Understand, therefore, that these men that you accuse are innocent of his death; for I am she that slew King Fergus with my cursed hands, this last night, by impatience with his anger and lust, which are two most sorrowful afflictions among women; for he defrauded me of my lawful bed, using his immoderate lust with other women: thus, when no hope, nor yet persuasion, appeared to reconcile him to my desires, such huge and ferocious fury arose in me, until I was provoked to do this cruelty; thinking it more pleasing to remove the occasion of adultery, and to be destitute of my husband, than to live perpetually defrauded of his bed, and injured by these spouse-breakers. To absolve, therefore, these men that you accuse of his death; and punish me, who am the only worker of this murder, shall be no great labour. I that did this felony, shall take punishment on myself." Scarcely were these words said, when she, in presence of the people, before they could react, stabbed herself with a dagger to the heart, and fell down dead before the people. Many of the people wondered greatly at her determination: and loved her conscience, because she revealed the hidden treachery to deliver the innocent men from their death; and slew

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herself, to prevent the shame and suffering that was coming to her. Others thought none of her doings praiseworthy, but repugnant to the law of God and nature: saying, it was not lawful to any person to make public their own, nor yet other men's treachery; and most detestable of all, unnaturally to slay themselves. While the people were at this discussion, the body of Fergus was commanded by the nobles, to be brought to Iona: where it was buried; from the Incarnation, 767 years. The body of the Queen, because she slew herself, was denied Christian burial.

Chap Thirtieth.

Of King Solvathius; and how he defeated several great scoundrels of his realm. Of his death. And of many holy men.

Fergus having been buried in this way, Solvathius, son of Eugenius the 8th was made king; a noble prince, and able to have done many noble deeds in his realm, if destiny had been propitious. In the third year of his reign, he took the gout, through vehement cold that he received in hunting. This infirmity fell so sore in his joints, that he could not do the duties pertaining to a good king; for it continued with him to the end of his life. And because the king was vexed with such infirmity, many great troubles followed in the realm. The first trouble arose by Banus, Captain of the isle of Tiree; for he gathered a company of brigands, and took all the strongholds of the Isles, and called himself king. And not long after, he came with many long ships in Kintyre and Lorne, and made raids and slaughter in all parts where he came. The king, spurred by these events, sent Douchquall, Captain of Atholl, and Culane, Captain of Argyll, with certain chosen men, to the Isles; and they, with little difficulty, put this Banus and his company to flight, and drove them, by long chase, into a narrow cave of Lorne, within a crag, above a river deep, without any fords. This cave had no out-passage. Thus these men that fled to the cave, had to return the same way they came. Banus, with his company, driven into this cave by chance, tried to return as he came; but he found the way closed by his enemies. Nonetheless, he sought many ways to avoid them; and when he had spent the day trying several options, and finding none profitable, he arrayed a watch during the night, for the defence of his company. Finally, he was driven to such hardship, because he had no victuals to sustain him, that he sent messengers, desiring licence to depart alive to the Isles. At last, seeing nothing else but frustration of his desires, he arrayed his people, and came against Douchquall and Culane at the break of day, and was slain, with all his company; to be a notable example, in times coming, what fruit follows rebellion against their prince. After this victory, Douchquall and Culane went to the Isles, and pacified the country of all trouble, as they pleased. Not long after, there arose new trouble in Galloway, by Gillequham, son of Donald, who was defeated and killed, as we said, by Eugenius the VIII. Nonetheless, this trouble was pacified with little difficulty, after the leaders, by whom the first occasion arose, were punished. At this time there arose great sedition between the Saxons in England, and the Britons in Wales; for multitude of kings, several laws, long peace and riches generated discord; and the Picts were not without civil strife among themselves. Thus, was the so great sedition among the people of Albion, that they could not attack their neighbours. King Solvathius, during this time, had his realm in good tranquillity, by the prudent industry of his nobles; and all lands thereof were obedient to his rule, with no less justice than as if he had gone in his own person through his realm. He died, the 20th year of his reign; from the Incarnation, 887 years.

In those days there were many clerics of singular erudition and life; as Macharius, Bishop of Aberdeen, to whom the cathedral church is dedicated; Divinicus, Archdeacon; Congane and Dunstan, abbots. These, and many others who were their disciples, were preachers and lights of holy church. Some authors write, these holy men were in other kings' days: but we vary nothing from our first purpose, following Veremond and Campbell, both in the history and the date, as we promised.

And so ends here, the Ninth book of these Chronicles.

Book X.

Here Begins the Tenth Book of the Chronicles of Scotland.

Chap. First.

Of King Achaius; and how he calmed his nobles of all contentions. Of his message sent to the Princes of Ireland; and of their answer. How many Irishmen perished in the sea. How the Scots and Irishmen were reconciled.

Solvathius having died in this way, Achaius, son of Ethfine, was made king. This prince, at the beginning of his rule, set himself to calm all discord and seditions among his nobles; for he trusted nothing so pleasing for the felicity of his realm, as to bring his nobles and commoners to concord. This trouble being met, there appeared another of greater importance, between Ireland and the Isles. A company of Irishmen made certain raids in Kintyre; and immediately, all the people of the Isles rushed quickly to arms, and slew a great number of these Irishmen. Then Achaius, to prevent all trouble that might follow by this last battle, sent his ambassadors to the Princes of Ireland, saying he was informed that the Irishmen, from whom the Scots took their beginning, intended to come quickly to attack his realm, to the great damage of the two people who have been so long together allied under one blood and friendship. And said, it was no sufficient cause of battle for neighbours and friends to attack other with arms, although each thief rob another. And therefore, if the Irishmen were more desirous of peace than war, and glad to keep the old band of friendship, the Scots would persevere in kinship with them. By contrary, if they desired war rather than peace, and not decided what was best to be done, he desired them, to consider carefully what trouble and sorrow might follow by these wars. And since peace was finally necessary, to consider whether it were better before the wars or after; or more profitable to have peace, when no harm had been done, or when both their realms were broken by the other's injuries. The Princes of Ireland, notwithstanding these humble words, answered, They should sustain all charges so valiantly, that no adversity should follow. And therefore, they would have no peace with Scots, until the injuries done by them in Kintyre were redressed, or revenged, with more injury. They had fully considered what profit or damage might follow by these wars, and had provision of all things necessary, against whatsoever chance of fortune that might follow. And though these wars were of little profit, yet they were so accustomed to warfare, that they would do the same as their elders did before. When these ambassadors were returning by the Irish Sea to Scotland, and the Scots expecting nothing less than war from Ireland, a fleet of Irishmen arrived in the Isles, and ceased from no manner of cruelties on the inhabitants thereof. At last, when they had ravaged the country, and went return home laden with infinite goods, such a storm arose, by violence of the heavens, that few of them escaped unperished in the seas. King Achaius hearing this calamity falling on the Irishmen by just punishment of God, for they attacked his realm against the treaty of peace, concluded to not to send any more ambassadors to them; and believed them so broken by this forsaid trouble, that they would seek peace from him. And as the king conjectured, so it followed; for the ambassadors of Ireland came to him at Inverlochty, confessing the manifest punishment falling on them by the justice of God, for the wrongs done by them to the Scots; and prayed Achaius to give them peace, which they refused before, by their insolence. To their ambassadors answered Achaius, Though Irishmen were obstinate, and could not understand their profit, until they suffered affliction, and refused often such things as been most profitable for them, yet he would not be repugnant to reason, since he saw them that were his enemies for that time, punished for their offence by

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the justice of God, to be an example to all people, what vengeance falls on them that attack their neighbours without just cause of war. Wherefore, to show him serving of Christ, who commended peace so greatly to the welfare of mortal people, he would set aside both recent and old injuries, and have peace with them, though they deserved it not. The ambassadors dispatched in this manner, returned home, rejoicing in the peace granted to them. And the Scots were not unglad thereof, having experience, by long use, what damage or benefit may follow by wars of foreign realms.

Chap. Second

How King Charlemagne sent his ambassadors to be allied with the Scots and Picts. Of their speech made to King Achaius; and of the speech made against them, by Culmane.

In the meantime, Charlemagne, King of France, and Roman Emperor, set his mind, with his greatest power, to destroy the enemies of the Christian faith. After he understood that the Englishmen, by victory over the Britons, became so insolent, that they troubled both the German and French Seas; and sometimes making such cruelties and raids on France, that merchants could have no passage, by sea or land: He determined to defeat this insolence of the Englishmen, so that they should not have power to attack the French and German Seas in times coming. King Charles, by agreement with his nobles, decided to be allied with the Scots and Picts, under these conditions: Whenever Englishmen came with an army to France, the Scots and Picts should attack England; If Englishmen attack the Scots and Picts, the Franks, in the same way, should attack England. To address this matter, ambassadors were sent out of France to King Achaius. And when they were brought to his presence, one of them said: "Very illustrious prince, were it not that Charlemagne, the glory and protectour of Catholic religion against the Saracens, knows, by experience, the Franks are favored by you and your people, he had not sent us for such things as we will desire at this time. The fame of your good name towards the Christian faith, and also your benevolence shown to merchants of our country, when they travel in these lands, moved us, the ambassadors of King Charles, to come to you with the more confidence. We believe it is not unknown to your Highness, in what extreme danger the Catholic people have stood, these many years, in Italy, France, and Spain, by cruelty of the Saracens, the enemies of God; what number of people been slain by them; what lands and towns burned, and brought to utter ruin; what noble citizens have been brought to intolerable slavery. And because such great trouble rises daily against the Christian people, the most Catholic prince, Charles, has devoted himself to the death, in defence thereof against the enemies of God; desiring no thing more ardently, than to bring his mind to such an end, that Christian people may be delivered from trouble of the Saracens, and priests restored to their first institution: and dreads nothing so much, as to be hindered from his wholesome purpose, by sedition rising among Christian princes; for now divers people, as Saxons, Frisians, Normans, and Englishmen, who are of Saxon blood, have, by manifest tyranny, obtained the realm of Britain, attacking the people, both by sea and land, with unspeakable cruelties. To defeat these attacks, and to prevent them in times coming, so that they shall not attack France, nor this your realm, with such bloody incursions as they did before; King Charles of France, by the considered purpose of his nobles, desires to be allied with you and your people, under such fellowship, that Frenchmen shall support Scots, and Scots Frenchmen, if it happens that Englishmen attack either of them. Thus may the injury of Englishmen, the most avaricious people in earth, be best avoided by both the people. For these reasons I believe, you, most vaiiant people, whom God has defended so long unbroken from your rich and strong enemies, will be favorable to these honourable desires of King Charles, and support us, as well against Englishmen, as against the enemies of Cristian faith; for the commodity whereof shall finally succeed no less to your welfare, than to ours."

The ambassadors, after this speech, were received in the king's palace with all the honour and magnificence that might be devised. In the meantime, there arose a

strong disputation among the nobles, whether it was profitable or not for the common good of Scotland to be allied, as the ambassadors desired, with France. Many nobles were varying in their opinion; and therefore, these ambassadors were sent to pass their time at the hunts with other nobles, while the council was resolved in this difficult matter. Then Culmane, Captain of Mar, said to the council: "I am not surprised, most noble prince, that many of your people desire to be allied with France, believing nothing so good, so honourable, nor so propitious for their common good, as to be allied with the richest people this day in Europe; for through this society and alliance, the Scots should rise in great fame and reverence in all parts of the world. Nonetheless, all these advantages that will come, apparently, by this treaty, would be of little value, compared to the heavy and irrecoverable damage to us that would afterwards follow from it. The unfortunate end, in my opinion, shall show to our posterity, how far we, in our present days, were neglecting their common good, in making of this treaty with France. What other fruit may we have to be allied with France against England, our daily neighbours, whose friendship was most pleasing to us, except to make our nearest neighbours our strongest foes, and our friends severed from us by the broad seas? At whose pleasure we must make war against our next neighbours, and risk our bodies, lands, and goods, to extreme danger, for the welfare of them who are far severed from our support. Wherefore, I think, since the matter is so important, and appearing more to our singular damage than any advantage, we should be so profoundly resolved, that we seek no such coloured honour, nor unprofitable glory, that may provoke our nearest neighbours to frequent wars, and cause us to lose shamefully our lands and liberties, which have been saved so many years before by our noble predecessors. What may be devised more harmful to free people, than to risk their realm, when they have it in peace, upon the chance of battle, or to subject themselves wilfully to servitude to foreign people? If Frenchmen break the treaty of confederation while we have gone to war only for their cause, and ally themselves with our neighbours and daily enemies, leaving the whole burden of war on us; how shall the great damage and injuries sustained in our wars against Englishmen be then redressed? Have we riches and strength to recover this damage from the Frenchmen, after we are broken by these wars, and brought near to utter extermination? Also, if we happen to be brought into such calamity, that our goods are wasted, and our strength broken, and the Frenchmen allied with the Englishmen against us; how shall we then resist the Englishmen? Whom shall we then accuse for violation of the treaty between us and France? Similarly, if we are allied, as is proposed, with France, we shall be in daily strife with our enemies, and rarely have the consolation of friends. We shall have frequent wars with enemies, and never find our allied friends, but by a long passage through dangerous seas. No merchandise can be brought to us out of France, Spain, nor Germany, but by tolerance of the Englishmen. Thus shall our merchants be so destitute, that they shall have no port or refuge, when dangers or storms attack them: thus shall they either perish, for want of refuge, in the stormy seas; or else lose their ships and goods, and be surrendered into their enemies' hands. These reasons show, noble prince, what injury and damage shall follow, to be allied with France. It is best, therefore, to persevere in the old treaty with Picts, Britons, and Englishmen, as our elders did before, who knew all the fruit that might come to them by any treaty with France. And since our valiant and noble elders might never find the treaty with France profitable for their common good, I think we should live in the same manner as they did; and no confederation to be made with new and foreign people, unless we wilfully propose to risk our realm, our lives and goods, without any respect to our own welfare, for the love only of France."

Chap. Third.

Of the answer made by Albion to this last speech. How France and Scotland were perpetually allied. How the Picts refused to be allied with France. And of the articles containing the treaty between Scotland and France.

Several of the nobles took great indignation at these words of Culmane; for they thought it was both necessary and honourable to them to have society and treaty with France. Then a nobleman, named Albion, Captain of the Isles, said: "If the four people that dwell now in Albion, named Britons, Scots, Saxons, and Picts, might live together under one mind and peace, or if we might be certain to live in peace with Englishmen by confidence in their treaty or faith, I think the counsel given by Culmane would not be unprofitable, nor yet should be refused; for then we might have no occasion nor motive to seek confederation with foreign people. But, since there was never found, by any people, more falsehood and treachery than Scots, Picts, and Britons, have found in the Saxons; I think it necessary, either to have continual struggle against treachery no less than war of the Englishmen, or else to be allied with the people that may support us against their perpetual attacks. Are these doings good faith or deceit? When the Britons had brought the Saxons in their realm to defend them from their enemies, and after they had treated them in the most tender manner they might, and rewarded them with great honour and riches; these treacherous Saxons turned their minds from friendship to feud and hatred, and showed themselves the greatest enemies to the Britons, where they should have been their protectors; and bore armour and weapons against the said Britons; and not only attacked them with infinite slaughter, but stripped them of their realm and honours. What treaty or confederation has held their Saxons at peace with any people in bygone times? They always lie in wait to take their neighbours at a disadvantage without any respect to faith or treaty, when the chance occurs. What misery and trouble has fallen to the Britons by the deceit of the Saxons? How often have the Saxons broken, when we expected it least, the peace between us and the Picts? They are contending now among themselves, more by treachery and falsehood, than any honourable wars. They have slain so many kings in Northumberland, that scarcely may a man be found that dare receive the crown thereof. Was not Oswin, King of Northumberland, within their few years slain by Oswan, and Oswan by Osrik? And many other kings of Northumberland, in the same manner, were always finally murdered by their successors. Also, the Englishmen have no less contention in all parts where they now have their dominion, than they have in Northumberland; for, priests and prelates, for fear of the cruelties done by the Saxons, who now are called Englishmen, have left their cathedral churches and abbeys, and fled to foreign regions. And the reason that they attacked us not at this time, comes by no reverence that they have to God, nor to their faith, but from division among themselves; and doubt not, but as soon as they are pacified of civil disagreements, they shall attack us, notwithstanding any treaty made by them. therefore, to defeat these attempts of Englishmen, I find nothing so expedient, as to be allied with the people that may chastise them most easily. Now has fortune given both the shaft and the blade of this matter to us; for now the ambassadors of France are coming, offering freely, what is most profitable to us. Let us therefore be allied with them that have France, Spain, and much of Germany, under their rule. May such advantages be refused by wise men? May the treaty with France, offered freely, be denied by us, the last people of the world, since they, for their faith

to God and man, have such broad reign and lands in the world? Nothing may be so wholesome nor profitable: agree to it willingly, for we shall have so many friends thereby, that the passage of merchants, with all kind of merchandise, shall be certain and frequent to us, without any danger of seas or enemies. Therefore, there is no one, I believe, that will consider this matter carefully, but shall think the treaty with Frenchmen, who are a faithful people, rich and potent, both by sea and land; more profitable to us, than any treaty with the Englishmen. No one is so wicked, I believe, among you, but he knows the Englishmen no less set to utter perdition of the Scots, than of the Britons, with equal desire to overcome our realm. Wherefore, if we intend to avoid the hatred of our most fearful enemies; if we intend to honour the faith of Christ, for whose defence the Frenchmen now bear their armour and weapons; if we have more respect to truth than falsehood; if we labour for the fame and honour of our nation; if we will defend our realm, and bring it to tranquillity and peace; and, finally, if we will defend our liberty and lives, which are most dear to man; let us willingly be allied with France, and persevere thereunto: having confidence, that the said treaty shall not only be a defence to us in times coming, to defend our realm; but also, to resist the injury from Englishmen, very commodious and profitable." Alban, by this speech, drew many of the people to his opinion.

Achais, seeing his nobles fully resolved to be allied with France, commanded the ambassadors to hear his answer on the following day. Immediately, these ambassadors were brought within the king's palace, and feasted with the most splendid fare that might be devised. Then the nobles convened to a council: in which was decided, to send Guiliam, brother to King Achais, with many other noble and prudent men, to make the said treaty; and to thank the King of France, that he desired the treaty of the Scots, above all other people of Albion. Also, it was decided to send 4,000 men, provided with all necessaries, in support of King Charles against the Saracens. Immediately, Achais called before him the ambassadors, and said: "Such things as you desired, in name of Charles, the most Catholic King, are so pleasing to me and my people, that there is none in this company who does not want it, or does not expect great happiness will come to them among foreign people, if they are honoured with the society of so noble a realm and people: and therefore, we declare that us and our people will be perpetually allied with the most Christian King, Charles, and his people; whose welfare is most dear to us, above all other creatures on this earth: praying God, that the said treaty may succeed to the perpetually happiness of both the people. And that the said treaty may be the more powerful confirm, we have ordained our brother Guiliam, with 4 men of singular erudition and prudence, to go with you to France, to make the said treaty: and has sent 4,000 armed men, to go with King Charles to what region he pleases, against the enemies of the Christian faith."

The ambassadors, very pleased by this answer, gave thanks to King Achais and his nobles; then went to Hungus, King of Picts, and desired to be allied in the same manner with him and his people, as they desired before Achais. The King of Picts thanked King Charles for his benevolence, and said, The matter was so high, that it might not be discussed without careful consideration: and presently, so far as reason moved his intelligence, he thought their treaty not profitable, since they were so far severed from his support; therefore, their treaty was to be refused, in case his people came to such damage, through the said treaty, that the same might never be recovered. Thus the ambassadors returned, without fulfilling their errands, to Achais. Within a month after, Guiliam, with the ambassadors of France, together with 4 clerics of most erudition and prudence, named Clement, John, Alcuin, and Rabane, came to France,

with the force of warriors, described above; and they were all welcomed by King Charles, and enrolled to live on his wages among the rest of the army of France.

Soon after, the ambassadors of Scotland showed Achaius' writings, desiring the Frenchmen and Scots to be allied for them and their posterity, with articles as follows:

"The friendship and confederation of Frenchmen and Scots to be made for ever, both for the people present and to come. Any injury done by Englishmen to any of their people, shall be held as common to them both. When Frenchmen are attacked by Englishmen, the Scots shall send their army in defence of France, provided that they be supported with money and victuals of France. When Scots are attacked by Englishmen, the Frenchmen shall come, upon their own expense, to their support. If any private or public person of these allied people support Englishmen against any one of them with counsel, money, or victuals; or remain among them during the time of battle; the doer thereof shall be held traitor and enemy to them both. None of these 2 people shall make peace or truce with Englishmen without the agreement of the other."

These conditions of peace, ratified in the manner foresaid, shall be written on parchment, with interchanged seals of king and king; to remain in Scotland and France, in perpetual memory of this league, to them and their posterity. And that the nobles of Scotland shall be more mindful of this present league, to the King of Scotland's arms, which was that time a red lion ramping in a field of gold, was added, a double tressure, <83> with quartered lilies, including the lion on all parts: to signify that the said lion was then armed with the lily and riches of France, and allied with the same in perpetuity: and to signify, that all the kings of Scotland shall fight valiantly for their realm and liberty, their religion and innocence, perpetually; and support Frenchmen against all enemies.

Chap Fourth.

How Pope Leo the third, and the Florentines, were restored to their honour and liberty by King Charles. Of several abbeys founded by Scots Guilliam. How the University of Paris began by Scots. Of the loving of the same.

After the treaty was confirmed, in the manner described, between Scotland and France, Scots Guilliam remained, with many other Scots, in constant company with King Charles in all his wars; and obtained, by his courage and prowess, such fame, that he was called The Knight without Reproach in all his wars; and got such riches and lands, that he was greatly renowned among the princes of France. He prospered in all his wars; and defeated many several people, as Saxons, Hungarians, and Normans, after they rebelled against King Charles, and would not accept his laws. This Guilliam won excellent honours, the time that King Charles restored Pope Leo the Third to his seat, after he was beaten out of Rome after an attack by the Romans. He won also great fame, when the said Charles, passing through Tuscany, restored the town of Florence to their ancient honours, after it was destroyed by Goths. He brought the Florentines again to the said town, and repaired it with new walls, churches, and institutions, that the citizens thereof might live in liberty. These, and many other honorable deeds were done at that time, in Italy and other parts of the world, by Scots Guilliam: although, they were always done under the name of King Charles; for King Charles remained not long in Italy, but left the charge to Guilliam, to do all things as he thought expedient; and he, with such providence, did all the charges commanded by the said King Charles, that he added the seigniory of Florence, with several towns, to their dominion. The Florentines, for these benefits done to them by Scots Guilliam, took the red lily, nothing different from the lily of France, but in colour, for their arms; to be a memorial that their town, once destroyed by Goths, was restored by Frenchmen. They ordained also public plays to be performed in their town of Florence, in which a lion is crowned with many solemn ceremonies. They commanded also, live lions to be raised yearly in the town on the common purse, because they were the arms of Scots Guilliam. It is said, the Florentines have a prophecy, So long as lions live in Florence, and so long as the lion of Florence bears this crown, their city shall never be subjected to foreign rule. These and many other ceremonies were instituted by Guilliam before his returning from Italy to France. Yet, however these plays were instituted in Florence, they are yet in yearly use, after the same rite as they were first devised. Guilliam, after infinite labour taken with King Charles for the welfare of the Christian faith, grew old. And because he had no succession of his body, for he was given all his days to warfare, and never to fruit of marriage, he made Christ his heir; and founded many abbeys, both in Italy and Germany, and endowed them with rich lands and rents, to be hospitals for Christian people, and to nourish them in virtue and learning; and no one to be abbots of the said abbeys, but Scotsmen only. In witness whereof, there are yet many abbeys in Germany, nothing changed from the institutions as they were first devised. King Charles, a short time before Guilliam was grown old, kept with him the two Scots clerics, John and Clement, in great familiarity; for they were sent with Scots Guilliam, as we have said, to make the treaty with France. These clerics were of so singular erudition in all sciences, that they got a place in Paris given to them by the king, with certain lands to sustain their estate, and to instruct the noble children of France in several sciences. By these men, there came such a great confluence of people out of

all parts, desirous to have letters, that in short time, by their careful diligence in the teaching of young children, the city of Paris was made a solemn University of men learned in all sciences. King Charles, greatly delighted that letters began to flourish in his realm by the industry of these two Scotsmen, commanded, that Clement should remain as principal regent of Paris; and John, his colleague, to go to Pavia, a town of Lombardy, for spreading of knowledge there. Through this small beginning arose the School of Paris: which has at this time such fullness of erudition, that it has no compare on earth: for out of it have proceeded such a number of doctors in theology, canon law, medicine; such a great number of philosophers and ambassadors; that all people, wherever men travel, have experience thereof. There, is continual exercise, contending who shall by most resolute in every science; there, is the flower of theology; there, is all manner of philosophy, with eloquence, at fullness; there, are proven ambassadors, and a multitude of young children well instituted in letters, by diligence of their preceptors; and the place so commodious, that nothing is lacking there, which nature has produced for the welfare of man. This noble University, that is so worthy to be loved in every world, should be honoured by us; for, though we studied some time in Aberden, we took our first erudition in this foresaid University of Paris; and, therefore, we will have no less reverence and love for it, than the child has for his own mother. But we will return to the remaining deeds of Achaius.

Chap Fifth.

How the Scots and Picts were allied by marriage; and slew Athelstane, King of England, and put his army to flight. Of King Hungus' laws, and privileges for priests. Of the death of King Charles and King Achaius. And of several noble clerks.

The Scots, irked with frequent injuries of the Picts, as is the end of all wars, set a convention with Picts to redress all injuries, so far as could be done, on each side; in which, they were finally agreed on all disputes: and so that the agreement should perpetually endure, Hungus, King of Picts, gave his sister, Fergusiane, in marriage to King Achaius; who had a son by him, named Alpine.

Athelstane, King of England, very desirous to increase the lands of his realm, came with an army to the lands of Merse and Berwick, pertaining to the Picts: and allied the same to pertain to his rule, 'and taken before from Northumbrianis by injury of the Picts. And when he had ceased from every kind of cruelty and robbery in the said lands, he returned, with great plunder of goods, to Northumberland, to defeat the rebellion of certain Englishmen who had lately conspired against him. Hungus, King of Picts, refusing to tolerate these injuries, sent ambassadors to Achaius, desiring support to resist his enemies. Achaius, soon after, sent 10,000 chosen men to King Hungus, to this effect. Then Hungus brought his army to Northumberland, and attacked it with many cruelties; and returned, with great plunder of goods, in Lothian. King Athelstane, to avenge these acts, came to Lothian with more diligence than was expected, and followed, hot-foot, on the Picts. In the meantime, the Picts had set down their camp beside a stream, not two miles from Haddington; and were discussing among themselves how the spoils lately got by them out of Northumberland should be divided by custom of arms, and expecting nothing less than the coming of Englishmen. Athelstane, well informed of the council of the Picts, came forward with arrayed hosts, and commanded, by open proclamation, that no Picts were to be spared. The Picts, daunted by this cry, and seeing so many people against them, began to wonder what chance of fortune should thereafter follow. Nonetheless, by the command of Hungus, each man went to his place in the array, trusting that their courage, and [the desire to hold on to] the booty which they had lately, should be sufficient to break the army of their enemies: and considered all day, how they might best avoid the danger which threatened. And though the armies on each side stood most awfully arrayed in each other's sight, yet none of them dared attack the other for that day. During the night following, the Picts concluded to risk the chance of battle, and either to have victory, or else to die all together. On the following day, after their first sleep, they went to their confession and prayers; and asked help of Christ, and Saint Andrew, their patron, to support them, his special people, against their enemies. King Hungus being asleep, Saint Andrew the apostle appeared to him, and bade him be of good cheer, having good hope in God; for he should have, on the following day, a glorious victory over the Englishmen. It is said, that a shining cross was seen in the sky, spread out above the army of the Picts, not unlike to the same cross that the apostle died on. This cross never vanished out of the sky until the Picts had the victory. King Hungus, wakened out of his sleep, found his army beholding this cross with great wonder: and immediately, he called them to his standard, and told his vision to them, with all circumstance described above. Immediately, there arose a huge noise and clamour through all the army of the Scots and Picts. The Englishmen were very frightened by this noise: and more afraid, seeing the cross shining with

awful beams in the sky; for it appeared to them for an evil sign. At the break of day, King Hungus arrayed his people; and, at the sound of a trumpet, gave the sign of joining, crying, in a loud voice, "Saint Andrew, our patron, by our help." The Scots and Picts, inspired by these words, came on their enemies with such fury, that they were finally vanquished, and turned tail: the Scots and Picts followed them, with long chase, and made more slaughter than was made before in the battle. The prisoners, who were taken before by Englishmen, seeing the Scots and Picts victorious, attacked their enemies with more cruelties than did their masters that won the victory. This slaughter raged so fiercely, that scarcely, were 500 men left alive of all this army of England. King Athelstane, at the first joining, was thrust through the body with a spear, and slain, with many nobles of England. The place where he was slain, is called yet Athelstaneford. King Hungus, after this victory, at the sound of a trumpet called his men to the standard, and stood all that night arrayed until the morning, and then divided the spoil of the field by the custom of arms. King Athelstane was buried, with funeral pomp, in the nearest church.

Such things done, King Hungus, with all his victorious army, went barefoot to the church of Saint Andrew, to thank God and his Apostle, for this glorious victory; and made solemn vows, that he and his posterity should use no standard in times coming, when battle occurred, but the cross of Saint Andrew. This custom was kept not only by the Picts, but also by the Scots, after the exterminion of the Picts. By this victory, the Scots got not only rich spoils from their enemies, but also great rewards by Hungus, and returned home with great honours. Hungus, for his excellent victory, adorned the church of Saint Andrew most richly by his munificence, and increased the number of priests for divine service; and gave to it many rich jewels of gold and silver. He made the image of Christ and his 12 apostles, of fine gold and silver, to remain in the said church in perpetual memory of this victory. He gave the tithes of all manner of crops growing within his realm, to sustain priests; and commanded, that none of them could be summoned for judgement before any profane or temporal judge, nor yet be executed, notwithstanding whatsoever crime they had committed. These privileges were not long observed among the Picts; for they were abrogated by King Feredeth, who was the third king of Picts, immediately succeeding after Hungus. Also, this Feredeth took all the riches and jewels given before to the church, for his own use; and commanded the priests to live content on the income they had before the rule of Hungus. Thus, the priests were taken from all their liberties and possessions given to them before by Hungus, and their lands given to his associates. The nobles agreed well thereto; trusting all thing given to the church, no less lost, than if they were fallen as plunder to their enemies. These extortions done against churchmen, resulted in the great misfortune of the Picts; for it was the reason that they were brought, few years afterwards, to utter extermination, as we shall soon hear. King Achaius ruled peacefully and well; and died, the 32nd year of his reign, from our redemption, 819 years; and was buried in Iona.

In those days lived the noble historian, Paulus Diaconus, who added 8 books of Roman Emperors to the history of Eutropius. This Paulus made the hymn of Saint John, *Ut queant laxis*. And in this time, Isward wrote the book called *The Martyrdom and Legend of the Saints*. Among us in those days, were also, Gervadius, Glaciane, Modane, and Medane; great doctors, and men of singular erudition.

In the time of King Achaius, the Roman rule was divided into two seigniories; for King Charles was Emperor of the West part of the world, and Constantine, Emperor of the East: by whose authority a convention was held at Nicaea, of 350

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bishops, to decide if the images of Saints should be honoured in churches or not. Finally, by general decree, it was declared, that the images of Saints, as is the custom of the Church of Rome, should be honoured and held in reverence in all parts, not as if any divinity were hidden in them, but to represent the figure of God and his Saints. At this time, King Charles, Emperor, no less pre-eminent in glory of martial than civil deeds, died at Aachen, the 47th year of his reign in France, and the 17th year of his rule over the Romans; from the Incarnation, 815 years

Chap. Sixth.
Of King Conwallus; and his death.

After the death of Achaius, Conwallus, his brother's son, succeeded; for Alpine, the son of Achaius, was of such tender age, that he could not succeed to the crown. This Conwallus was very tenderly beloved by Hungus, King of Picts; for he set his labour to hold the Scots and Picts in friendship and concord, after the old treaty: and therefore, so long as these two kings lived, nothing was done, either in war or peace, without consulting each other: through which, both their realms were in great tranquillity and rest during their time. At last King Hungus, worn by long age, died. After whom, Dorstorlogus succeeded to the crown of the Picts. And Conwallus lived not long after King Hungus; for he died the 5th year after, and was buried in Iona.

Chap. Seventh.

Of King Dongallus; and how he punished certian conspirators. How Alpine, Prince of Scotland, claimed the crown of the Picts, as nerest heir thereto. Of the Picts' answer. How the Scots concluded to move war on the Picts, for denying him the crown.

After Conwallus died in this manner, his cousin, Dongallus, son of Solvathius, described above, succeeded. Several Scots, seeing this prince inclined to justice, made hortation to Alpine, son of Achaius, to take the crown; expecting the extortions done by them to the commoners should be unpunished in that way. And because he was not so diligent, as they desired, they came on him with awful menacing; and swore, if he took not quickly the crown, they should slay him. Alpine, afraid for his life, came, with a great number of people to Argyll, to take the crown. Nonetheless, dreading that great trouble would be in the realm from his rebellion, he fled, with two intimate servants servitors, to King Dongallus; and was so welcomed, that Dongallus promised, if the people were content, to give up the crown, in favour of the said Alpine; for he desired nothing so much as the happiness of Achaius' house. Alpine gave him thanks, and said, He would not receive the crown so long as Conwallus was alive: and said, the gathering of people, and trouble appearing in the country, was not moved by him, except by treachery of certain conspirators, who would have slain him, if he had not assisted them for the time. And on the third day after, there came messengers from these conspirators to Dongallus, excusing themselves, and putting all the treachery on Alpine. Nonetheless, the king gave little faith thereto, and made such diligence, that he came on these conspirators, when they expected nothing less than his coming, and punished them with such rigour, that the realm was brought, for many years after, in great tranquillity. While such things were done among the Scots, Eganus, second son to Hungus, King of Picts, slew his brother, Dorstorlogus, to make himself king. This Eganus, to secure the crown of the Picts to himself, convened his nobles, and, with great liberality, dealt his father's treasure and goods among them, to have their favour and benevolence; then married Brenna, his brother's wife, daughter to the King of the Marches; so that Brenna should not be degraded of her royal estate, nor her father perturbed for the slaughter of his son-in-law. This Eganus had such fear of his life, as is common among tyrants, that he never came in public without a guard of armed men; and would neither suffer his wife nor dear friends come into his presence, until his guard searched them, to see if they had any weapons hid in some secret place; believing, as it was afterwards proven, that some secret persons were lying always in wait to attack him, for the murder of his brother. And as he conjectured, so it followed; for he was slain by Brenna, his wife, sleping in his bed, among his armed guard, to revenge the slaughter of her husband. Alpine, hearing the murder of his two uncles, without any heirs of their bodies, sent his ambassadors to the Princes of the Picts, claiming the crown of the Picts, as just and nearest heir to his uncle, King Hungus, got on his sister Fergusiane; all other children of Hungus being dead, without any succession: who, as it seemed, was come by divine providence, that the two people so long attaching other in continual wars, might finally come, by inseparable commixtion of blood, under the rule of one king. The Picts, knowing well the desires of these ambassadors, choose a man of great prudence and authority among them, named Feredech, to be king, so that Alpine should have no place to claim the crown. As soon as these ambassadors were coming to Camelon, where

Feredech and his nobles were assembled for the time, and began to state their message, desiring the crown of the Picts to be delivered to Alpine; such clamour and noise arose in the council, that these ambassadors were silenced. The answer given to them by Feredech, was That the Picts would suffer no prince of foreign blood to reign above them; and were accustomed to transfer the crown of their realm from one house to another, as they thought expedient. It was prohibited by the same laws, to depose their king during his life. And though Alpine was grandson to Hungus, got on his sister Fergusiane, yet, since he was got of foreign blood, he might in no way succeed to the crown, by the laws of their realm. Dongallus, hearing this answer, sent a second message to Picts, with a promise, if they refused, he would attack them by battle. As soon as the Picts were informed of the tenor of this second message, they sent certain armed men to stop their coming, and to prevent them from coming any further, under pain of death. The ambassadors, frightened by their words, proclaimed war on the Picts, in name of Dongallus and Alpine; and immediately, they returned the same way they came. After their return, the nobles of Scotland convened at Carrick with King Dongal, to consider how this battle should be led against the Picts. And in this convention the nobles concluded, with one mind, to risk their lands, lives, and goods, in pursuit of Alpine's right; and either to have him King of Picts, or else to die all together. Immediately, each one of these two people readied themselves to attack the other, with divers minds and intentions: the Picts desiring to suffer no foreign blood to reign above them; and the Scots, not to be defrauded of their just heritage. Dongallus, diligently assembling his people against the Picts, came to the Water of Spey, and got a ferry-boat to pass over it; but at last, he was borne down the water by the force of the stream, and perished, the 6th year of his reign, from the Incarnation, 830 years; and was buried in Iona.

Chap Eighth.

Of King Alpine; and how he slew Feredech, King of Picts. How Brutus and Kenneth, Kings of the Picts, were both slain, and Brutus, the First, made King. How King Alpine was slain, and the Scots defeated.

Dongallus having died in this manner, Alpine, son to Achaius, was made king. As soon as he was crowned, he set diligently to provide all things necessary for his army against the Picts. Feredech, King of Picts, ceased not, in the same manner, to make provision for battle; expecting, by the death of Dongallus, some better chance would follow in his wars: and, without more delay, he decided to go to Angus with a company of chosen men, where the remaining army of the Picts was commanded by him to convene. Yet, before his coming, the Scots were camped in the same place where his convention was set, and began to besiege the castle of Forfar. On the third day after, King Feredech came, with an army well arrayed, to Restenneth. Immediately, both the armies joined. At the first clash, the right wing of the Scots was near vanquished. And in the meantime, Fidenoth, Thane of Atholl, came with 400 fresh men to their support. Thus the battle renewed was with huge slaughter, without any sign of fleeing. Although, the chance was very uncertain; for, once the standards were left by them that should have gone in front in defence thereof, and once saved again by the mercenaries. At last, King Feredech seeing the middle part of the Picts near to defeat, rushed with such force against his enemies, that he was separated from his own followers. And when he saw no way to escape, he fought with persevering courage to the death, and was slain, with many other noblemen fighting to the death in the same manner. The remainder of the Picts, nothing daunted by this slaughter, persevered in continual battle, until the night bereft them of sight. Thus were both the armies broken; and forced, as defeated people, to return to their camps. The Picts, knowing their king and nobles, with the most part of their army, slain; left the wounded men behind them with their equipment, and fled home the nearest way they could. The Scots were so broken, that they would have fled the same manner, were not it was said to Alpine, that the Picts had fled, and left their equipment behind them. This news caused the Scots to stay in array until the night was gone. On the following day, certain spies were sent forth to search the woods and mountains, and found their enemies had fled. The Scots, rejoicing in this victory, divided the spoils fallen to them, by custom of arms. The body of Feredech was buried with solemn ceremonies in Forfar.

The Scots, after this victory, found the third part of their army slain; and were forced, therefore, to attack the Picts rather by frequent skirmishing, than any open battle. Nonetheless, they came soon after to Angus, and brought out of the same a huge plunder of crops and goods to Atholl, and the remaining put to fire. By these, and other frequent raids, Angus was left waste. The Picts, to resist these injuries, choose Brutus, son of Feredech, to be king: who, for his feeble and soft administration, was held in more derision than honour by his people; and was slain, the first year of his reign, by a deceitful sedition among the Picts. After the murder of Brutus, his brother, Kenneth, was made king: and had little better luck than Brutus had; for after he had come to Angus with an army of the Picts, he was so frightened, seeing his enemies opposite him, that he took off his suit of armour, and fled from his army to the nearest mountains: where he was shamefully slain by a countryman, not knowing who he was. The remaining Picts, knowing the great difficulty of meeting

their enemies without a head, chose Brutus, a fierce and valiant prince, to be their king. This Brutus, after his coronation, sent ambassadors to King Alpine, desiring all injuries to be redressed on either side, and peace to be renewed, after the old treaty, between the two people. It was answered by Alpine, He would have no peace, until the crown of the Picts was given to him, as just heir thereof. Brutus, seeing that the Scots were set to persevere in battle against him, sent his ambassadors with great sums of money, to be allied with Edwin, King of England, and to have certain mercenaries of England, to resist the Scots. King Edwin received this money, and promised, on whatever day Brutus would assign, to come to his support. Some of the Picts rejoiced in this answer; expecting, with the support of the Englishmen, to defeat the Scots. Others thought little confidence should be given to them; because the Picts slew Athelstane, King of England, with many of his nobles, before in Lothian. In the meantime, the Scots ravaged all Angus, from the foot of Grampian to the Water of Tay. Brutus, to revenge these cruelties, sent a herald to King Edwin, desiring his army to be sent quickly to resist the Scots. It was answered by King Edwin, That he was so troubled with civil wars among his own people, that he might make no support to him at that time: and also he was requested by Louis, King of France, to do no injury to the Scots, and to support no people against them; nonetheless, if the Brutus would delay his war until the next year, he should gladly come to his support. Brutus, mocked in this way, began to detest the treachery of Englishmen: and notwithstanding his repulse, he commanded all men capable of bearing arms in his realm to meet him, the on the 8th day following, with victuals necessary for their sustenance, at the foot of the Wood of Caledonia. The Picts were enraged with such hatred, that few of them were absent at the day and place assigned. Brutus, seeing them assembled with such hatred, came over the bridge of Dunkeld to Angus: and on the night before the battle, by the wise counsel of aged knights, he caused all the carriage-men and women that came with his army, to stand in battle array, with linen cloth over their bodies, with such weapons and armour as they might get for the time. Such things done, he put 100 horsemen to marshal them, without any noise, in the nearest wood; and commanded, that none of them come in sight, until the battles were joined. King Alpine was at this time in a castle, which stood on a hill not far from Dundee; beside which, there is a plain land lying to the North, where the army of the Scots lay for the time. Alpine beheld the Picts on the castle mount, where he was, coming forward in array: and immediately he arrayed the Scots, and exhorted them, in a long speech, to show themselves valiant in battle; and not only for fear of shame, but for love of their country, to do some notable honour, and to rush fiercely on their enemies; and to trust firmly, without any fear of death, to have victory as reward for their labours, since their quarrel was just. The Picts were so desirous of battle, that they joined before the sound of trumpet, and fought with such incredible fury, that the right wing of the Scots was vehemently troubled. Alpine, seeing them reduced, came with a company of chosen men to their support; through which, several Scots returned from their fleeing, and set on their enemies with more cruelty than before. In the meantime, the carriage-men and women, who were hid in the wood, began to show themselves as if they were moving forward, to come on their backs; by whose sight the Scots were so afraid, that without any further debate, they turned tail: on whom followed the Picts, with long chase, and slew all the Scots, where they could be apprehended, without any mercy or ransom. This policy and deceit of carriage-men and women hid under covert, as we have said, was a greater cause of the defeat of the Scots, than all the fierceness and strength of the Picts. The horsemen of the Picts followed so fast, that they spared no Scots that could be overtaken. In this battle King Alpine was taken,;

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and brought, with his hands bound, to the nearest village, where he was beheaded, with a hewing axe, the 4th year of his reign; from the Incarnation, 834 years. The place, where King Alpine was beheaded, is called yet Pasalpine, that is to say, the head of Alpine.

After this huge victory over the Scots, King Brutus returned to Camelon with King Alpine's head, and put it on a stake on the highst part of all their walls, to be a sign of his victory.

Chap. Ninth.

How Kenneth the Second was made King of Scots. Of the death of Brutus, King of Picts; and How Donskene was made king. How the head of King Alpine was brought to Scotland; and how the Picts were defeated.

The Scots, after this dreadful battle, fled out of Angus to Argyll, and made Kenneth, son of Alpine, king. The Picts, very insolent and proud after this huge victory over the Scots, convened at Camelon, and gave homage to God, with many solemn ceremonies and prayer. As soon as the prayers were done, they made their oaths on the holy gospels, never to cease from battle, until the Scots were all utterly destroyed: and made a statute, that whoever laboured to have peace or truce with the wicked Scots, he should be beheaded. Several of the Picts thought these vows displeasing; and said, It would be best to use victory with measure: nonetheless, so many as were of this opinion were pursued with great hostility shown them, out of the temple where they convened. The Scots, were not cast down by this menacing of the Picts, but rather inflamed to higher courage; expecting no little happiness to follow to them in plain destruction of the Picts, as well appeared, by their proud insults after this prosperity.

In the next summer, the Picts coming with an army against the Scots, fell in dispute among themselves for a thing of no importance. Thus was their army divided into several factions, and fell, by injurious words, in such slaughter, that the same might not be staunched until the night severed them. Then Brutus took long consultation how this discord might be best pacified: nonetheless, when he had taken great labour to bring his nobles to concord, and seeing them not willing to agree for the common good, he was constrained to return home with the remainder of his army; and fell into such melancholy, that within a few days after, he died. The Picts, that their common good should not perish for want of a chief, chose Donskene, brother to King Brutus, described above, to be their king. This Donskene made concord among his people, and addressed all injuries where he could. In the meantime, certain valiant Scots thinking it very unworthy that King Alpine's head should stand on a stake, feigned themselves to be Picts, for they had the language, and came to Camelon as merchants, where they remained some days. As soon as they saw their opportunity, they took down the head, and came away with it to their own country. King Kenneth received his father's head with solemn procession, and sent it to Iona, to be buried with the remaining body; then rewarded their men, that did risk themselves in such an honourable deed, with rich lands. After this, setting his talent to defence of his realm, he put strong soldiers in all strongholds opposite the borders of the Picts; and commanded his people to be daily exercised in warfare, and to be ready against every trouble that might occur.

Yet many of the nobles were more set to defend their own, than to pursue the Picts; because of the great calamity that fell to them by this last battle. Others thought it best to dissimulate for a time, and cease from all attack on the Picts, until the Scots had recovered, and their strength renewed; and then to pursue the crown of the Picts, and revenge the slaughter of King Alpine, with their greatest force. Kenneth agreed with the Scots of this last opinion, who were of no small number. And because he saw such great danger appearing to his realm, he pacified all sedition among his nobles, and entertained them with marvellous affection and kinship. There followed three

years with frequent incursions, but without any great slaughter. In the fourth year, Kenneth held a convention of his nobles, and took long consultation how he might obtain the crown of the Picts, and revenge his father's slaughter: and said, for many reasons, it was no time then to idle in sloth, since they were born to warfare; for the season was expedient to raise their army against the Picts, and to obtain the crown thereof, which had been so many years unjustly held from them. Yet, when Kenneth had made all the instance he might to persuade his nobles to battle, they might be persuaded no more to his purpose, than if the same had been to their utter destruction; for the recent slaughter of King Alpine, and other nobles slain with him by the Picts, drew all their mind from battle. Kenneth, seeing that his nobles, by no persuasion, could be solicited to battle, devised for them an unknown deceit, never heard before in any man's age: and convened all his nobles to a council, to advise on certain other higher matters; and feasted them within his palace by solemn banquet, until it was very late at night. Soon after, they went to their chambers within his palace: and when they were fallen in profound sleep, Kenneth caused sundry men, clad with fish skins, to go to the beds where these lords lay. Then at a set hour one of these men went to each lord's bed. Each one of them had in their hand a club of rotten wood, which emitted a strange light, reflected in the fish scales, in the darkness. In their other hand, each one of them had a bugle horn; and spoke with so low a voice through the same, that their voice appeared not like to be the voice of a man. The nobles, where they lay in their beds, were very frightened by this strange sight; and not knowing whether it was a vision or a dream, they kept silent. Then these men spoke through the bugle horn with heavy bass voice, not seeming, as it were, of mortal creatures; and said they were angels sent, by command of God, to the nobles of Scotland, to cause them to obey the desires of their prince; for his desires were so just, that the Picts, for the repulse thereof, should come to such utter ruin, that no ingenuity nor strength of man could resist it. As soon as they had said these words, each one of them hid their staff under their clothes, and wrapped their fish skins together; so that they and their light might vanish both at once. The nobles, seeing this strange vision, were frightened, and took little rest for the remainder of that night. On the following day, after their convention, each one said to other all their visions; and seeing the same appearing at the same time and manner, they concluded it to be no fantasy, but a heavenly vision, sent to them by singular favour of God, to tell them them, if they were respondent thereto, of their certain success that was quickly to follow. Immediately, they said to the king how they were admonished by the angels, to agree to his will in all things; and, therefore, with firm constancy, they would persevere in battle against the Picts. The king answered, a similar vision of angels appeared to him, although, he dared not say the same, in case the people should deem him vainglorious; as if he were so familiar with God, that his angels should tell him of things to come: nonetheless, since they were admonished in the same manner, he would reveal his vision; for it appeared to have a good end. The nobles agreed with his opinion; and, by general edict, commended all persons of the realm able to bear arms to come at a certain day and place appointed, with victuals, weapons, and all things necessary, against the Picts. By this edict was assembled, at Stirling, an army of Scots, with more multitude of people than ever was seen before in those parts. Then King Donskene, to meet this force of Scots, gathered an army, both of Englishmen and Picts, and came, during the night, between the Scots and their own lands. Scarcely had the day broken, when both the armies, inflamed with burning hatred, joined, without any sound of trumpet. The Picts got great injury by their hasty and undisciplined running on their enemies: nonetheless, they got more injury from the Englishmen; for they left the army of the

Picts, in this extreme risk, and fled to the nearest mountains. The clamour and noise coming from the fleeing Englishmen, made the Picts afraid. King Donskene, notwithstanding this desertion of the Englishmen, exhorted them to return. They answered, It was not their custom nor use, to give battle, without a captain, or without order: The Picts, as appeared, offered them wilfully to be slain by their enemies: It pertained also to the craft of warfare, when no hope of victory appeared, to avoid battle. The Scots, seeing the middle part naked of the wing, where these Englishmen should have fought, and be ready to receive injury from their enemies; rushed forward with such force, that the Picts were constrained to turn tail. Then Kenneth's army followed on them, both with footmen and horsemen, and commanded none to be spared; to revenge the slaughter of King Alpine and his nobles, who were slain after they had surrendered. The chase continued until the Picts were driven to the Water of Forth: where many of them perished, and the remainder were slain by them that followed. King Donskene, after the battle was defeated, was born away by a swift horse. Kenneth, dreading some hidden treachery to follow by deceit of the Englishmen, who were not far from their army; brought all his people, at the sound of a trumpet, to the standard, and stood all that night in battle array. On the following day, he divided the spoils of the field by custom of arms, and returned home.

Chap. Tenth.

Of the Message sent by Donskene to Kenneth; and of his Answer. Of the Speech made by Donskene to Kenneth; and of his Answer. How the Picts were defeated, and King Donskene slain.

King Donskene, after this battle, sent his ambassadors to Kenneth, desiring peace. Kenneth answered, He would gladly give peace, provided the crown of the Picts, which pertained to him by just title, were given to him. Nonetheless, the Picts refused to give peace in that way; and, by the rejection thereof, gave occasion to the Scots to attack them with more cruelty than before. In the next year, Kenneth came, with an army, to Fife and Angus, and made the inhabitants thereof so frightened, that they swore to live under his rule and laws. Soon after, Kenneth took all their strongholds, and garrisoned them in his manner; then raised his camp, and came to Stirling, to take it in the same manner. And when he had brought the Picts thereof to his dominion, tidings came, that all the Scots who were left behind him in Fife and Angus, were slain by treachery. Kenneth immediately left the siege of Stirling, and returned to Fife: while he, by fire and sword, left no Picts that might be taken, alive; to be an example, in times coming, what fruit succeeds to mortal people, when they violate their faith to kings. While these and similar inhuman cruelties were done among the Scots and Picts, King Donskene convened all persons of his realm able to bear arms, without any difference of kind, under a proud banner; either to revenge the cruelties done by the Scots, or to die all together. The Picts, in this journey, came to Scone, where now there is a rich abbey of Canons Regular, and found King Kenneth, with all his army, waiting for them. On the following day, when both the armies were arrayed in each other's sight, King Donskene, desiring rather to seek peace while he stood in prosperity, than to seek it after he was vanquished, sent a herald to King Kenneth, desiring licence to speak with him, before the battles joined, of certain matters, concerning no less the welfare of the Scots than of the Picts. Kenneth did not refuse. Immediately, the two kings, accompanied with a few of their nobles, came from their army to a place, which had been specified. Then the King of Picts said: "It comes not, invincible Prince Kenneth, without the propitious favour of God, that I, the King of Picts, whose strength has always been equal to Scots, is humbly coming, after so many chances of battle, desiring peace from you. We, that have been as often victorious over the Scots as we been vanquished by them, are coming finally to this point, that we either must have peace, under what conditions you wish, or else, be forced to persevere in battle, to the destruction of us and you both. Yet, there are several things that should persuade us to put an end to all these wars without any further battles: also, both the new and old affinity of our people, so long continuing together under one blood and friendship of our predecessors; and also, the frequent warfare of both our people, who so often risked extreme danger from our enemies; and finally, the utter destruction of us both, which shall not fail, if we continue in battle, to come on us; for our enemies, seeing us broken by each other's injuries, shall expel us out of Albion with great dishonour and shame. There is now no occasion of battle; for you have not only all the riches and treasure of the Picts, in recompense of the slaughter of King Alpine and his nobles, but also, you have now all the treasure and riches of the Scots, which they lost previously by the deeds of King Feredech. For these reasons, it would be best, that we Scots and Picts live content in our own lands and realms, as our elders did before; and treat of peace: for the chance of battle is

uncertain, and often fortune gives victory to them that are nearest to peril. Nothing is therefore so good nor so certain as peace; and that is now in your hands: but victory is in the power of fortune: of whose unstable favour we have sufficient experience, that she often converts high glory to miserable estate; for you may see us now desolate, and seeking peace, who, within these last few years, vanquished all the army of the Scots. Who is he, that will believe fortune more propitious to the Scots, than she has been to the Picts? Has she promised you certain victory, which she did never to any people before? What people has she not deceived with smiling visage? When she seems most favourable, she is most to be feared. Wherefore, understand, peace, to your great honour, is better before the battle, than hope of victory during the battle: perhaps, if adversity follows, your pre-eminent glory, and greatness of martial deeds, by chance of fortune, shall decay into irrecoverable damage. Also, that we may have peace, no less necessary to us than profitable to your people, we are content, that Fife and Angus pass under perpetual dominion of the Scots; provided that we may enjoy the remaining lands of our realm, in times coming, with your favour and peace: by which way, you may acquire perpetual honour, without any damage following after; and be named, by your posterity, most valiant prince that ever reigned above the Scots."

To these words, Kenneth answered: "Although fortune be no less unstable, than the state of man uncertain; and though our works and endeavours be subject to the variable chance of fortune, as may be proven by many examples of our elders; yet, in this present business, fortune appears to be more sorrowful to the Picts than to the Scots; because they are to come, as in a wrongful lawsuit, to defraud the Scots of the crown of the Picts, pertaining to them by just title. Thus, the Scots have just cause to pursue their right by battle, since they may obtain it no other way. Also, both the recent and old affinity, so long continuing between the two people, should move the Picts. if they had respect to their reverence and faith, to suffer me to succeed to the crown thereof, since it pertains to me by just heritage; by which way, both the people may have perpetual peace under one king and laws, without any promise of Fife or Angus, which are now my lands, and inhabited with my people. Further, I would be very unmerciful, if I would not give peace to the Picts, in the same manner as the Picts gave peace before to Scots, when they were broken with wars. But now the matter is at a critical point: for the Picts are sworn, by solemn oaths, never to give peace to us; and the Scots, in the same manner, sworn never to give, nor yet to take peace with Picts, until the crown of the Picts by given to me, the just heir thereof. If you desire peace, resign the the crown of the Picts, and deliver in my hands all the strongholds thereof, that I, by general consent of all the Picts, may be declared king. If this demand seems insupportable to Picts, they must persevere in battle against us: who are prepared with most warlike ordnance to attack them; trusting, by hope of our just claim, to have victory."

The two kings, parting in this manner, without any advance of their desires, returned to their camp. Immediately, there arose a hidous clamour and din in both the armies, desiring the right to be decided by the sword, with such chance as fortune might give. Kenneth exhorted his people to attack their enemies vigorously, and to persevere in fervent battle, so that it might be decided by that day, whether the Scots shall defeat the Picts, or the Picts the Scots. The reward of victory was the realm of the Picts, perpetual honour and dominion over their enemies. By contrary, by their fleeing, there would follow the ruin of their realm, great slaughter, with shameful extermination, both of themselves and their posterity. These words being said,

Kenneth arrayed his battle with double wings: in every one of them he put his archers and crossbows; next them stood, the spears and pikes; and behind them stood, swords, bills, and axes. To the right wing, stood a noble captain, named Bar; to the left wing, Dongallus; and in the middle, was Donald, the king's brother: and behind them all, stood Kenneth, with a great force of horsemen, ready to support them in all danger. Immediately, by thundering force of trumpet, both the armies joined. Then there arose, an huge din and clamour; and it made many of the Picts so afraid, that they wanted, before they risked the chance of battle, to fly: nonetheless, Donskene exhorted them to attack their enemies with great spirit; and reproached them with their feebleness; and also raised their spirits to new courage, promising great riches and lands in reward of their labours. There soon followed a terrible conflict. The women, seeing their husbands wounded, gave such horrible outcries, that they were more impediment than support to the fighters. By then the right wing of the Picts, where greatest multitudd of women fought, was defeated, and put to flight: then Kenneth sent a reinforcement of fresh men at the backs of them that were fighting in the middle part. Thus were the Picts breached with huge slaughter: and because they had no hope of victory, nor yet power to resist, they flung their weapons from them, and took to flight. So many people were slain in the place where they first joined, and such great number of armour and weapons thrown down, that the Scots, in their chase, were constrained to pass over innumerable corpses and weapons of dead people: through which, several Scots were parted from their companions, and driven among great ambushes of the Picts, where they were cruelly slain. Kenneth, knowing this damage, at the sound of a trumpet called his people to the standard: and after he had arrayed certain forces of the most suitable men for the chase, he gave captains to them; commanded them to follow on their enemies with good armour, and to spare none that might be apprehended. Then Kenneth passed the remainder of that day and night following, with a company of chosen men. The captains gladly obeyed the order of Kenneth; and slew, by long chase, all the Picts that they might overtake. King Donskene, with a company of Pcts, fled to the Water of Tay, and waited there so long for a boat, that he was slain, with all his company. It is said, the Picts renewed battle, that day, 7 times, against the Scots, and were always defeated.

Chap. Eleventh.

How the sword and coat-armour of King Donskene were sent to Iona. Of the Speech made by King Kenneth to his nobles. How the Picts were slain, and banished out of Scotland. And how the Dunbars took their beginning.

After this victory, the Scots divided the spoils of this battle by custom of arms, and sent the sword and coat-armour of King Donskene to Iona, to remain in there in perpetual sign of their victory. On the following day, all the nobles of the Scots came to Kenneth, rejoicing in this victory; and desired him to rest after such great labour, and allow his army to return home. But Kenneth thought it unprofitable to cease until he had put an end to his wars. Immediately, he called all his nobles before him, and said: "It is the duty of a forceful champion, if he intends to use victory for the benefit of his army, to cease not from battle until he has made friendship with his vanquished enemies, or else brought them to such ruin that they could never recover: for, if any man would suffer his enemy, when he is broken and near vanquished, to rest until he may recover his strength; by my judgement, he would do a thing very damaging to himself. As to the danger presently appearing, the Picts are now broken with our wars, and brought to such a state, that they may be utterly destroyed by us; and yet it would be a very abominable thing to attack them with such cruelty, if we could any way bring them to certain friendship and amity, considering they are now enraged against us for damage done to them. Nonetheless, these Picts, as you know, are subtle, and desire nothing more than vengeance on us and our posterity; and for that cause they shall never remove from their hearts, so long as they live, these insupportable cruelties done by us. Thus, no friendship nor amity may be drawn, in times coming, between us and the Picts; for such cruelties are now exercised on every side, that they cannot be redressed. If you have sight, therefore, to our welfare, nothing would be so good, as to leave neither man, wife, nor child, of the Picts' blood, alive; in case, that such posterity rise of them soon after, that shall both revenge their fathers' slaughter, and bring our realm into great danger." This opinion of the king, though it was cruel, was found, for several reasons, very profitable to the welfare of the Scots. Immediately, such cruelty and bloody rage was loosed on the Picts in all parts, that none of them was left alive, out of Camelon and other strongholds, except 2,000 persons who fled to the English. Then Kenneth divided the lands of the Picts among his nobles, depending on their merits and prowess; and named all the lands, mountains, and rivers of this region, with new names. Each land took its name after the possessor at this time; so that the old names of the lands should perish with memory of the Picts. Bar, a nobleman, got, for his singular honour proven in this last battle, a strong castle in Lothian, named Dunbar: from this name arose the house and surname of Dunbars, who are of great renown and honour, to these days. Of this house, came the Earls of March, continuing in a long progression of their sons and nephews, heirs of the said house. Similarly, there are of this house many noble clerics and doctors, clothed, for their notable virtue, with prelacies and honours, down to these days.

Such things done, Kenneth went, with many armed men, to besiege the town of Camelon; for many Picts fled to it with their wives and children, trusting, because the town was a stronghold, to have a certain refuge in it. First, a herald went to Camelon, to see if the Picts would surrender the town: and because they refused, a close siege was laid thereto, which continued many months after. The Scots were so irked with the siege, that they tried many devices to win the town; and finally, they

brought a great multitude of trees to fill the trenches and fosses thereof. In the meantime, the citizens began to lack victuals; and sent their ambassadors to Kenneth, desiring three days truce, that they might consult among themselves concerning the surrendering of the town. Kenneth, having no suspicion of deceit, consented to their desires; and commanded his army to cease from besieging of the town, during the following three days. In the meantime, a certain of the Picts issued at the third vigil, out at an old port, which was not opened for many years: and first, slew the watchmen of the Scots; then came, with great affray, to the king's camp, and made continual slaughter, so long as the night endured, and fled immediately to the town. Nonetheless, the Scots followed on them with such slaughter, that they had won the town, had they not been stopped by crossbow bolts, arrows, and stones, shot out of the towers of Camelon. In this skirmishing were slain, more than 600 Scots. Nonetheless, Kenneth made a new watch, in the same order as before: and because the Picts had violated their faith to him, he made a solemn oath, never to leave this town, until the walls thereof were levelled to the ground. And though he attacked to take this town by several devices, yet nothing thereof came to effect; for the Picts so valiantly resisted, that the siege continued another four months, without any interruption: through which, such miserable hunger arose among the citizens thereof, that they abhorred not to eat most vile and abominable meats. And though they were in such extreme rage of hunger, yet they slew all them that gave counsel to surrender the town. At last, the town being overset and weary, by continual harrying by the Scots, their fosses filled with wood and other similar stuff to the walls, Kenneth sent 600 men to the nearest wood to make ladders. These men returned with the same on the following day, and went, with undaunted courage, to the walls; and finally, entered at several parts thereof, with several groups of men. The citizens, daunted by this sudden irruption of the Scots, and not having power to resist, left the walls, and fought, so long as they might, with persevering hatred, to the death; and finally, were all slain, without any mercy or ransom. The nobles ordered the town cast down, and to leave no Picts alive within the same. The priests, matrons, virgins, and children, came before Kenneth with piteous pleas, desiring grace; but the fury of the Scots was so great, that they, without any mercy, were all slain. After this, the walls, houses, castles, and churches, were burned, and brought to the ground. Of all this town, once so honourable, there quickly remained nothing, but the ashes, wall, and paved streets: of which, something remains yet in these days. At the same time, the Maiden castle of Edinburgh was garrisoned with strong force of soldiers and Picts: nonetheless, the Picts there, dreading a similar fate as was lately in Camelon, left the castle deserted, and fled to Northumberland. Thus ended the realm of the Picts in Albion, and all their people brought to naught, after they had lived in there 1151 years. The year of their extermination out of Albion was, from the Incarnation, 839 years; from the first coming of the Scots in Albion, 1421 years; from the beginning of the world, 6038 years.

Chap. Twelfth.

Of strange marvels seen in Albion. How the chair of marble was brought out of Argyll to Scone. Of the laws made by Kenneth for the common good of the Scots; and of his death.

In the same year two comets appeared, very horrible to the sight of man. One appeared before the sunrise in autumn. The other shone, always after the sunset, in spring. Two armies of armed men were often seen in the night, fighting together with burning spears in the air; and as soon as one of them was vanquished, the other soon vanished. When the Bishop of Camelon was doing divine service in his pontificals, his staff took fire magically, and could not be extinguished until it was reduced to nothing. In broad daylight, beside Camelon, such noise and clamour of armed men was heard, that the people were frightened, and dared not remain thereabouts. These marvels were interpreted, sometimes for the good, and sometimes for the evil of the people, as the soothsayers pleased.

When Kenneth had destroyed the Picts, and obtained their realm in this manner, he brought the fateful chair of marble out of Argyll to Gowrie: which chair, as we have said before, was brought from Spain to Ireland by Simon Brechus; and from Ireland, by Fergus the first king, to Argyll, where it remained always until those days. And because this last victory over the Picts happened not far from Scone, he ordained the said chair to remain perpetually in the said abbey, and all Scots kings to receive their crown on the same.

The Picts, banished out of Scotland in this manner, and seeing the Englishmen could in no way be persuaded to attack the Scots, because of the civil wars among them, went to Denmark. Others, seeking if they might in any way get support to recover their realm, fled to Norway. Others remained in England, seeking their living by warlike prowess, or fruit of their hands. Kenneth kept his subjects, after the extermination of the Picts, in certain peace during his life, as a noble prince, worthy to have unfailling glory; and was given no less to policy and civil manners, than to warlike prowess. He drew all the confused laws of Scotland into a compendious volume, and abrogated all those that were unprofitable, and made new laws more expedient: of which several remain yet, as follows: "In each shire of this realm shall be a man of law, to decide disputed matters when they occur: and their sons shall learn the laws in their tender age. The laws and constitutions of this realm shall be kept only by them: and if any of them be convicted of treachery, or any other crime of lèse majesté, they shall be hanged on a gibbet. He that is convicted of theft, shall be hanged. He that makes murder, shall be beheaded. A woman convicted of any capital crime, shall be drowned, or buried alive. He that blasphemes God or his Saints, or blasphemes the king or his captain, shall lose his tongue. He that says falsehoods to the damage of his neighbour, shall lose his sword, and be exiled from good company. All persons suspected of any crime, shall suffer the inquest of 7 wise men, of 9, 11, 13, 15, and so forth, an odd number. All robbers, oppressors, and invaders of other men's lands, shall be beheaded. All vagabonds, fools, bards, parasites, and all similar idle people, shall be burned on the cheek, and scourged with wands, unless they find some honest work to win their living. The wife shall not be punished for her husband's iniquity: but the man shall be punished for the crime of his wife, if he knew the crime: and if she be not his wife, but his concubine, she shall be punished with the same punishment as the man receives for his crime. He that ravishes a virgin, unless she

desire him in marriage, shall be beheaded. He that defiles another man's bed, shall be put to death; with the woman, unless she was forced. He that rapes a woman, shall be beheaded; and the woman shall suffer no injury, but declared innocent. If the son injure the father in word or deed, the member that did it, whether it be foot, tongue, or hand, shall be cut from him: and after this punishment, he shall be hanged on a gibbet, and his body shall remain unburied above the earth. He that is a manslayer, or born dumb, or ungrateful to his father, shall succeed to no heritage. Magicians, witches, and makers of private pacts with devils, shall be burned to death. No seed shall be sown, until it be purified from all noisome grains. He that suffers his land to be filled with marigolds, or similar unprofitable weeds, shall pay, for the first act, an ox, to the common good; for the second act, 10 oxen; and, the third time, he shall forfeit his lands. If your companion or friend be slain in the field, he shall be buried, and your enemy left without sepulchre. A beast found straying, shall be given to the owner, or to the searcher of thieves, or else to the priest of the parish: anyone who witholds it three days, shall be accused of theft. He that finds his neighbour's goods, shall inquire, by open proclamation, the owner thereof; otherwise, he shall be punished as a thief. He that strikes his opponent in a lawsuit, shall lose his action; and if he is the plaintiff, his defendant shall be absolved from his petition. When cattle fight among themselves, if one of them happens to be slain, and it is uncertain what cow made the slaughter; the cow that is horned shall bear the blame; and the owner thereof shall recompense the value of the cow that is slain, to his neighbour. A sow that eats her piglets, shall be stoned to death, and her flesh forbidden. A swine that eats the corn, or damages other men's lands, shall be slain, without any redress to the owner. All other beasts that eat men's corn or grass, shall be impounded, until the owner thereof redress the harms by them done. Altars, churches, pictures of Saints, ambassadors, chapels, priests, and all ecclesiastic persons, shall be held in reverence. Festival and solemn days, fasting, vigils, and all other ceremonies of the church, shall be observed, as the church has instituted. He that hurts a churchman, in word or in deed, shall be punished by death. All tombs shall be held in reverence, and a cross set on them, that no man walk on them. The place, where a man is slain or buried, shall be untilled for 7 years. The corpse of a dead man shall be buried according to his goods: If he was a nobleman, and did great deeds for the common good, his body shall be buried with funeral pomp, in this manner: Two horsemen shall go before him to the church; one arrayed in his best clothing, bearing his armour and weapons, on a white horse; the other shall go in mourning clothes, on a black horse: and when the corpse enters the church, the man with the black horse shall turn his back to the altar, and lamentably deplore the death of his master, and shall depart the same way he came; the other shall offer his horse, armour, and weapons, to the priest, and bury him in magnificent sepulchre." This custom of burying of noblemen was abrogated afterwards by the people; and, in redemption thereof, they paid 5 pounds to the priest of the church.

This noble king, Kenneth, with these, and many other institutions, governed his people, to the end of his life, in good peace, happiness, and justice. He translated the bishop's seat of Abernethy to the church of Saint Regulus: which was named afterwards, the church of Saint Andrew's. The bishop that succeeded after in this city, was called the great Bishop of Scotland; for the realm of Scotland was not divided then as now, in dioceses, but each bishop, if he was found of good life, received his oblation in whatsoever place he came: and this custom endured in the church of Scotland unto the time of King Malcolm the Third; who was warned, as we shall after describe, by a vision, to institute the sete of Murthlac, now called Aberdeen. This see of Saint Andrew's has been held in great reverence, from the first institution thereof,

to these days: of which see there have been many noble bishops of singular erudition and life, to the number of 36. But I will return to my history.

Kenneth increased the lands of his realm, from the German sea, beside Northumberland, to the Irish sea, beyond the Isles; and died at Forteviot, by flux of catarrh, the 20th year of his reign; from the Incarnation, 855 years. His body was buried in Iona, among the ancient tombs of other kings.

Chap. Thirteenth.

Of the vicious King Donald. How Osbret and Aella, with a great number of Englishmen, were defeated. How 20,000 Scots were slain; and King Donald taken by the Englishmen and Britons. Of the message sent by the Scots to Osbret; and of his answer.

After Kenneth, the noble prince, died in this way, his brother, Donald, the fifth of that name, was made king; very different from his brother; for scarcely had he reigned two years, when his abominable lust, by multitude of whores and riotous surfeit, made all the people degenerate; and given more to his sensual pleasures than any defence of his realm, as if no damage was threatened from his enemies. Thus was the temperance of our old fathers set aside, and new vices brought among the people. Many of the nobles, such as were lovers of virtue, detesting, with great indignation, these shameful manners of the king and his people, always increasing to the damage of the common good; went to the king, exhorting him to remember what miserable and wicked end follows on vile and sensual lusts; what public and private persons have been lost by the same; what pestilence and dangers succeed thereby; and to what crimes and shameful deeds men are driven, by occasion of their lusts: and therefore, prayed him, if he had respect to his personal or the common good, to remove suspect and vicious persons from his company; and to show himself, rather a wise prince, like his brother Kenneth, than an degenerate monster like Sardanapalus, who lost his life and the empire of the Assyrians, because he was always accompanied with women, and overmuch given to his lust. When the nobles of Scotland had said these and similar words to their prince, and seeing no emendation of his life, but his hatred daily rising against them, they left their purpose. Thus the people were degenerate in every vice, by the vicious living of their prince: all reason turned to deceit, and justice exchanged for iniquity.

In this meantime, the remainder of the Picts, who fled among the Englishmen, when they heard of the insolence of the Scots, took desire to recover their realm in Albion: and solicited Osbret and Aella, two great princes of England, to move war against the Scots; and promised to obey them and their posterity, if the said princes would restore them to their lands in Albion. Osbret and Aella, men of high talent and prudence, and knowing by what detestable vices the Scots were degenerate, refused not these desires of the Picts. And yet they would not show themselves enemies to the Scots, until all contentions were pacified among their nobles. And when the same was done most prudently, the foresaid captains, Osbret and Aella, came with an army of Englishmen and Britons. And after they had set down their camp in Merse and Berwick, they sent a herald to King Donald, charging him to restore the lands lately taken from Picts; otherwise, Englishmen and Britons would be no less enemies to him, than the Picts were before. Donald, daunted by this message, and knowing not what was to be done, began to search where he might best hide himself, to avoid the fury of his enemies: yet, finally, by exhortation of his nobles, that he should not, by his cowardice, expose the realm to extreme danger, he commanded all people under his dominion, to convene, at a certain day and place, with all things necessary to resist their enemies. King Donald, accompanied by his nobles and commoners in this way, gave Osbret and Aella battle at Jedburgh. In this battle, their forces were defeated with great slaughter, and chased to the mountains. Donald, very insolent after this

victory, and believing himself firmly delivered of all trouble, came to the mouth of Tweed with his victorious army; and found there, two ships laden with wines, victuals, and all other things necessary to sustain the army of Englishmen. King Donald took these ships, with little difficulty, and divided the spoils and riches thereof among his warriors. The spoil of these ships was more troublesome to the Scots, than were their enemies; for Donald was given to such greediness and lust of his belly, that he corrupted all his army into detestable practices. The young men, following the example of King Donald, filled the army full of brothels, taverns, and whores. There followed, dicing and card-playing; and of them came quarrels and murder. Thus the army was made a gathering of lecherous people, without any order of warfare. Osbret, hearing the Scots given to such immoderate pleasure and lusts, came on them with a new army, when they expected nothing less than his coming, and slew them, naked of armour, full of wine, and asleep in their beds. The outcry suddenly arose, through terrible screaming of dying people, and awakened the army to a miserable battle. There soon followed a lamentable slaughter of the Scots; some contending, but in vain, to escape their enemies; others slain, without resistance; others fled wherever they might best. In this dreadful conflict 20,000 Scots were slain. King Donald was taken full of wine and sleep, and led through the country, to the derision to all people: and with him were taken, all the remaining nobles that were left unslain, and put in prison; their camp looted, and made prey to Englishmen and Britons. The fame of this unfortunate battle made the remaining Scots no less sorrowful, than if their realm had fallen in prey to their enemies: some began to revile fortune; others trusted all their mischiefs had befallen them in vengeance for their wretched king and his cursed counsel; others ran through streets, inquiring of those that they met, who was taken or slain, and what the Englishmen intended to do after this victory: at last, hearing that Englishmen were coming to Lothian, and the Britons to Galloway, ceasing from no manner of cruelty that might be devised; they were more afraid than ever were any people before. The outcries and lamentable cries of women when they heard of the miserable slaughter of their friends and husbands, terrified all the country. The lamentation was so huge, that few were prepared either to revenge the injuries of enemies, or yet to defend their realm: through which, all the lands of Scotland, from Humber to Stirling, was overrun; and neither man, wife, nor page, left alive, that might be overtaken by Englishmen or Britons: and immediately, they made themselves ready to come to Fife and Angus. Then the captains of each region calmed all trouble, so far as they might, among the people; and, with all men able to bear arms that they could gather, they stopped the coming of enemies over the Forth for some days. Osbret, immediately, filled certain ships with 10,000 chosen men, to come over Forth. In the meantime, there arose so vehement a storm, that 5,000 of them perished, and the remainder, without mast or rigging, returned to land. Osbret, seeing his army could not be conveyed by sea without great danger, came to the bridge of Stirling, to bring his army to Fife by land. Then the Scots sent their ambassadors to Osbret, desiring peace; and said, It pertained not to valiant champions, having victory without battle, to attack vanquished people with new injuries; their king captive, and their nobles being so miserably slain: and reminding them, that the Scots were vanquished more by their own sloth and negligence, than by any courage of Englishmen; also, fortune was so unstable, that often she takes from mortal people the victory that she gives to them, unless they use it with more measure; also, no glory might succeed to him, although he vanquished feeble people, who were set to take peace under what condition he pleased; nonetheless, if he would no ways condescend to peace, they should prefer honourable death to shameful life. Osbret, having

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carefully considered their petitions, was content to have peace with Scots, under these conditions, That all lands obtained from Scots at this time, should remain under perpetual dominion of Englishmen and Britons, and no further conquests to be made on the Scots. The remaining land taken from the Picts, shall remain, as before, under the rule of the Scots. The Water of Forth shall be the border between Scots and Englishmen in the East parts; and it shall be thenceforth named, the Scots Sea. The Water of Clyde, to Dumbarton, shall be the border in the West parts, between the Scots and Britons. This castle, before this day, was called Alcleuch, and than named DumBritain; that is to say, the Castle of the Britons. It shall be regarded as treachery, if any Scotsmen pass over Forth, and be found in any lands pertaining to Englishmen or Britons. If any Scots be driven in the said lands, they shall depart within three days after, unless they are prevented. They shall take nothing out of the realm, but victuals and water. They shall build no strongholds against the Britons nor Englishmen. And they shall pay, each year, 1,000 pounds to the Britons, until 20 years had passed: and for the observation thereof, shall give 60 of their nobles' sons to remain in pledge. Osbret commanded these ambassadors, if peace under these conditions were thought heavy, not to come again with any reply.

Chap. Fourteenth.

Of the speech made by Calenus. How the Scots took peace with Englishmen and Britons. How King Donald was put in prison for his vices, and slew himself. Of sundry marvels seen in Albion.

Many of the Scots thought the peace grievous under these conditions; others thought the realm in such danger, that peace was necessary, however it might be had. Thus, they would have been divided into several factions, had not an aged man, named Calenus, Thane of Angus, who had 7 sons slain with King Donald at this last battle, pacified them in this manner: "I find, in the Chronicles, how the valiant Galdus, our Sovereign, for whose singular pre-eminence in glory of arms, the lands of Brigantia were called Galloway, brought the Romans, who were Conquerors of all people, to such extreme calamity, that they sought his peace, under what conditions he pleased, that they might avoid the irrecoverable danger than appearing to their army. And though he could have slain them without any mercy or ransom, he would have done but small outrage or dishonour to the remainder of the Roman people. Wherefore, if the Roman army, depressed by evil fortune, and having more noblemen of singular prudence and counsel than are now among us, submitted themselves to have peace, at the will of their enemies, because they might no otherwise avoid the danger occurring; I think, therefore, we should not be ashamed, since we are vanquished, our realms standing in extreme danger, and our king and nobles taken, to have peace with our enemies, however it may be had. And yet, if our common welfare, which has been so valiantly defended to our days, could be defended any other way, I think, we should rather risk the extreme danger of battle, than to seek such grievous conditions of peace. Further, if our lives, wilfully offered to death, deliver our realm and people from the shame and trouble now appearing, I should be the first that would willingly offer himself in sacrifice in that behalf. But, since we are coming to such calamity and affliction, that we are forced to have peace under whatsoever conditions it may be had, for this time, or else to lose our realm, fighting foolishly with our enemies, to our deaths; it will be best, therefore, to have peace, and to save our realm, which has been often so valiantly defended, to hope of greater prosperity, that you may once recover the lands taken from you by the injury of enemies. And if you do otherwise, you shall destroy yourselves, your wives, children, and realm, without any recovery."

The nobles, accepting this counsel, sent ambassadors to have peace with Britons and Englishmen, in the manner described above. The peace being ratified, Donald was sent to Scotland, ransomed with great sums of money. Then the Britons and Englishmen sat down peaceably in several broad lands of Scotland. The Britons got all the lands from Stirling to the Irish Sea, and from the Water of Forth and Clyde to Cumbria, with all strongholds thereof. The Englishmen got all the lands between Stirling and Northumberland. Thus was Clyde the border between Scots and Britons on that side, and the Water of Forth, named the Scots Sea, the border between them and Englishmen on the other side; and Stirling, the common border to three people, Scots, Britons, and Englishmen. The castle was in the keeping of King Osbret, who repaired it with new fortifications, notwithstanding the ruin thereof made before by Scots, when they plundered the Picts of their realm. This Osbret had his moneyers within this castle, by whom the sterling money began. The Englishmen built a bridge

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of stone over the Water of Forth: in the midst thereof stood an image of the crucifix; and under the same there verses were carved:

"I am fre March, as passingeris may ken,
To Scots, to Britons, and to Englishmen."<93>

The Picts, seeing the three people brought to concord, feared, by suspicion, that Englishmen and Britons, who were before their friends, should become their enemies, by desire of their lands; and, therefore, to save their lives, they fled to their friends in Norway and Denmark: others, who had no refuge, were slain by the Englishmen. This was the end of the Picts who fled to England after the expulsion of them from their realm.

In the same time, King Donald, who was brought home, though he was unworthy, with great triumph; removed all virtuous and noblemen out of his company, and fell to all his vices, as before. And though insupportable adversity fell to him, each one above other, yet none of them, nor yet good counsel, might draw him from his corrupt life. And when he had lost half of his realm, taken from him because of his sloth, and the other half misruled with lack of justice; and nothing appearing more clearly than destruction of his realm, by continual seditions daily rising in the same; he was taken by the nobles, so that the realm should not be lost by his folly, and put in prison: where he, within few days after, slew himself, in desperation, in the 6th year of his reign; from the Incarnation, 860 years.

Many marvels were seen, about this time, in Albion. There were a child in Lothian, of 6 months old, who said to his mother, within short time the enemies shall have rule and dominion of Lothian; and counselled her, therefore, to fly from there. The oxen, at their pasture, made an unheard-of bellowing, and rushed quickly to their death. Fish were found dead on the sea-side at Forth, little different from the image of man. In Galloway a huge multitude of serpents fell out of the air, and suddenly were rotted in corruption, to the great mortality of men and beasts. The soothsayers conjectured, by these marvels, that the rule of King Donald would end with mischief.

Chap. Fifteenth.

Of King Constantine the Second; and of his laws. Of the complaint made by Evanus of the Isles to his people; and how the said Evanus was punished for his rebellion.

Donald the tyrant having been slain, as we have written, Constantine, the second of that name, and son of Kenneth, was made king. In the beginning of his reign, he aimed to recover the lands which were taken before from the Scots, through the sloth of his uncle Donald. The nobles, knowing themselves broken by the damage of the wars just past, would not agree with him, until the corrupt manners which were brought among the people by the insolence of King Donald, were first put down, and all things brought to the same estate as they were before, in the time of Kenneth. King Constantine, to address these matters, convened his nobles to a council at Scone: where he, by public authority, made the laws under-written. In the first, he commanded churchmen to wait diligently on divine service. They shall abstain from all profane labour, and live content on the patrimony pertaining to their churches. They shall preach the word of God to the people. They shall live in the same manner as they teach the people. And so that they may the more easily serve God, they shall be free, in times coming, of all charges pertaining to the wars. They shall neither nourish horse nor hounds for their pleasure. They shall bear no weapons, nor judge civil actions. And if these priests neglect, and do not their duty, as Christian people think reasonable; they shall pay, for the first time, great sums of money; and for the second time, if they amend not their life, they shall be degraded from their priesthood. Young children shall be kept from all lusts, and nurtured with plain food; and shall eat but once in the day; and abstain from all things that may make them drunk. A child, or a maiden, that is found drunk, shall be punished by death. Young men shall be exercised in swift running and wrestling; with crossbow, longbow, and casting of spears; to keep them from such things as make them degenerate: and they shall sleep on boards, and hard beds, to make them able to suffer distress in the king's wars. None of these things were forbidden to aged men; but only, to avoid excess and many courses. It was commanded by the same decree, All taverners, drunkards, brothel-keepers, and provokers of the people to intemperate diet or lusts, shall leave the country before a certain day, under pain of death. By these laws, the people were changed within a short time, from lecherous gluttons, to temperate men; from soft bodies, to men ready to suffer labours; and, from degenerate creatures, made wise and manly champions. There followed, soon after, great happiness to the realm, through the wise and prudent administration of King Constantine. The first trouble that arose in his time, was by Evanus, Captain of the Isles; for our people have been always of so wicked and insolent talent, since their first beginning, that they may neither sustain long peace nor war. When they are wasted by long wars, they think nothing so displeasing to them as battle: and then labour to have peace with greatest diligence. After long peace, they acquire riches, and increase each day so insolent, that they will not suffer equal administration of justice: and then frequently seek, either to have war with enemies, or else to have war among themselves. In the same manner, Evanus of the Isles, irked by long peace, gathered a company of similar scoundrels to himself, in the castle of Dunstaffnage, for it was in his keeping: and, in a long speech, complained before them, that continuation of long peace with foreign people, has brought the nobles to servitude. Constantine, their king, was a deaf, severe, and unmerciful prince, more profitable to the commoners than to nobles: and had made

certain laws, to be executed equally on poor and rich, without any respect for estate: and had enriched his familiars, under pretence of justice, subjecting his nobles to great punishment. Thus was there was no place left to gentlemen and nobles, to sustain their life with such honour as their elders did before. On the contrary, men of vile and obscure lineage were daily promoted to riches and honours. No man might live under his strict laws, unless they pass their time innocently as peasants do, which no gentle heart might suffer. Wherefore, that noble men shall not be held under such perpetual servitude, and that low-born men shall not, in times coming, have occasion to be insolent and proud; it will be best to conspire against Constantine, and either to take him, or else attack him with all the power they could: which being done, all things might succeed as they pleased. The Islesmen, very desirous to have free rein, that they might injure the people, as before, without any punishment; agreed to his opinion, and solicited all the people of Moray, Ross, and Caithness, to rebel against their prince. Nonetheles, the treachery was soon revealed to the king; and caused him, with a company of chosen men, to come quickly to Dunstaffnage, where this Evanus happened to be for the time; and took him, with several of his accomplices, and hanged them on gibbets. And because several great princes of the country participated in his treachery, they were all taken in the same manner, and put in strong prisons, while the king carefully considered what punishment was due to their offence.

Chap. Sixteenth.

How Gadanus, King of Danes, sent his two brothers, Hungar and Hubba, with great armies, to attack the Scots; and how the said Hubba was vanquished, and his army put to flight.

As soon as this trouble was pacified in this way, there followed another of greater importance; for men never experience more adversity, than when it is least expected. Gadanus, King of Denmark, came with an army, first against the Scots, and then against the Englishmen. The motive of his wars was, because the remainder of the Picts, who fled to Denmark when they were beaten out of Albion by the wars of the Scots, resigned to him all right that they might have to their realm in Albion: and for that cause, he sent his 2 brothers, Hungar and Hubba, with a fleet of Danes, to Albion: and they arrived in Fife, before ever the news of their wars came to the ears of the Scots. And after their arriving, they attacked the people with such cruelties, that they were forced, for safety of their lives, to seek new habitation. In the meantime; there were in those regions, a huge number of holy men, who daily preached, the scripture and gospels to the people; but they were attacked with such slaughter and cruelty by the Danes, that the most part of them fled with Hadrian, Bishop of Scotland, to the Isle of May, to avoid the danger. This May is an isle between Fife and Lothian; and in it was an abbey of monks: but, neither the reverence of this religious place, nor yet the innocence of these holy men, might save them; for they were all slain, with unheard-of punishment and torment. These holy martyrs, Saint Hadrian and his companions, are held yet in great veneration by Englishmen and Scots, and daily miracles are performed by them. King Constantine, seeing the furious cruelty of the Danes increasing more each day, thought it more expedient to risk the chance of fortune while his strength was whole, than when it was worn out by frequent damage; and, therefore, commanded all his people to meet him, in their best manner, on a certain day and place. When the day arrived, he came, with an army, against the Danes; and found them camped in Fife, and lying in two separate camps, divided by the Water of Leven. This Water was swollen, at their coming, by such heavy rain, that it could not be forded. And after this flood, there followed such marvellous calm, that it gave an opportunity to Constantine to attack the Danes with battle. And because neither of their two armies of Danes might support the other, Constantine came, with battle array, against Hubba, who was Captain of Danes on the south side of the Leven. The Danes had such fervent desire to fight, that they could no way be held within their camp. Hubba exhorted them to postpone their fury until they had the support of their friends: nonetheless, they were so fierce, that they came to battle against the advice of Hubba, their captain; and had above their harness, coat-armour bordered with red silk, shining with marvellous brightness, and thrusting-swords, which no armour could resist. These Danes appeared very terrible by their huge bodies: notwithstanding, both the armies joined, and fought with incredible fury. At last, the Danes, overcome by the multitude of people, were so pressed on each side, that they could not resist; and quickly flung their weapons from them, and fled. Many of them, fleeing to their camp, were slain; others were cast in ditches, and, with their dead corpses, made a way to the Scots to come to their camp. Some of them perished in the river; others, by being able to swim, were saved. Hubba swam through the river without any danger. Then was Hungar very rejoicing, that his brother, Hubba, had escaped the danger of both enemies and the river. And immediately, he armed himself with great rage, to revenge the slaughter of his people.

Chap Seventeenth.

How King Constantine was slain, and his army defeated by the Danes.

The Scots were so insolent after this victory, that they took little solicitude or thought for the remainder of their campaign that was to be led against the Danes: but, as if no adversity could follow, and as if everything was defeated by their great virtue, they held their enemies in contempt; and spent two days in dancing, revelling, and singing, without any sight to warlike prowess. Their folly proceeded so far, that they cast lots, who should have the most rich prisoners among the Danes, as if victory had been present to their hands. And above this insolence, the young and aged nobles fell in contention, with most outrageous words against each other; the aged men desiring to be preferred, by reason of their long experience and age; the young men, by reason of their courage and youth, ready to attack all perils: but there was no consideration among them how their army should be arrayed, nor yet in what way their enemies should be vanquished. At last, when the Water of Leven had fallen, King Constantine brought over his army to fight with the remainder of the Danes. The Danes, caring more for the governance of their battle, than to any spoils, arrayed their army in this way: In the right wing was Hubba, with 6,000 Danes: In the left wing was Buernus, an Englishman, who was banished out of England for defiling the wife of Osbret the King of England; and he came to this battle against the Scots, with the remainder of the Picts, who were banished before out of Albion: In the middle section, was Hungar, with the remaining Danes, exhorting them to go to battle with good courage; and said, how the isle of Albion, with the riches and fruit thereof, should be the reward of their victory: alternatively, if they were vanquished, nothing could follow but death and slaughter of them all, with perpetual shame: and, to inflame them with more fury, he swore never to return to his camp unless he had victory; and caused them to be all sworn in same way. On the other side, King Constantine put Ethus, his brother, in the right wing; and Duncan, Thane of Atholl, in the left wing, with 10,000 men in each one of their troops: and arrayed himself in the centre, with the remainder of the Scots; then began to make his speech to his army: and first, he gave thanks to God for this victory recently fallen to his people; and exhorted them not to disgrace by shameful fleeing, the glory that they obtained before by their courage and virtue: and prayed them to have no fear of their enemies; for they were but corpulent bodies, without any virtue; and would, therefore, be soon vanquished, if they were attacked in the same manner as they were before: and finally, required them not to run too fiercely into battle, but rather to suffer their enemies to come on them; for he believed the said enemies, by rage of anger, would run so fast forward, that they should be weary and broken, before ever they came to blows. But this command of Constantine was very troublesome to our people; for the bold spirit and fierceness that should have been increased by the exhortation of their captain, was greatly diminished by this command of Constantine. Our people are accustomed, when they are to fight, to come with such force and clamour, that they no less imbued themselves with high courage, than stunned their enemies with dread. The Danes, at the sound of a trumpet, went forward; nonetheless, they were so expert in warlike prowess, that when they saw their enemies did not meet them, that they halted for some time, and then went forward at an easy pace, shooting their crossbow bolts and darts. On the other side, the Scots shot arrows and sling-stones at the Danes. Immediately, both the armies joined, and fought with incredible fury; until at last, the Scots were put to flight: on whom the Danes followed, with long slaughter and chase. In this dreadful battle were slain, 10,000

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Scots. Among many other prisoners. King Constantine was taken, and brought to a cave beside the sea: where he was beheaded, the 13th year of his reign; from the Incarnation, 874 years. The place, where he was slain, is yet called The Black Cave, to be a memory of that wicked deed.

Chap. Eighteenth.

Of King Ethus and his deeds. How Osbret, King of England, with many other people, was slain, by the cruelty of the Danes. Of several marvels seen in Albion; and of the death of Ethus.

By this unfortunate battle, such miserable injury followed to the Scots, that, had Ethus, brother to King Constantine, not been saved by fleeing, the name and memory of the Scots would have been ended this day in Albion. The remainder of the Scots, who escaped from this battle, convened at Scone, and made Ethus king. Many strange and unheard-of marvels were seen at this time in Albion. A multitude of fish was seen in the Forth, the top half of them above the water, nothing different from the figure of a man; called, by the people, Bassinats. These fish had black skins hanging on their bodies, with which, once, they cover their head and their necks, down to their shoulders. When these fish swim in our seas, they signify great misfortunes to mortal people. The lochs and rivers stood frozen, from the beginning of November to the end of April; after which, there followed, a thaw, with so continual and persistant rains of sleet and snow, that all the plains stood full of water. Then there followed, such an infinite number of frogs and toads, that the air was infected, to the great damage of the people. A comet was seen, with fiery beams, rising before noon, and shone, all the month of April. The people, frightened by such strange marvels, believed great affliction would come on them.

The Danes, after this victory, came to Lothian, and chased the inhabitants thereof into Northumberland; and fought there, against Osbret, King of England, with the support of Bruernus, who was banished, as we said above; and finally, they slew the said Osbret, in open battle, and put all his people to flight. And after his slaughter, they went, with bloody swords, through all the lands of England, ceasing from no manner of cruelties on Christian people: through which, many holy men suffered martyrdom; among whom, was a holy man, Saint Edmund, King of Norfolk and Suffolk, who was slain by their tyranny. The remaining kings of England fought, certain years after, with several chances of fortune, against the Danes. Finally, all the Englishmen that dwelt near the German Sea, were either slain, or subjected to servitude to Danes. And yet, these cruelties were not long unpunished; for they were defeated by the valiant Alfred, who succeeded, after King Ethelred, to the realm of Norfolk and Suffolk. This Ethelred vanquished the Danes in frequent battles, and slew both Hungar and Hubba, and restored England to the old liberty. But we will return to the remaining deeds of King Ethus.

It is said, this prince was so swift in running, that he might take a hart or a hound by force of speed: nonetheless, whatsoever gifts of nature he had, he appeared very unable to govern the realm; for, when he might have recovered, by appropriate acts, Fife and Lothian, with other lands taken from Scots by the Englishmen and Britons, he took no regard thereof, caring more for his lust, than any common good of the realm, as if the same could not have been improved in any way. He served his uncontrolled lust without any respect to civil or religious manners: and though he was very agile, and lithe of body, with many other gifts of God and nature, he abused them so, that nothing in his governance commended him. The nobles, knowing his corrupt manners troublesome to the common good, and likely to generate discontent among the people; so that the realm should not be more damaged by his misgovernance, they made a quiet convention among themselves, to take the king: and so that their

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intention should not be divulged before it came to effect, they came quickly on him with a force of armed men, when he was at the hunt in the Wood of Caledonia; and took him to prison, where he died, the third day after, of melancholy, in the second year of his reign; from the Incarnation, 876 years.

Chap. Nineteenth.

Of King Gregor and his laws. How he recovered several lands of his realm, and defeated Herdeut, with all the army of the Danes. How Rasine, great Captain of Danes, was slain by Englishmen.

Ethus having thus died miserably in prison, Gregor, son to Congallus, that reigned before King Alpine, was crowned at Scone. He was but two months of age, when his father perished at Spey. This Gregor, after his coronation, knowing well that divine help is the only shield and certain support of kings and realms, without which no kingdoms may stand permanent for any time; therefore, so that he might begin his rule with more happiness, he called a convention of his nobles at Forfar, for increasing the service of God. And so that priests might the more freely give their attention to order the people in good religion, he enacted, by public parliament, that priests should be perpetually freed from of all wars, tribute, and public exactions, that are to be put on the people by him or his successors, in times coming; and they shall not be brought before secular judges; but, only to be submitted to their ecclesiastical superiors as judges. He gave power to all bishops of his realm to decide, before them, all actions pertaining to oaths; with power, both to cause the people to keep their faith promised to their neighbour, and to punish them for violation thereof. He gave also, power to the said priests to make laws and constitutions for the welfare of Christian faith; and to consider all disagreements concerning offerings, or tithes, wills, contracts, or legacies; to interpret the laws, and to punish perjured people, blasphemers of God or his Saints; to condemn all people rebelling against their authority, and to forbid them to come to divine service; and that all persons, who were condemned by them, should receive no inheritance, nor be heard in judgement, but exiled from good company, and no faith to be given to his deposition or testimony. He commanded, that all princes succeeding after him, shall make their oath, after their coronation, to defend the honour and liberty of holy church and priests, and shall make no derogation to the constitutions of the church. This Gregor had a natural inclination to the service of God; with such grave and sententious language, that all his words and deeds appeared as if they had been carefully weighed. He was so instituted in his youth, that he lived, all his days, a heavenly life; with little food and sleep, without any lust, or conversation dealings with women; and had talent no less given to policy and administration of justice, than to warfare.

The first journey that he made, was to Fife, to recover it from the tyranny of Danes and Picts: at his coming, the Picts, who were left by Danes to inhabit the said land, were so frightened, knowing the huge hatred that Scots bore against them, that they fled to Lothian. Gregor, finding Fife deserted in this manner, brought Scots out of several parts of his realm, to inhabit the same. After this, he came to Lothian, and brought it, in the same manner, under his dominion; then went to the Merse, where several companies of the Picts and Danes were assembled to give him battle: nonetheless, the Danes, seeing such a great multitude of the Scots in their sight, fled to Berwick, where several other Danes were allied to them. After this, they went to Northumberland, and found many Danes lately coming to their support. The Englishmen, who were at that time in Berwick, hating nothing more than the rule of the Danes, surrendered the town of Berwick to the Scots. Gregor received the town, and gave licence to Englishmen to depart or remain, at their pleasure; and slew all Danes, whom he found in it, without any mercy or ransom. And when he had

garrisoned this town with all necessaries for keeping it, he came, with his army, to Northumberland, to add the same to the rule of the Scots. In the meantime, there were two armies lying in Northumberland; one, of Danes, not far from York; the other, of Englishmen, not 20 miles from the camp of the Scots. Herdeut, Prince of the Danes, hearing that so many Danes were slain at Berwick, made his oath, to revenge their slaughter with such cruelty, that no Scots should be left alive in Albion; and, to effect his purpose, he came, with displayed banner, not far from the same place where the Scots were lying in their camp. Gregor, seeing his enemies arrayed before him, decided to make an speech to his army before the joining; when there suddenly arose, such noise and clamour among them, from desire of battle, that it was more necessary to array them, than to exhort them to battle: nonetheless, he besought them to revenge the shameful slaughter of King Constantine, slain treacherously after he was taken. Immediately, the Scots rushed forward with no less courage than force; and came so fiercely with their long spears, that their enemies had no time to shoot their darts. After the spearsmen, came the remainder of the Scots, with long swords, bills, and axes, with such rage, that they needed no exhortation. Thus were the Danes vanquished, and chased to the nearest mountains. The Scots followed, with no less cruelty in the chase, than when they fought before in the battle; and, by most violent irruption, they broke the trenches, and came, perforce, inside the camp of their enemies, where a huge slaughter was made. On the following day, Herdeut collected the remainder of his army; and, seeing more of them slain than were alive, he decided to go to Rasine, the great master of Danes, in England. But scarcely had his army gone 60 miles, when certain tidings came, that Rasine was slain, and all his army defeated, by the Englishmen: and, to his greater derision, his head borne on a stake, through several towns and cities of England. It appeared, by this news, that the proud rule of Danes was fast tending to break down. Herdeut, very frightened, and not knowing what was to be done, because his enemies were lying about him on every side, parked his army in a narrow place, intending to remain until he was finally informed what the remaining Danes intended to do.

Chap. Twentieth.

How Gregor recovered several lands of his realm, and slew Constantine, King of Britons. How Scots, Britons, and Englishmen, were allied against the Danes.

After this victory over the Danes, Northumberland came under the dominion of King Gregor; and all the inhabitants thereof made tributary to his rule. Soon after, he disbanded his army, and came to Berwick, where he consulted by what means he might bring most felicity to his realm. At the beginning of the next summer, he went forth against the Britons, who occupied, at that time, great lands of Scotland: which campaign succeeded to him with no less happiness than the one against the Danes; for the Britons, worn out and broken by frequent wars of the Danes, to be delivered of all danger threatening, gave a huge sum of money to the said Danes, and took truce with them for 20 years. Nonetheless, the Danes stayed kept this peace for only a short time, but attacked the Britons with more cruel injuries than before. The Britons, seeing no treaty of friendship nor faith might prevent the Danes from continual injuries, sent their ambassadors to King Gregor, promising to renounce all the lands that pertained to the rule of the Scots, provided he would support them against the Danes. Gregor knowing, if the three people of Albion, Scots, Britons, and Englishmen, were allied under one mind and strength, no foreign people were to be feared; agreed to their desires. Thus, Scots, Englishmen, and Britons, were finally agreed on all disagreements; all lands, taken before from Scots by these wars, surrendered by agreement to Gregor; and the realm of the Scots restored to the old frontiers. The peace, agreed in this manner, appeared no less terrible to the Danes, than pleasing to the people of Albion: but it endured a short time; for pride in the good fortune fallen to Englishmen, by victory over the Danes, and killing of Allarudus, their captain, gave occasion to Britons to break this treaty lately made with Scots. Soon after, Constantine, King of Britons, began to regret this treaty made with the Scots; and, to recover the said lands to his rule, he came with an army to Annandale. Thus was the peace dissolved between Scots and Britons. The Britons sent to the Englishmen for support; and, because they were frustrated thereof, they took an huge plunder of goods out of Annandale, intending to go with the same to Wales. King Gregor, informed of their extortions, met King Constantine at Lochmaben: where it was cruelly fought on all sides. At last, Constantine, seeing his standard not defended with as much courage as he desired, rushed, with most fervent courage, to the defence thereof: where he, fighting with more respect to his honour than to his life, was slain: after whose death, there followed such huge slaughter of his strongest champions, that the Britons turned tail; and were so broken with this affliction, that they had the greatest hatred both to Danes and Scots, and nothing enamoured of Englishmen. Nonetheless, so that their realm should not fail, they choose Herbart, who was brother to Constantine, before slain, to be their king; and sent their ambassadors to King Gregor, desiring peace, saying, The violation of the treaty between them and Scots, was only by insolence of Constantine, who was punished justly for his offence, to the great damage of the Britons; and, since he was justly punished for his offence, no occasion appeared to dissolve the treaty before contracted between Scots and Britons. Also, they said, that their king, Herbart, was a lover of peace; and desires nothing so much, as to live in friendship with his neighbours, the Scots. To this message King Gregor answered, "Neither the love of faith, nor of peace, nor yet the reverence of treaty, nor of oath, has moved the Britons now to seek peace at us; since they, without any respect to their

faith or treaty, came to Annandale, working insupportable injuries, without any occasion, against the Scots; but only, because they are so broken in their strength, that they cannot fight against us at this time; expecting nothing better than utter extermination of their realm, if they persevere any further with wars against us. Therefore, tell your king, Herbart, we will have no peace with him, nor his treacherous people, until the strongholds and fortifications of Cumberland and Westmorland are surrendered in our hands; and the said Herbart swears never to reclaim the said lands in times coming; and 60 noblemen to be given in pledge for the observation thereof." King Herbart, seeing great damage coming to his realm, and fearing, if he persevered in battle, the final destruction of his realm and his subjects; condescended, after consulting with his nobles, to fulfill all things, as they were desired by Gregor. As soon as the hostages were given in this manner, the Britons left Cumberland and Westmorland, and went to Wales. Then Gregor went to Carlisle, where he assembled his nobles to a council, and said: "It is patent enough what happiness is coming to our realm, by the propitious favour of God, since we began to honour him with true religion and faith: in so far as he has not only restored to us, without any great slaughter or peril, the lands once taken from our elders, by Danes, Englishmen, and Britons; but also, in punishing their iniquities, has brought their noble lands, as Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland, by just victory, into our hands. We have obtained, by the grace and favour of God, more than we expected lived: our lands recovered, and many lands of Englishmen and Britons falling prey to us, by right of battle. We have honourable victory, triumph over enemies, with praise and glory to our posterity. Conversely, our foes have not only shamefully lost the lands that they wrongfully obtained, but are vanquished in battle, chased and beaten from their territories, and attacked with foreign and domestic wars; and they dare not risk the chance of fortune any further with us, in case they bring themselves to irrecoverable damage and shame. Now the Britons, by favour of God, and our own courage, are so vanquished, that they wilfully have exiled themselves. And no better fate has succeeded to the Danes, but they are beaten out of their lands shamefully, with condign slaughter made on them, for the injuries wrought before on us: Cumberland, Westmorland, and Northumberland, with all the fortifications thereof, made prey to us, as we desired. Wherefore, forceful champions, since your proven virtue and courage, to whom God stands so propitious, should persuade you, not to rest with this victory, nor yet to stand content with this prey; we beseech you, follow vehemently the thing that is offered to you by providence of God: for now, no villages nor rude people are to be attacked; and since enemies appear in no parts, the most powerful walls and towns are to be taken by our wars. The Danes are vanquished, and fled to Kent; and the Englishmen so defeated, that they have left all charges of battle in our lands, to resist their enemies. Let us, therefore, go with our recent victory to York, where no greater labour than before, although more rich plunder of goods, awaits us. And in addition to these profits, if we do all things wisely, we shall acquire infinite glory and honour for our posterity. These are the things that I would persuade you to, so that, you may so revenge the injuries done by our enemies, that infinite honours, and great happiness, may succeed to you." Persuaded by these words, each made appropriate preparation for his war.

In the meantime, there came to Gregor the ambassadors of Allarud, King of England, rejoicing, that he, with invincible courage, had defeated his enemies; and so valiantly revenged the slaughter of Constantine, King of Scots, that the Danes, by his support, were driven out of Albion: desiring him, therefore, to renew the old treaty of peace, that Englishmen and Scots, being allied together under a mind, may better

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resist any invasion of Danes, if they return once more to Albion. King Gregor assented to their petitions. There followed, certain peace, ratified under this manner: The Scots shall perpetually enjoy all lands of Northumberland, without any infestation of Englishmen, in times coming. If Danes move war against any one of the two people, the injury shall be regarded common to them both; and both the people to concur equally to the defence thereof. Also, neither Englishmen nor Scots shall attack others. If any thieves of England make theft or rob within the lands of the Scots, the peace shall not be therefore dissolved; but both the thief and receiver of goods stolen shall be delivered to where the crime is committed."

Chap. Twenty-first.

How King Gregor came to Ireland, to revenge certain injuries done in Galloway; and how he defeated the same with several victories, and was governor thereof many years. Of the love of his people, and his death.

The peace ratified as described, Gregor, thinking to have put an end to all his wars, was forced, by new trouble from Ireland, to renew the same; for Irishmen came, with a great fleet, to Galloway, and took a great plunder of men and goods, out of the lands thereof. The motive of these wars, as they said, was, that men of Galloway plundered two ships of Dublin, after the same had arrived in their waters. As soon as Gregor was informed thereof, he followed, with great diligence, on these Irishmen; and they, when they heard of his coming, were so afraid, that they sped with great diligence to their country. Immediately, Gregor followed on them, with an army, to Ireland, and made all the princes thereof cowed by his coming. A short time before his coming, the King of Ireland had died; and had left behind him, a young child, named Duncan, to succeed to the crown: and through his death, the princes of Ireland were contending among themselves for governance of the realm, and were divided into two factions: Brennus was prince of the one faction, and Cornelius of the other. Now the Scots were running through all the country with such awful incursion of fire and slaughter, that it appeared, unless their fury were quickly repressed, that a great part of Ireland would be destroyed. In the meantime, several noblemen of Ireland laboured to make concord among the foresaid princes, so that the realm, by their dissension, should not be exposed to extreme danger. And because such things could not be agreed, they made a truce between them, for certain months, to resist these cruelties.

These two princes foresaid, came with a huge army to the river Bann, and set down their camp in two separate companies, not far apart. The hill, where their camp lay, was so strong, that no army might come on them by industry nor talent of man, keeping good array. This was done by the Irishmen, so that, King Gregor's army, by waiting a long time, should lack victuals: nonetheless, these deceits were vanquished by wisdom of Gregor; for the Scots brought sufficient food in bread and cheese, to sustain them for 50 days, and understood well, wherever they came, they would have plenty of water for their drink. Gregor, seeing that he could not well attack his enemies, took consultation for certain days, what was to be done. And, in the meantime, he sent 2000 men to the back of Mont Foot during the night; so that, that as soon as they saw Gregor invading the camp of the Irishmen, they should cast down rocks and stones on their backs: by which way, the Irishmen should either suffer intolerable damage, or else be forced to give battle. And when he had considered for a long time, who should take this task in hand, he found no one so able thereto as Kenneth, Thane of Carrick. This Kenneth came over the River Bann, during the night, to the back of this mountain foresaid, by a difficult and narrow path. On the following day, as soon as the Irishmen prepared, with all their power, to resist the invasion of Gregor; such huge rocks and stones on their backs, fell down unexpectedly behind them, so that they were constrained to leave their camp and fly, after 1,000 of them were slain without any blow struck: immediately, the Scots followed with long chase, and brought a huge number of prisoners to King Gregor. In the meantime, the camp of Brennus was taken, and himself found slain by the blow of a stone. Cornelius, the other captain, hearing such misfortune fallen on his companion, fled, with all his people, to Dublin. Gregor, seeing his beginning succeed with such felicity,

commanded his people, by sharp incursions, to bring all the cattle and goods that they might get, for their sustenance; and to abstain from fire and slaughter: and commanded them to do no injury to aged men, wives, nor children; and to bring all adult men, whom they found on their way, prisoners to him. Many of these Irish people, seeing the king so merciful, surrendered themselves, with their equipment and goods, and were welcomed. Gregor, seeing his army well supplied with victuals, and no injury of enemies appearing, laid a close siege to the town of Dongard <94>; and after he had lain certain days at the siege thereof, it was surrendered to him: nonetheless, he took only a moderate sum of money from the citizens, in redemption of their lives and goods. When Gregor had lain 3 days at Dongard, he left a force of men to keep the said town; and went, with his remaining army, to besiege the town of Pontus:<95> and because it was surrendered to him without any blow struck, he commanded no plunder of goods to be taken from them. Now was Gregor ready to pass to siege the town of Dublin, when tidings came to him, that Cornelius, the other captain, was approaching, with an infinite number of people, not ten miles from his army. Gregor, on hearing this news, left his purpose, and arrayed his people on the nearest plains. On the following day, three troops of Irishmen appeared in sight: the first was of lightly armed men, archers, casters of darts and slings; the second was of stout men, armed with coats of mail and long swords; in the third troop, was Cornelius, with all the nobles of Ireland, sworn to fight with courage and valour to the death; and armed with long swords, bills, axes, and heavy maces. Gregor, seeing this order of enemies against him, commanded a force armed with long spears, to set on the archers: by the blows of which many of the Irishmen were borne to the ground. Cornelius, seeing his people put back in this way, commanded, with a great clamour, to cut the spears. And when he was rasing the visor of his helmet, to exhort his people more earnestly to fight, he was hurt in the face with a spear, and forced to leave of the field: as a result of which, the remaining army turned tail. There followed more slaughter in the chase, than had been before in the battle; and continued still on them, until they were chased within the walls of Dublin. The Irishmen were so broken by this battle, that they could subsequently assemble no army against the Scots.

On the following day, Gregor surrounded the town of Dublin with a close siege. In this town, there was so great a number of people, that it was constrained to seek peace. Some of them argued it would be more honourable to go out, and to risk themselves to the extreme chance of fortune, than to be subjected to the rule of the Scots: Others, seeing the great trouble and slaughter that was coming on them by this last battle, feared, if their nobles were presently destroyed, to see the utter destruction of their realm: and, therefore, sent Bishop Cormac, a man of singular prudence, to King Gregor, desiring him to have mercy on them and their town; and to save their young prince, Duncan, to whom the crown of Ireland justly belonged: and said, that valiant champions should have respect, as well to their honour as profit; also, it was no honour to him to defeat a young knight; as to the town, it was at his command, with all the country about it: and therefore, prayed him to consider, whether it was rather the office of a king to defend the right of princes and towns, or to see them brought to utter destruction. King Gregor answered, He came not in Ireland to conquer it, nor yet to defraud his cousin, Duncan, of the crown, but to revenge the injuries done to his people; for the Scots did not go to war, until Ireland began it first on them: and yet, he would consider how an end might be put to all his wars, and keep the crown secure, until his cousin, Duncan, was ready to succeed. The citizens of Dublin, hearing this answer, opened the gates, and received Gregor, with all his army. Then Gregor entered, with great triumph, into the town. The people issued forth from

all parts of the town to meet him. Then came the religious men, in procession: among whom was Bishop Cormac, in solemn habit, bearing the cross: after whom, came the nobles of Ireland, falling all at once on their knees, and desiring grace. Gregor immediately dismounted from his horse, and, with great veneration, kissed the cross. Then Cormac said to him: "We have no little cause to thank God, since he has ordained you to have authority over our lives and goods, that has put in you such compassion and mercy, that no cruelties are exercised on us by fire and sword, although the same, by custom of arms, might be easily done." Gregor, entering in the town in this manner, left a force of armed men, to keep the streets against all adventures that might befall. And as soon as he had done his devotion in the churches of our Lady and Saint Patrick, he went to the castle, where he remained all that night. On the following day, several Scots who defiled virgins and matrons the night before, were taken, and, by justice of this wise prince, put to death: which thing caused him to be held in great favour and benevolence by the people. After this, a council was held between Gregor and the nobles of Ireland: in which, peace was confirmed, under these conditions: "Young Duncan, King of Ireland, shall be given to the keeping of wise preceptors, within the castle of Dublin, to teach him letters: and King Gregor shall be governor of Ireland during his tender age; and shall receive all the strongholds and revenue of the country, to rule the same in justice. Also, no Englishmen, Britons, nor Danes, without his permission, shall be received in Ireland." The Irishmen swore, with glad hearts, to fulfill all these points; and the more willingly, because Gregor would not usurp the crown of Ireland, in place of their native prince, although he might have done the same with little difficulty.

All hatred and wars pacified in this way in Ireland, Gregor returned with his victorious army to Albion, with 60 hostages, of the nobles' sons of that region, who were given to him, for observation of all articles before devised. After this, the Scots had good peace, without any trouble, during all the time of Gregor: until at last, this noble prince, protector of the church, and holder of his people in justice, no less powerful in administration, religion, and justice, than in martial glory and deeds of arms; fell, by long age, into great sickness; and died in Dunideer, a castle of Garioch, the 18th year of his reign; from the Incarnation, 893 years; and was buried in Iona.

Chap. Twenty-second.

Of King Donald the Sixth. How the realm of the Normans, and Duchy of Flanders, began. Of the great warfare of the Danes in several parts of the world. And of his death.

Gregor buried, as we have said, Donald, the sixth of that name, and son to Constantine the Second, was made king; a prince of no less manhood and courage than Gregor, although he was not fortunate. In the time of Gregor, there was a noble clerk, John Scotus, of singular erudition in theology; and was many years in the schools of Athens, where he studied much in Greek learning: and was afterwards brought from Athens to France, by the Emperor Louis, where he made many excellent works: among whom, he translated the *Hierarchy* of Saint Denis into Latin, a book held in great veneration among clerics, and newly commented morally by a doctor of Paris, named Victor. This John Scotus was afterwards sent, by command of Charles the Third, King of Romans, as ambassador, to Alfred, King of England, to thank him, because after a victory over the Danes the said Alfred had made friendship with his allies, the Scots: to whom he was made so tender, that he was chosen preceptor to his sons. And when he had taught both moral and natural philosophy, with theology, in an abbey of England named Malmsbury, spreading letters among young men of that country, and giving his labours to chastise their corrupt manners; these young men, when he was reading most diligently, slew him, for reproving of their vices: and he was added to the number of Saints.

The realm of the Normans in France began a short time before these events, in this way: Rollo, King of Denmark, gathered a company of Danes, from England, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark; and rampaged through through several parts of France, ceasing from no manner of cruelty on the people thereof. And because Charles the Gros, then Emperor, was involved with frequent wars in Italy against the Saracens, these Danes raged so freely, that it seemed likely that great lands of France would come under their dominion, unless their fury were quickly defeated. King Charles, after returning from Italy, gathered a great army to resist these Danes; and they, nothing afraid, went forward to meet him, in their awful manner. The princes of France, knowing the great ferocity of Danes proven before in all parts where they attacked, and seeing them, by frequent victories so insolent, that they could not be vanquished without great slaughter, persuaded King Charles to make peace with the said Rollo, so that their realm should not be risked to extreme danger, through the wars both in Italy and France. At last, by assent of the king, peace was confirmed with the Danes, in this way: King Charles' daughter should be given in marriage to Rollo; and Rollo, with all the Danes, should receive the Christian faith; and, as a dowry, should have all the lands, which were named before, Neustria, lying between Dieppe, Picardy, Paris, and Brittany. These lands were called by him, Normandy; that is to say, the realm of Normans. Rollo, made King of Normandy by this treaty, was named Robert, when he received baptism: and commanded, by the said Charles, to pay a yearly tribute to him and his posterity, to signify, that the said lands were not obtained by force of arms, but given by the crown of France in marriage. The year that Normans began to reign in Normandy, was, from the Incarnation, 886 years.

The valiant deeds done by Danes in many parts of the world, were in great admiration by all people. Before this time, they made war on Lothair the First, King of France: and because his sons were divided in different factions, the Danes entered

into France, and attacked the country with great raids and cruelty, beside the river of Loire. And though King Charles, who succeeded after Lothair, came with huge armies against them, yet he might not quell their cruelty, but drove them to Normandy, and other lands of the frontiers of France: and not only they were not content with their territories, but rampaged in Italy, and over-ran all Sicily, Calabria, and Naples, by Guiscard, their captain. This Guiscard was the fifth man that reigned after Rollo in Normandy; for Rollo got, on King Charles' daughter, William: to William, succeeded Richard: to Richard, succeeded Richard the Second, who had 2 sons, Robert and Guiscard. This Robert got William, the bastard of Normandy, who came afterwards to England, and defeated both the Danes and Englishmen; then took the crown thereof: whose blood reigns yet, with great happiness, in England. The same time, Baldwin, a very noble knight, married Judicha, daughter to Clothar, King of France; and, by that alliance, began the Duchy of Flanders: which was, before that time, inhabited more by wild beasts than any people. But we will return to our history.

King Donald, seeing no enemies appearing in any parts, gave his talent more to administration and justice, than warfare: and governed the realm in such tranquillity and justice, that his people grew daily in great riches; for Christ, the Lord of all virtue, gave to him such grace, that he both honoured and defended all servants of God. He made an edict, that all people that blaspheme God or his Saints, or perjured themselves, or spoke of the devil, should be burned, with a hot iron, on their lips. This abominable and wretched blasphemy is rising now among us, by insolence of great men, more than ever it arose in any time before among our elders; and has so far infected the spirit of our people, that few are found, at this time, having such reverence to God, or sight to their own welfare, that abhor these detestable oaths and blasphemy: but, as if they were lawful, and adorned the doers thereof with honour, each day new blasphemy arises—"May God grant they be boiled or roasted in hell," with other more abominable oaths than my soul for dread of God dare repeat. But, alas, they have proceeded so far, that no preaching, no advice nor reason, may reform them. But we will return to our history.

King Donald, in this time, was informed, that Gormond, King of Danes, was coming, with an army, to Northumberland, for what purpose was uncertain, although it was said, that he came to attack the Englishmen, and not Scots; nonetheless, he sent 5,000 foot soldiers, and 2,000 horsemen, to support Alfred, King of England, against these Danes. Not long after, King Alfred fought with the Danes at Abington; and, although he got victory, the same was not got without great slaughter on all sides. Thus, both the armies were constrained to have peace, under these conditions: "The Danes should live, in times coming, in one mind and friendship with the English, and should receive the sacrament of baptism; and each one of them should give hostages to the other, for observation of all points contained in the said peace." There followed, good tranquillity and peace, many years after, between Englishmen and Danes. The peace ratified in this manner in England, a dispute happened in Scotland between the Murrays and the Rosses; each one of them attacking the other with such slaughter, that 2,000 men of them were slain, within two months, on each side. King Donald, refusing to tolerate such strife, came on them with an army, and ceased not until the principal movers of this trouble were taken, and punished by death, for their crimes. The country being subdued in this manner, King Donald began to hold the concord of Danes and Englishmen in suspicion, and made his habitation in Northumberland; having with him, a company of chosen men, ready to resist all invasion that might occur: and finally, he died there, after he had reigned 11 years; and was buried in

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Iona, from the Incarnation, 903 years. And so ends here, the 10th book of these Chronicles.

Hector Boece

Book XI.

Here Begins the Eleventh Book of the Chronicles of Scotland.

Chap. First.

Of King Constantine the Third. How Danes and Englishmen were allied by marriage; and how the peace was dissolved. How the Scots were defeated by the Danes. And of the death of King Constantine.

After the death of King Donald, Constantine the 3rd, son to King Ethus, succeeded. He was given more to domestic and religious matters, than to warfare. At this time, Edward, King of England, son to Alfred, the last king thereof to have occasion of battle against the Scots, sent a herald to King Constantine, charging him to restore to Englishmen the lands of Northumberland, Cumbria, and Westmorland, which Gregor had taken from them before; with a promise, if the same were not done, he would, within 60 days after, be attacked with battle. King Constantine said to this herald: "Return home, and say to King Edward, Although you have no occasion of battle against us, intending, by false title, to rob our lands from us; yet we shall defend the same, so far as God will give us grace, to the utter end of our lives: praying God to turn the damage that is to fall by the war, on them that gave the first occasion thereof." There followed, soon after, frequent incursions on either side; yet, for fear of the Danes, they dared not meet in set battle, so that the Danes should not have sufficient opportunity to conquer both their realms. At last, when they were broken with each other's injuries, the nobles of England seeing such great damage happening to their realm, persuaded King Edward to suppress his hatred of Danes, and to have peace with the Scots. Edward, not refusing this counsel, sent his ambassadors to King Constantine, and, with little difficulty, purchased peace, redress being made on each side.

Short time after, it happened, that certain poor men of England were taken by Danes, and hanged on gibbets, as thieves; and the Englishmen, seeking occasion of battle, slew certain Danes, who were doing their errands in London, in revenge for the Englishmen that were before slain. There then followed slaughter between Englishmen and Danes, in all places where they met; and gave occasion to both their people to come with set battle against other. Nonetheless, when they were arrayed in each other's sight, ready to fight, they were parted, by the intervention of prelates, and brought again to friendship and alliance, under these conditions: Beatrice, daughter of King Edward, should be given in marriage to Sitrik, King of Danes; and the heirs-male, got between them, failing succession of King Edward, to succeed to the crown of England. King Edward had a nobleman for his brother, named Edwin, who was sent, by persuasion of Sitrik, to Flanders, in a frail ship, so that he should not contend for the crown; this Edwin perished in the passage, between England and Flanders. Athelstane, bastard son to King Edward, hearing that his brother was destroyed, fled out of England to save his life. Thus, the Danes greatly rejoiced; trusting, because all succession of Edward had failed, except his daughter, Beatrice, to obtain the crown of England. While the Englishmen and Danes were given to such business, Beatrice, who was given to Sitrik in marriage, sent her confidential servants, to warn her father, King Edward, to avoid the company of her husband, who was set for his slaughter. Edward, moved by this news, repented both the death of his brother, and the marriage alliance made with the Danes; and was so upset, that he would have slain himself, had he not been stopped by his friends. At last, he set himself, with extreme hatred, to meet the treachery of his son-in-law; and finally, by the agency of his daughter, he slew him by poison. This Sitrik, that was put down in this manner, had two sons,

named Avalassus and Godfried, very expert in warfare. These 2 brothers succeeded to their father's lands, with equal authority and purpose to revenge their father's slaughter: and, because they found their stepmother participant therewith, they made her sit naked on a cold anvil, with red-hot eggs bound under her armpits, until she was dead. And, because no hope of peace appeared between Englishmen and Danes, there followed, several battles, with varying outcomes; until at last, the Danes were put to flight at the River Ouse. And though the victory fell to Englishmen, yet it was not got without incredible slaughter; for King Edward was slain in the said battle. The Danes, when they heard of the death of King Edward, though they were defeated, believed great happiness would succeed to them, because the head of their enemies was taken away; and immediately, they collected the remainder of their army with greater courage than before, and discussed long among themselves what was to be done. At last, Avalassus, son to this last King of Danes, left his brother, Godfried, in England, and went to Constantine, King of Scots; and finally, seduced him with large sums of money, to fight, contrary to his treaty, in support of the Danes against the Englishmen. Soon after, the Danes and Scots made provision of all things necessary for battle; expecting to bring the Englishmen to utter destruction with little difficulty: but, as often occurs, the state of man is so uncertain, that, when they have most confidence in their strength, all their warlike ordinance and proud dominion are found vain and fragile, by some wretched end. King Constantine sent Malcolm, the Prince of Scotland and Lord of Cumberland, with 20,000 men in support of the Danes. Malcolm, assembled in this manner with the Danes, came within several lands of England, attacking the same with all cruelties that might be devised: many innocent men slain, and many holy places burned and destroyed. Nonetheless, the more that they engaged in such cruelties, the more followed on them the vengeance and punishment of God, as we shall hear. The Englishmen, after the slaughter of King Edward, choose Athelstane, his bastard son, described above, for his sovereign courage and virtue, to be king. This Athelstane, seeing great damage done to his subjects by injury of the Scots and Danes, hastily gathered an army; trusting, by the favour of God, and the justice of his cause, to have victory: and finally, met the Scots and Danes at Brunanburh, where it was cruelly fought at the first joining. Immediately, the Englishmen some part went back, seemingly as if they had been defeated: then the Danes and Scots, as if they had been victorious, fell to plundering without any array. Immediately, the Englishmen, as they were commanded by their captain, returned with battle arrays, and put both the Scots and Danes to flight. This dreadful day well proved the Scots and Danes more manly than prudent; for, though they were of such strength and numbers, that they might have taken all the Englishmen prisoners without any blow struck, yet, because they were more mindful of the spoils than their own welfare, they shamefully lost the victory which was in their hands, to the great damage of their common good. In this dreadful battle were slain, more incredible number of Danes and Scots than ever was heard in any age before; and with them, many of the nobles of Scotland, persevering in continual fighting to the death.

King Athelstane, after his victory, came to Northumberland, Cumbria, and Westmorland; and because the people were unarmed, he got all the strongholds and towns thereof surrendered at his pleasure. Malcolm, badly wounded, was brought home on a horse litter. As soon as King Constantine was informed of these calamities falling to the Scots at Brunanburh, he convened his nobles at Abernethy, to consider what was to be done in these great matters. And because he saw them but young, and unable to sustain great tasks, for all the wise aged nobles were slain at this last battle;

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he took such displeasure, that he went to the abbey of Saint Andrew's, and became a canon there, and lived the remainder of his days in that habit; until at last he died, the 40th year of his reign; from the Incarnation, 943 years. His body was buried in the said abbey; but it was taken up the first year after, and buried in Iona, among the tombs of other kings.

In the time of Constantine, 2 monsters were seen in Albion, the first was among the Danes; a man, with double members, a huge belly, a head like a sow, feet like a goose, and body covered in hair. The other monster was in Northumberland: of man's figure, with one trunk from the navel down, 2 heads, 4 arms, 2 chests, 2 minds, each hating the other: One died long before the other: this other, unable to tolerate the corrupt stench of the dead carrion, died. In this time, blood sprang out of a hill in Galloway, 7 days continually, and made all the rivers and streams of purple colour. The soothsayers conjectured that great effusion of blood would come on the Scots: which appeared well at Brunanburh.

Chap. Second.

Of King Malcolm the First. How Cumberland and Westmorland were annexed to the Prince of Scotland. Of the murder of King Malcolm; and punishment for the same. Of the death of King Athelstane.

As soon as Constantine was made a canon, Malcolm, the first of that name, and son to Donald the Fifth, was made king. He was given in the beginning of his rule, rather to defend his realm, than to attack others, because his people were broken by several wars. At last, when he had sent his ambassadors to King Athelstane for peace, he was informed that King Athelstane had given Northumberland to Avalassus, King of Danes, to assist his wars against the Scots. This news made Malcolm very taken aback, not knowing what was to be done in such a great matter; for his nobles were young, and not strong enough to resist such great force of enemies at this time. Nonetheless, when he was most despairing, and finding least support of friends, tidings came, that Englishmen and Danes had fallen out, and fought among themselves with great slaughter; and after the victory had fallen to the Englishmen, they ceased not from continual slaughter in the chase of the Danes, until the night put an end to their labour: also, Avalassus, with certain Danes who were escaped from this battle, was fled to Ireland; and Athelstane was so broken by these wars, that the most part of his army was lost, and he stayed in Northumberland, uncertain whether he would follow on the chase of Danes, or come forward, with a new army, to attack the Scots. Malcolm, rejoicing in this news, commanded his prelates, by general procession, to give thanks to God for delivering his people from the extreme danger of their enemies. And not long after, the ambassadors of King Athelstane came, desiring to have peace with Scots, for the welfare of both their realms. Soon after, peace was confirmed between Englishmen and Scots, under these conditions: "Northumberland should pass under perpetual dominion of Englishmen, and Cumberland and Westmorland shall be perpetually annexed to the Prince of Scotland that reigns for the time." By the terms of this . peace, Indulf, son to Constantine the 3rd, took possession, as Prince of Scotland, both of Cumberland and Westmorland. King Malcolm passed the remainder of his days in administration and justice; until at last, by a conspiracy of scoundrels, for his extreme punishment and severity of justice, he was slain at Forres, a town of Moray, the 15th year of his reign; from the Incarnation, 959 years. The slayers of this noble prince were torn apart by wild horses, and their quarters displayed in different towns; and they who were devisers of the crime, or gave counsel thereto, were impaled through the body with a stake. The 3rd year after the death of Malcolm, King Athelstane of England died; after whom, succeeded, Edmund, his son. Other write, that this Edmund was Athelstan's brother; but I will follow Veremond, who says that King Edward had no children but Athelstane, and Beatrice, that was given in marriage to Sitrik, Prince of Danes: nonetheless, whoever was Edmund's father, the truth is, that Edmund succeeded immediately to King Athelstane.

Chap. Third.

Of King Indulf. How Avalassus, King of Danes, was defeated by King Edmund, with support of the Scots. How sundry Danes were defeated in Buchan, and King Indulf slain.

Malcolm having been slain, as we have said, Indulf was crowned at Scone. In the 5th year of his reign, the ambassadors of Avalassus, King of Danes and Norway, came to him, desiring him to raise his army to revenge the injuries done by Englishmen in the battle of Brunanburh; and said it might be easily done, since King Athelstane had died, and Edmund, a man of feeble courage, was reigning in his place: Also, the peace made between Malcolm and Athelstane was dissolved by the death of them both. It was answered by Indulf, That Malcolm made peace with Athelstane with such careful consultation and binding oaths, sworn on either side, that it might no ways by dissolved. Avalassus conjectured by this answer, that Indulf had no sight to his nobles slain at Brunanburh; and, therefore, the said Avalassus set him to revenge the slaughter of his friends, the Danes, in his best manner: and, to bring his purpose more quickly to effect, he brought a valiant captain, named Renate, with an army of Danes, to Northumberland. Elgarine, governor for the time in Northumberland, welcomed Avalassus with his army. And because this Elgarine was of the Danes' blood, he surrendered all the strongholds of Northumberland to Avalassus, and promised to support him against King Edmund with all the strength he might. King Edmund, knowing of the coming of Danes in Northumberland, sent to King Indulf; and, by the terms of the treaty before contracted, he got 10,000 Scots to his support, and came with them to Northumberland. Avalassus, when he heard of the coming of King Edmund, sent a herald, requiring him to suffer Northumberland to be peaceably enjoyed by the said Avalassus, because the same was given to him before by King Athelstane, and lay as a border between Englishmen and Scots: and if King Edmund would suffer him enjoy the said lands, he would stand perpetual friend, both to Scots and Englishmen, in times coming; and defend them, if they were attacked, against all enemies. At last, seeing nothing but rejection of his desires, he arrayed his people, and fought with great courage, both against Englishmen and Scots. At the first joining, 8,000 men of Northumberland, who came under his banner, took to flight, and made the army of King Edmund more confident. Nonetheless, the battle continued very fiercely on all sides; until at last, the Danes were put to flight: on whom followed the Englishmen, with such cruelty, that none was spared that could be taken. Among others, Elgarine of Northumberland was taken and brought to York. On the third day after, he was accused for his rebellion against King Edmund, and torn apart by wild horses. The remaining nobles of Northumberland who were taken in this field, were brought to Edmund, and hanged on gibbets. There followed, certain peace, many years after, among the people of Albion.

Indulf, having his realm in certain peace, left nothing undone that was appropriate to the office of a noble prince. Nonetheless, when things seemed most peaceful, he was attacked with new trouble; for Haakon, Prince of Norway, and Helrik, Prince of Denmark, came with a fleet of Danes to Albion, to revenge the slaughter of their friends in Northumberland. These Danes were many days prevented from landing by the Scots: at last, they dissimulated, and pretended to return home; and landed, the 4th day after, in Buchan. The people there gathered quickly to resist them: nonetheless, they were vanquished, and driven to the mountains. King Indulf, when he heard of these misfortunes, raised his army with such diligence, that he came

to the lands where these Danes were, before they were informed. As soon as he saw the Danes arrayed, he exhorted his people to battle, saying, It was no little sign of victory, that they were to fight against the remainder of that people who were lately vanquished by them. They had also, the same captain, the same spirit and strength, that they had before; and they should not only have riches, if they had victory, as reward for their labour, but their realm defended from their enemies, and would enjoy the same with great tranquillity, in times coming. Scarcely were these words said, when both the armies joined, and fought a long time, with uncertain victory: at last, the line was broken on all sides, each one fighting through other, ready to fly. In the meantime, two Lothian men, named Dunbar and Graham, showed themselves as if they were coming on the rear of the Danes; and immediately the Danes fled: nonetheless, many of them persevered in battle until they were slain: Others, not knowing to what place they should fly, fell among moorlands, and were slain by the people. Indulf, having victory in this way, went through the camp with a small company, as if there was no danger, and happened to come on a band of Danes hid under covert in a vale: where he was slain, fighting to the death, to the utter destruction of his foes; and was buried in Iona, the 9th year of his reign; from the Incarnation, 968 years. And in this each year died, Edmund, King of England: after whom, succeeded, Ethelred.

Chap. Fourth.

Of King Dub; and how he was troubled with great infirmity, by witchcraft. How he punished certain conspirators, and was slain.

After the death of King Indulf, a convention was made at Scone: in which, Dub, the son of Malcolm the First, was made king; and Culen, son of Indulf, made Prince of Scotland, and Lord of Cumberland. Dub, after his coronation, went to the Isles, and called before him all the thanes thereof; and made his oath, if they did not suppress the thieves within their lands, to punish them no less than the principal misdoers. The thanes of the Isles, dreading the severity of the king, took many sorners^{<83>} and vagabond scoundrels of the country, and put them to death. Thus, the remainder of these shameful people were constrained to fly to Ireland, or else to seek some honest craft to win their living. Yet, several of the nobles felt indignation, that their friends, who came of noble blood, should be constrained to seek their living by servile crafts; and the commoners, who were born to servitude, were preferred to them in honours and dignity: and therefore thought the king unworthy to reign above them. This murmuration was not only in the Isles, but in several parts of the realm. In the meantime, King Dub fell into a serious illness, unknown to physicians in those days. He was not only troubled each day with new dolour, but was dissolved in a continual sweat, and could get no rest nor sleep. Also, his malady was the more wonderful, that the breath proceeding from his vital spirits, affected his blood in due proportion, with soft pulses; and notwithstanding, he grew so lean, that his body seemed quickly to vanish. The physicians despaired of his life; and, knowing no remedy against his infirmity, began, by pleasing words, to make him consolation: saying, He should revert at the spring of the year, when every thing, by natural influence, becomes better. The king, despairing finally of his health, sent for all the captains of the tribes, and prayed them to have such sight to their honor and the common good, that, notwithstanding his infirmity, the realm might be governed in peace and justice. The captains promised to do all things as he desired: nonetheless, there arose, each day, continual slaughter and robbery in all parts of the realm, with more trouble than may be described. The physicians prevented this damage from being said to the king, in case he took such melancholy thereby, that it might hasten him to his death. In the meantime, there arose a murmur among the commoners, that the king was not troubled with natural infirmity, but by devilry and craft of witches: of whom, there were a great number in Forres, a town of Moray. As soon as the king was informed whereof, he sent several wise and skilled men to see how true it was. These men, who were sent to do this, said they were sent to make an agreement between the king and the Murrays. In the evening, they entered the castle of Forres, and said to Donald, the captain thereof, the cause of their coming; and prayed him to investigate if such things as were said, were true. The captain got, finally, knowledge of all this treason, by one of his soldiers, who had the daughter of the principal witch as his mistress; and got her to reveal in what house of the town this witchcraft was practiced. Then the king's servants, with a company of soldiers, entered the same house where these witches were, and found an image of wax, made in the likeness of Dub, roasting on a spit before the fire; and found the witches dripping certain liquor on the image, with other charms used to the same effect. The soldiers took these witches immediately, and brought them, with the image, to the castle: where they confessed, so long as the wax melted before the fire. King Dub was dissolved in perpetual sweat; and so long as

they dripped the said liquor on his image, he should never sleep; and when the wax was melted away, the king would die. The witches were asked, Who taught them such craft, and who solicited them to do it? They answered, They had the craft by the devil; but the Murrays solicited them to slay the king by that talent. The captain broke the images, and burned the witches. It is said, the same night that these witches were taken, in this way, in the town of Forres, King Dub was delivered of all his malady; and not only selpt well all that night, but was restored to his health, as if he had never been vexed with any infirmities. And, on the following day, he came to Moray, to punish certain rebels that conspired against his majesty: and made such diligent pursuit on them in Ross, Caithness, and other parts where they fled, that they were finally brought to Forres, and tried. Amongst whom were slain, several kinsmen and friends of Donald, captain of the said castle of Forres; although they conspired more by others than by their own persuasion. This execution of justice moved Donald to such hatred, for the slaughter of his friends, that he determined, if he could find sufficient opportunity, to slay the king: nonetheless, he dissimulated his anger for a time. His wife, seeing him each day more melancholy, demanded the cause of his displeasure: at last, by long nagging of his wife, he said what shame the king had done to him for his faithful service: putting his friends to most vile death. This wife was a woman of unmerciful cruelty, having no less hatred than her husband had, against the king; for several of her friends were executed in that same manner: through which, her venomous anger was swollen every day with more indignation, not knowing to whom she might open the same. But, when she understood her husband of the same intention, she exhorted him to be of good cheer; and promised to find how their injuries might best be revenged: saying, The king was often familiarly lodged with them, and might be easily punished. Donald was inflamed by these words, above his hatred; waiting for nothing but sufficient opportunity to slay the king: and because the king was to depart on the following day, this Donald set himself, with more diligence, to bring his cursed purpose to effect. In the night following, as soon as the king had done his devotion, he went to his chamber, and fell asleep. Then was this Donald so enraged with cruelty, that he might get no ease until his cursed mind was fulfilled. Immediately, he called the king's chamber servants to a banquet, and feasted them continually, until they were taken with the wines; and so drunk, that they were forced to take rest; having no suspicion of this treachery devised for the king's death. Donald, seeing the king's chamber servants asleep, sent four servants, who were corrupted before with his money, into the king's chamber, and they slew him; and brought his body, without any noise, out at a postern gate, and two miles from the place where he was slain, to a stream, and buried it in the midst thereof, where the stream used to pass; then put a great stone above his body, so that nothing should appear hidden in the said place. These traitors, that slew the king, fled to Orkney, so that the dead corpse should not show the slayers; for it is held among us, that the body of a slain man bleeds before the slayer: and, whether the same be true or not, let them testify that has experience thereof. Donald, after the murder of the king, to so as to appear innocent thereof, passed the remainder of the night with the king's guard; speaking of the great benefits done to him, several times, by the king. On the following day, the outcry arose among the associates, saying, The king was slain, his bed pooling in blood, and the body taken away, no man knew where. Donald, hearing the noise, came in the chamber with the remaining chamber servants, as if he had known nothing of this treachery: and because he saw the bed bloody, he slew the chamber servants, as if they had been guilty thereof; and ran up and down the castle like a furious man, to see if he might see any token of the king's slaughter. At last, he found

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the postern open; and judged than, certainly, that the chamber servants had slain the king; for they had the keys of the castle in their keeping. The nobles, very frightened, came quickly to see this terrible deed; having more wonder, that the body was taken away, than of his murder: nonetheless, several of them suspected that this cruelty was done by Donald; because he made diligence in searching the authors of this treachery, above the measure of just affection: and soon after, they returned home. Six months after, neither sun, moon, nor stars, were seen in the heavens; but the sky overcovered with perpetual cloud, to the great terror of the people.

Chap. Fifth.

How Culen, Prince of Scotland, punished the murder of King Dub. Of several marvels seen in Albion.

Culen, Prince of Scotland, and Lord of Cumberland, very cast down by this perpetual darkness continuing so long, to the great terror of the people; demanded of his nobles, what might be the cause thereof. They answered, as they believed, God was so perturbed at the murder of the noble King Dub, that, if it were not punished quickly, a most terrible vengeance was to fall on their realm. Immediately, Culen commanded general prayers and fasting to be done through all parts of the realm; and made his solemn oath, never to cease, until he punished the treacherous murder of Dub. Not long after, he came to Moray; and, by his coming, he made the Murrays very afraid. Donald, knowing himself guilty of this treachery, fled to the mouth of Tay, where he raised sail, to go to Norway; and had with him, the slayers of King Dub: for the minds of all accursed tyrants, by natural inclination, fear every creature, and show themselves guilty, either in deeds or expression; and have always such fear for their life, that they give credence to no man; but avoid all celebrated company, and confide in nothing so much as in darkness and fleeing. In the same manner, this Donald showed, by his fleeing, the hidden treachery that no man would have suspected, if he had waited for the king's coming. Thus, he was brought to such misery, that where he was once reputed familiar to the king, and lover of his common good, he was regarded as a most odious and treacherous coward. The people, seeing him fly for suspicion of the said treachery, prayed God to send vengeance on him and his company: which followed soon after; for Culen, when he heard of his departing, took the castle of Forres, and found in it, Donald's wife, with his three daughters. After long inquisition, she confessed all the manner of his death, and how his body was hidden in the midst of a stream, with all circumstance, as we have said. On the following day, when the people were going to take up the body of Dub, tidings came, that Donald, with his accomplices, was shipwrecked, and taken by the people to be punished for his offence. Soon after, by command of Culen, he was brought to judgement, with his wife, and 4 servants, and put cruelly to death; their bodies quartered, and hung up in different towns of this realm, to be an example to all people, what iniquity it is to slay a king. The takers of Donald and his accomplices were not only rewarded richly, but exempted from all public exaction in times coming. Such things done, the body of King Dub was taken up, and brought, with great solemnity, to Iona, where it was buried. It is said, though King Dub lay 6 months under earth, his body was as fresh of colour and skin, as the first hour it was hidden; and, from the time when his body came above the earth, the weather changed to the greatest serenity. A bridge is now in the same place where his body was hidden: beside which now, is an abbey of the Cistercian order, named Kinloss, dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

Many strange marvels were seen at this time in Albion: Horse ate their own flesh; a woman was delivered of her birth, which had neither eyes, nose, nor foot; a sparrowhawk was strangled by an owlet. And, most wonderful of all, neither sun, moon, nor stars, appeared in sight, for 6 months; but the sky overcovered with perpetual darkness, as we have said.

Chap. Sixth.

Of King Culen, and his vicious life. Of the trouble that came in the realm by his evil administration.

Donald slain in this manner, Culen was made king, in the fourth year of King Dub; from the Incarnation, 972 years. The people believed that he would be a noble prince, seeing him begin with such sovereign justice: but little virtue was seen in him after; for he governed not the realm by consultation with his nobles, but was given, by rage of youth, to a most insolent and corrupt life; and through his vice, he gave occasion to his people to grow wilder under his rule, than ever they were under any other prince before. Finally, the realm was brought to such a point, that thieves, robbers, and similar people, were not only unpunished, but held in great estimation. Such great trouble arose, each day more and more, in the country, that, if the same were not quickly punished, it seemed the realm would come to utter ruin. When Culen was reprov'd, that these and many other enormities came only through his misgovernance, he made little excuse, but said, Young men were not like in condition to aged persons: therefore, his youth behoved to have a course, until it were stabilised by process of time; and should not be held back by over-great severity, but to be moderate according to the season thereof. Also, his predecessors, Indulf and Dub, were over-severe in administration of justice, as appeared in the end of their rule; for, when they intended, under colour of justice, to oppress their nobles, to take their lands or goods, they moved their nobles to rebellion, to the final destruction of themselves. It was better, therefore, to reign with favour and benevolence above his nobles, than to reign with menacing and terror; for by that, and by no other way, might his nobles be kept his supporters. Though this answer of King Culen was harmful to the common good, yet no man dared openly to speak against it; for every man commended his governance, especially they that hated just or prudent men. The nobles, seeing the king's associates each day more insolent, and nothing done for the benefit of the realm, removed themselves from the court: Others, vain flatterers and nursers of vengery in young persons, set themselves to encourage the king in his voluptuous life, inducing him to all things that might degenerate his mind with most shameful vices: until at last, this wretched prince was brought to such misery, that he had sight to nothing but only to his sensual pleasures; and cherished no one but most vicious and vile scoundrels: and he not only defiled many virgins and matrons, but also defiled his own sisters, his daughters, and religious women. He had also, a company of vicious rascals, that did no other thing, but espied where they might see any pleasing virgins or matrons, that they might ell him about them; and finally, they were always brought to him, either by force or persuasion. Yet, a thing followed more miserable: As soon as the king had taken his lust and pleasure of these virgins, he caused his wretched servitors to defile them after him, in the same manner. If any complained of these odious cruelties, they got no other amends, but their legs or arms broken.

And though this degenerate monster had wasted his body with over-frequent company of women, yet he took pleasure to see his associates have intercourse with them openly in his sight; and behaved, in this manner, three years continually: through which, he grew not only a despised creature, but, through his misgovernance, there arose all manner of trouble and displeasure to his subjects. Thieves, robbers, sorners<83>, and oppressors, arose with such strength, that no man dared punish them. If any man made to resist them, or complain, he was soon after slain, or else his goods confiscated, and his house burned. And not only temporal men, but also,

spiritual, were plundered in the same manner; their goods and ornaments taken by force: through which, the commoners and country people lived many years in great oppression and misery. King Culen at last, through his gluttony and uncontrolled lust, fell into a most vile and shameful infirmity; his nature declining, without any pleasure or perception. And through this malady, his body and visage grew each day so worn out and lean, that he passed the remainder of his days with great dishonour and shame. The nobles, notwithstanding his heaviness, made a convention at Scone, to deprive him of authority, and to choose a new king. As soon as Culen knew what was devised against him, he went quietly with a company to Scone. In the meantime, he unluckily met Cadardus, Thane of Meffen, by the gate, who slew him, because he defiled his daughter before. This end made the vicious tyrant, Culen, according to his cursed life, in the 5th year of his reign; from the Incarnation, 976 years; and was buried in Iona.

Chap. Seventh.

Of King Kenneth the 3rd, and his governance. Of his Speech made to the nobles; and how he constrained them to bring several thieves to his justice.

Culen slain, as we have said, Kenneth, brother to King Dub, was made king. In the beginning of his rule, he had great labour to bring the people, who had grown wild by the negligence of Culen, to virtuous living; for it is a thing daily practiced among us, that first the nobles, and then the commoners, follow the manners of the king. If the king be virtuous, the people, by imitation, incline to virtue. When he is vicious, the people, in the same manner, follow his vices. King Kenneth, that he should not detest the shameful deformities in others which appeared in himself, showed himself to the people as a chaste prince, of scanty food, liberal and meek in all his doings, hating all scurrility. He banished all taverners, drunkards, cadgers, and vain flatterers, out of his house; and nurtured concord, both with foreign and native people. He hated all sedition so much, that he punished the movers thereof by death: and had such affection to the common good, that no man was suffered to abide in his court, but such as had sufficient virtue and crafts to win their living. Thus were his subjects neither degenerate by long sloth, nor yet irked with exercise of good works. This prince, for his virtuous governance, was reputed most worthy to reign above his people; and decided to pass through all lands of his realm, for the punishment of thieves. At his coming to Lanark, several of his subjects came to him, and complained of many serious injuries and wrongs done to them by several scoundrels of the country. As soon as these scoundrels were informed that the king was to sit in judgement for execution of justice, they fled, with the assistance of the nobles, to the Isles.

The king, very angered that his nobles stopped him from doing justice in this manner, postponed his displeasure for a time; and in the year next following, he made a general convention of his nobles at Scone. On the night before his convention, he hid a number of armed men in a quiet chamber, not far from the place where the counsel was to be held, commanding them to be secret until they were summoned, and then to execute the charges committed to them. On the following day, all his nobles were ordered to the convention in their assigned places near the king, according they were of blood and authority. In the meantime, the armed men came out of the chamber where they were hidden, and stood about the council. Kenneth, seeing them daunted, said: "Although you may fear that this new way of judgement, different from old customs of our elders, wise friends, will result in harm to you, for fear of these armed men that stand about you; yet if our mind, which is set to nothing more than to the common profit of your realm and your selves, were clear to you, you would know that these armed men are not ordained to do any damage to you, or to the nobility of Scotland, except to be the certain shield of our common good. Believe not, wise friends, that we, with any treacherous deceits, have brought this guard for your destruction; since you are the only support of our realm: therefore, understand these armed men are not here to threaten, but to defend your individual and common profit. There are several evil-disposed persons in this realm, always repugnant to the welfare thereof, and given to theft, robbery, slaughter, burning, and similar intolerable extortions on the people. You know what enormities have been done, both in the time of Culen, and in the beginning of our rule, to the destruction of our commoners: and yet, you know, our commoners, with their continual labour, sustain us all. We are

richly clothed, and have all kind of costly meats; they are poorly clad, and live on scanty food. And since we have all the fruit of their labours, I think, when their goods are safe, we are safe; when they are harried and brought to poverty, none of us are at ease. They work though we are idle, and with continual labour win us riches; the fruit of their labours comes to us, and not to themselves. Therefore, he who robs them, robs us; he who supports thieves in their damage, are enemies to us and our common good. For these reasons, all such unsupportable injuries on innocent people should be forbidden; and not only should I desire such things to be done, but you should desire them in the same manner, if you have affection either to the welfare of this realm, or to yourselves, your wives or children. We proposed, as you remember, at Lanark, to purge this realm of all misdoers, so that the commoners and nobles may be nurtured, in times coming, in peace and tranquillity: yet these misdoers, in contempt of our authority, did not appear for judgement. And though I knew nothing better than that they escaped with the assistance of great men, yet I postponed this offence until more opportunity occurred. However, many of you, as we were certainly informed, were participants in this, and convoyed them from our justice. Also, the frequent messages sent between you and these thieves, making no diligence to bring them to our justice, have made the matter more credible. Nonetheless, in whatsoever way the matter stands, we have removed all suspicion, if we have had any against you; and hold you, at this time, not as favourers of scoundrels, but rather defenders of our realm: praying you, if you have been more slothful in bygone times than was needful, to repair all errors, that you may appear as lovers of your individual and common welfare. And first, my will is that that you should bring these thieves and rebels to our justice, that they may be punished according to their crimes; for I promise you, you shall not be delivered of this guard, until I see them put to death; and the more quickly that you carry out these commands, the more quickly you shall be delivered of bondage, and richly rewarded for your labours."

The nobles hearing these words, fell on their knees, praying him to forgive all offence done against his majesty; and promised not only to do all commands as he desired, but to remain where he pleased, until their friends had brought these misdoers and rebels to his justice. Such things done, the king brought all the nobles, under strong guard, to the castle of Perth. This castle stood upon the Water of Tay, and was so securely kept, in those days, with guards within and without, that no man got out or in without special licence of the king. All vagabond and idle people, who were found at the gate, were brought for suspicion to the castle. The nobles, in the meantime, were occupied with reading histories; for in those days cards and dice were not so much used as they are now. Finally, they made such progress, by the extreme diligence of their friends, that 500 of the most notable thieves were brought to the castle of Perth, and hanged on gibbets, and their bodies forbidden to be taken down; to give an example to others, what fruit follows such crimes.

Such things done, the nobles were delivered, and exhorted by the king not to allow the people to be injured with such oppressors in times coming. The Scots remained, many years after, in certain peace.

Chap. Eighth.

How the Danes, attacking the Scots with great cruelties, were defeated by King Kenneth; and how the Hays took their first beginning and arms.

The Danes, each day raging in more hatred because they had never sufficiently revenged the frequent slaughter of their friends by the wars of the Scots; arrived with a great fleet in Albion; and were determined, as it was well proven in the end of their wars, in whatsoever part of Albion they arrived, to remain there permanently; and either, by force of arms, to subdue the realm to their rule, or else, to die together. This fleet of Danes arrived at the Red Banks, in Angus; where now stands the Abbey of Arbroath, dedicated to the honour of Saint Thomas of Canterbury, after the order of Saint Benedict. Part of the Danes gave counsel not to land in those parts, but rather to go to England; for the Scots of that region were very valiant, and often before did great damage to the Danes in frequent battles. And since these lands, where they had arrived, were more productive of trees than of crops, it was not profitable to risk themselves for such poor regions. By contrast, the lands of England, lying to the South, were more rich, and the people thereof given to nothing less than to warfare, and might therefore be more easily subdued. Further, if they coveted any rich lands in Albion, without any great danger following, it would be best to go to Kent. Others said, They were not arrived in Albion only to conquer lands, but to revenge the injuries done by the Scots, who were a bloody people, more eager to defend other men's goods than their own; as was proven in the last battle fought in Northumberland, when they came in support of the Englishmen: and therefore, as soon as the Danes come to Kent, they would be constrained to fight, not only against Englishmen, but against Scots: by contrast, if they stayed in Scotland, they should fight only with Scots. Thus it would be best to attack the Scots first; and when the Scots were destroyed, to go then, after this victory, to England, and commit the remaining tasks to the chance of fortune. The Danes, weary from long labour on the sea, approved of this last opinion, and landed, finally, beside Montrose; and not only took the town, but slew all people taken in it, and broke down the walls thereof to the ground: and soon after, they came through the remaining lands of Angus to the Firth of Tay, ceasing from no manner of cruelty that might be devised.

The people, harried by these miseries, came to King Kenneth; for he was then in Stirling, occupied in administration of justice, and expecting nothing less than such invasion of enemies to attack his realm. After short consultation, so that his realm should not be open to more extortions, he commanded, by general edict, all persons able to bear arms to meet him a short time after; and finally, at the day appointed, he came with an army to the mouth of Earn. On the following day, it was said to him, that the Danes had come over the Tay, lying, with a strong siege, about the castle of Perth, with such insufferable cruelty, that no kind of people, towns, nor churches, where they were masters, were spared. The king, moved by these injuries, raised his army, with greatest diligence, to meet his enemies. In the following night, he came to Luncarty, which is a town not far from Tay. The Danes, unafraid of his coming, prepared for battle. Then Kenneth arrayed his people in a suitable place: and, to move his nobles with high courage and spirit against their enemies, he discharged them of all obligations and duties due to him for 5 years to come; then promised, by open proclamation, to give to each man that brought to him the head of a Dane, 10 pounds, or else land perpetually respondent thereto. After this, he made his prayer to God, to

send his army good fortune, and to choose rather with courage and honour to persevere in battle to the death, than to be taken fleeing, with shame and wretchedness. The Scots, inspired by their words to hope of victory, arrayed themselves in good order. Malcolm Duff, Prince of Scotland, and Lord of Cumberland, was arrayed on the right wing; and Duncan, Thane of Atholl, on the left wing: in the centre was King Kenneth. On the other side, the Danes were arrayed at the foot of the hill, not far distant from the Scots. The armies stood for a long time arrayed in each other's sight: until at last the Scots, fierce and desirous of battle, came, with incredible shower of darts, arrows, and crossbow bolts, on the Danes; and they, refusing to sustain this attack of the Scots, came forward with a great noise. Immediately, both the armies joined, without any sign of trumpet; and fought so fiercely, that none of them might sustain the force of the other. And though long fighting followed, with uncertain victory, yet nothing was more impediment to Scots than their desire to have the heads of Danes rather than the victory. When this was known to Danes, they cried, in a loud voice, they either would have victory, or die all together; and immediately, they rushed with such eager force, that both the wings of the Scots were put to flight. Nonetheless, the centre resisted valiantly the whole force of thir enemies. Now our army stood in extreme danger; for many of the Scots fled, and were cruelly slain by Danes. This day would have seen the utter extermination of the Scots, had not a country man, named Hay, with his two sons, of strong and rude bodies, and of most noble courage, came quickly in support of Kenneth and his nobles, after they were near vanquished by their enemies. This Hay having no weapons but the yoke of a plough, and seeing the centre, where Kenneth was fighting against the Danes, naked of both the wings; thought nothing so honorable as to die valiantly among so many noblemen. There was a narrow passage, not far from the battle, where a great number of the Scots were slain, miserably fleeing. This Hay, trusting nothing so good as to stop the fleeing of the Scots, stayed in this narrow passage, with his two sons; and slew both Danes, and Scots whom he found fleeing, with his yoke. In the meantime, certain of the Scots, who were very forceful and valiant, cried with a loud voice, "All good Scotsmen, return, and renew battle for defence of your king and realm; and consider, now, whether it is more honourable to risk yourselves with a good chance in defence of your prince, than to be shamefully slain while you are fleeing." This Hay, with his two sons, armed, as we have said, with yokes of a plough, stayed in this narrow passage, and forced the Scots who were fleeing, to return with him to battle against their enemies. The Danes, daunted by their returning, and thinking some new army was coming on their backs, left the chase of the Scots, and made to return to their people. Then the Scots, who were vanquished before, were raised with new spirit and courage, rushed fiercely on their enemies, and put them to flight. Great slaughter was made in the battle, but more in the chase. The Scots got, this day, a glorious victory over the Danes, by persevering fighting of the nobles of Scotland, in the centre, to the death. Yet most honor succeeded to Hay and his sons; for he helped to win the field, after it was defeated. The Scots passed the night after this victory with singing, dancing, and incredible blitheness. On the following day, Kenneth gave the most part of all the spoils of this battle to Hay and his sons. The remainder thereof were divided, by custom of arms, among the Scots.

Such things done, Kenneth returned to the castle of Perth, and commanded this Hay and his sons to be clothed with rich clothes, and to follow him to the said castle. But Hay, not desiring this, came with his 2 sons, in their old and rusty habit, strinkled with dust and sweat of battle, in the same manner as they fought; ready to do what commands he might give, at the king's pleasure. The people, very desirous to see Hay

and his sons, who, by their singular courage, had saved the king and the realm, when they were in most danger from their enemies, came in great multitude, and carried them, as upholders of the realm, to the king's palace. Hay, accompanied by many people in this way, entered the king's palace, bearing the yoke on his shoulders, in the same manner as he fought against the Danes. Soon after, a council was held at Scone, in which Hay and his sons were made noble, and endowed, for their singular virtue proven in this field, with certain lands, to sustain their estate. It is said that he asked from the king certain lands, which he knew very plentiful before, lying between Tay and Ardle; and got as much thereof as from where a falcon flew from a man's hand, until she alighted. The falcon flew to a town, 4 miles from Dundee, called Ross, and lighted on a stone, which is yet called The Falcon Stone; and so he got all the lands between Tay and Ardle, 6 miles in length, and 4 in breadth; which lands are yet inhabited by his posterity. Also, so that none of his valiant deeds should perish, but always remain in recent and perpetual memory, King Kenneth gave him three red shields, in a field of silver, to bear in manner of arms, in place of the yoke; to signify that he was promoted from small and obscure lineage, to great honours, riches, and lands. Also, there were added to his arms the figure of the yoke with which he helped the Scots in their most need. Of this Hay, are descended many noble and valiant men, always defenders of this realm; whose house is decorated with such authority, that it is Constable of Scotland.

Chap. Ninth.

How King Kenneth slew the Prince of Scotland, so that his son might succeed to the crown. Of the message sent by Saint Edward to King Kenneth; and of Kenneth's speech to his nobles.

After the defeat of the Danes, there followed several contentions in this realm. The men of the Isles took a huge plunder of goods out of Ross; nonetheless, they were all taken and slain by people of the country. As soon as this trouble was pacified, there followed, another, in Angus and Mearns, of greater importance. There was a man named Cruthneth, who gathered the king's rents of all the lands of Angus lying between South Esk and North Esk. He had a daughter, named Fenel, whose son was a fierce and courageous man, named Cruthlint. This Cruthlint came to the castle of Delbogin, where his grandfather was, and, by his insolence, fell into such a dispute for a trifling cause, that 2 of his servants were slain, himself narrowly escaping with his life. Soon after, he came to Fettercairn, where he met his mother, and told her about this injury lately done to him; and she nothing calmed his ire, but inflamed him so far, that he gathered a great company of people out of the Mearns, and returned, during the night, to the said castle; and not only slew his grandfather, but left none alive within the said castle: and, on the following day, he brought a great plunder of goods out of Angus. The men of Angus, refusing to tolerate these raids, arose with great companies, and made raids and slaughter in the Mearns in the same manner. King Kenneth, knowing how ready his people were to rebellion, when no punishment was made thereafter; believed, if these deeds were not quickly punished, more sedition would quickly arise, to the damage of his realm: and, therefore, he summoned all them that were suspected of this cruelty, both of the Mearns and Angus, to appear at Scone, the 15th day after following, to submit to the law, or be punished for rebellion. And because they did not appear the king pursued them with such diligence, that they were all taken, and brought to Dunsinane. Cruthlint, and the principal movers of this trouble, were put to death. This execution of justice brought King Kenneth more favour from his people; with such affection, that none of them would hear nor suffer any detraction of him. There followed, great tranquillity; until at last, the 22nd year of his reign, this prince, so long decorated with justice, committed a most shameful slaughter: which appeared the more conspicuous, that his life was reputed before most innocent, and given to the common good. The blind and immoderate affection that he had for his son, was occasion that he slew, by poison, Malcolm Duff, Prince of Scotland and Lord of Cumberland; so that Malcolm, his son, might succeed to the crown of Scotland: and yet no man believed that such cruelties were committed by him; because, in all other ways, he appeared a just prince. King Kenneth, after the death of Malcolm, the prince, sent to several churches to do funeral obsequies for his soul; and he could not refrain from tears when he heard his name spoken. Nonetheless, several of the nobles suspected him of the prince's death, thinking he was dissimulating, and his sorrow exceeding the just affection of his mind; yet, because all things are uncertain, the people left their suspicion.

In the meantime, Saint Edward, who was afterwards martyred by his step-mother, Esculda, sent his ambassadors to Kenneth, saying he was very perturbed for the death of Malcolm, Prince of Scotland. Nonetheless, since all people are mortal, he desired, that the two realms might persevere in friendship with each other, after the terms of the old peace; and to choose another Prince of Cumberland, that was wise,

and promoter of peace between the two people. Kenneth answered, He was nothing penitent of the treaty made between him and the Englishmen, and would ratify and approve the same, in times coming; as to the election of the prince, he said, that he would convene his nobles on the following day, to choose the prince; and therefore prayed these ambassadors to return again on the following day, so that they could hear who were declared Prince of Scotland and Lord of Cumberland. Then Kenneth called his nobles to a council at Scone, and said in this way: If you, discreet and wise fathers, have sight to the welfare of this realm, and to the tranquillity of the people thereof, in times coming, discreet and wise fathers; it is necessary to have not only respect to the administration and governance of this realm in bygone times, but also, in times coming; especially concerning the institution of your prince. You must consider what manners, what governance, and authority, concern a prince. The habits and manners of all people are mutable, and corresponding to the season, as it occurs; often succeeding to the worst. New manners require new laws. It is therefore not discrepant to justice, concerning the reparation of our errors, to use the things among us, which are instituted by reason and laws, and used in all other realms. And though old rites were once suitable to our elders, yet they are found now unprofitable. A law was made after Fergus the First, that because his sons, Mainus and Ferlegus, were not able to govern the realm because of their tender age, that the nearest of their blood, able to do justice for the time, should be king: who being dead, the son of the king before dead, if he were able, should succeed without any dispute. It was forbidden by the same law, to avoid inconveniences, that no children of tender age should succeed. And though this law was found profitable to several for the time, it appears, in my judgement, contrary and troublesome to the common good, rising extreme hatred among noblemen. Was not Ferithais, the second king that came after Fergus, slain by Ferlegus? Although, the said Ferlegus was banished for the same cause, and ended his days in misery. Thus, double injury succeeded: Ferlegus banished, and Ferithais slain. In this way, by this cursed law, there followed, suffering to the realm, when Reuther was made king, to the great slaughter, both of the Scots and Picts, and harm to the people: who were brought to such calamity, that, after the slaying of the most forceful champions, all the nobility of the Scots and Picts were either banished or put to servitude. And though the realm was restored to the old state, yet there followed frequent slaughter of the most noble and valiant men of this realm: through which, not only the realm was held in perpetual trouble, but most tender cousins forced, by suspicion, to fight among themselves for the rule: often the just heir of the crown slain; and not only men of obscure lineage brought to great riches, but many noblemen put down and murdered. Furthermore, through this cursed law, all valiant men were degenerated to cowardice; humble men, to bloody monsters; just men, to avaricious tyrants; liberal men, to greedy robbers; chaste men, to lecherous sciundrels; oppressing the people with most odious cruelties. Among all other harms, which cannot be described without horror, young children who had just title to the crown, were murdered by them that had the realm in governance, when they desired mercy in their father's names. What cruelty, what detestable felonies have been heard in any realm, in comparison with such things as have been done by this cursed constitution? Therefore, most prudent fathers, provide, above all things, that this cursed law, by which the king's son is disinherited of his just heritage, be abrogated: because the same is so injurious, that it has nurtured among you many unthankful displeasures, contrary to the law of God and man; and, by irrecoverable damage, has brought your common good near to utter destruction. Suffer, therefore, none other but the king's son to reign above you in times to come, so long as he is alive; so that, after the custom of

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other lands, the son of the king may immediately succeed, notwithstanding whatever age he may be: so that your commonwealth may appear governed, not by authority of one man, but by the whole people: so that, that the king's son may by held, in times to come, in more veneration, and the more loved and dear to him."

Chap. Tenth.

How the old laws were abrogated by Kenneth, concerning the election of kings, and new laws contrary to them instituted. Of the vision that came to him in his bed; and of his death.

When Kenneth had ended this speech, certain of his associates came among the nobles, desiring them to choose Malcolm, the son of Kenneth, to be Lord of Cumberland, that he might, in that way, the better come to the crown after his father's death. And when the nobles were carefully considering this matter, Kenneth asked them, whom they desired to be Lord of Cumberland, and regent on the Borders between Englishmen and Scots. At that time, there were 2 noblemen, of great authority in the council; one was named Constantine, son to King Culen, and the other, named Grime, nephew to King Dub: who were just heirs to the crown after Kenneth, by the old laws; nonetheless, for fear of their lives, they said, It was at his will to make not only whom he list, Prince of Cumberland, but also, to abrogate the old laws, and to create new institutions, conforming to his purpose, as he pleased. The remainder of the nobles, following their voice, declared Malcolm, the son of Kenneth, Lord of Cumberland, although he was young, and unable to bear any authority. On the following day, the ambassadors of England were despatched; and received young Malcolm, to make his obedience to King Edward, for the lands of Cumberland.

Such things done, King Kenneth, after consulting his nobles, abrogated the old laws concerning the creation of their king, and made new laws, in manner as follows: "The king having died, his eldest son, or his eldest grandson, notwithstanding whatsoever age he is, and even if he were born after his father's death, shall succeed to the crown. The grandson got by the king's son, shall be preferred to the grandson got on the king's daughter. In the same manner, the nephew got by the king's brother, shall be preferred to the nephew got on his sister. The same laws shall be observed among all other nobles of this realm, in succession to their heritage. When the king is young, a nobleman of great prudence and authority shall be chosen governor of the realm, until the king has come to the age of 16 years, when the king shall be free to govern his realm by his own authority. All other heirs shall succeed to their father's heritage, after 21 years; and until that time, they shall be governed by their guardians; and until that year be past, they shall not be admitted to claim their heritage."

Kenneth, trusting the realm secured to him and his posterity by these laws, governed the commoners in great justice, and drew the nobles, by donation of lands and goods, into his favour. And though he was reputed very happy by many opinions, yet he was most unhappy to himself; ever dreading in his mind, that the murder of innocent Malcolm Duff, whom he had poisoned, should come to light sometime; and was so full of suspicion, that he believed, when any man turned to his fellow, that they spoke evil of him; for it is given by nature to each creature that is guilty of any horrible crime, that he will, by impulsion of his conscience, interpret every thing that he sees, to some danger for himself. In the same manner, though Kenneth had his realm in good tranquillity, without any invasion of enemies, yet he had great trouble in his mind. At last, when he was lying in his bed, he heard a voice, as appeared by some vision, saying to him: "O Kenneth, believe not that the cursed slaughter of Malcolm Duff is hid to God! O you wretched tyrant! who, for desire of the crown, has slain an innocent, attacking your neighbour with treacherous murder: who you would have punished with most rigour, if it had been done by any other person than thyself.

And therefore, you have incurred such hatred of God, that both you and your son shall be quickly slain; for now several of your nobles are conspiring in your death, trusting, when you and your son are slain, to enjoy the crown at their pleasure." The king was so afraid by this voice, that he passed the remaining night with great perturbation and wretchedness. On the following day, he made his confession, with good repentance, to a holy bishop, named Moveane, and confessed the crime in the same manner as it was done.

Moveane, hearing him penitent, persuaded him to do penance; and said, Though his offence was odious, God was merciful. Finally, King Kenneth, by counsel of this holy man, began to do several works of piety, and left not undone anything that pertained to a Christian prince. At last, he went to Fordoun, which is a town of Mearns, where Palladius, the blessed Apostle of the Scots, lies, held in great veneration. And when he had done his pilgrimage, he came to the castle of Fettercairn, and was lodged with Fenella, the lady thereof. This Fenella was a tender kinswoman to Malcolm Duf, previously slain by Kenneth; and also, to Constantine and Grime, who had some title to the crown. Also, she had extreme hatred against Kenneth, for the slaughter of her son Cruthlint, who was slain before by his justice. This woman, raging in anger against Kenneth, for these causes, could not rest, but devising always how she might most easily slay the king. And because she knew the mind of Kenneth given to magnificent building, she brought him in a tower of the said castle, which was roofed with copper, and carved with most subtle carvings of different flowers and imageries: the work so curious, that it exceeded any other. This tower was apparelled inside with rich tapestries of gold and silk; and behind them were crossbows, bent with crossbow bolts ready to shoot. In the middle of this house, there was an image of brass, made to the similitude of Kenneth, with a golden apple in his hand, with such talent, that as soon as any man made him to take this apple from the image, the pulling of the same drew all the triggers of the crossbows at once, and shot at him that took the apple. As soon as Kenneth was brought into this tower, in manner foresaid, knowing nothing of the treachery devised by this subtle woman, the doors being closed, and none with him but this lady, he began, after he had visited several marvels within this tower, to inquire what this image and apple signified. "This image," said she, is made in similitude of you, so that the people may understand what reverence and affection I bear you. This golden apple, set with so many precious stones, is intended to be given to you, as a sign of love; and, therefore, receive it, with most heartfelt benevolence." The king drew the apple, to have taken it; and, with the drawing thereof, he drew up the triggers of the crossbows, and immediately one of them shot him through the body. Fenella, seeing the king slain, locked the door, and ran to the gate, where she took a horse and fled away. The king's servants waited a long time for his out-coming; until at last they broke the door, and found him weltering in his blood. King Kenneth was slain in this way, in the 25th year of his reign; from the Incarnation, 1000 years.

Chap. Eleventh.

Of King Constantine the 4th; and of several marvels seen in Albion. How Constantine and Malcolm contended for the crown. How Englishmen and Danes were reconciled by Malcolm, Lord of Cumberland. How Constantine and Kenneth, meeting each other in set battle, were both slain.

Kenneth, having been slain by this unknown and wonderful deceit, Constantine, son to King Culen, came, with a great force of his friends, to Scone, and took the crown. About this time there were seen many marvels in Albion. Stones rained, both in France and Albion. An infinite number of fish was found dead on the sands in Buchan; and, with their corrupt and pestilential odour, infected the air, to the great mortality of people. The moon was seen terrible and bloody. The fruit and crops, through insufferable heats of the summer, deteriorated in all parts of the realm. Soon after, there followed such dearth, that had not the fish swum with more abundance that year than they were wont, the people would have completely perished. The Scots, daunted by these and other unheard-of plagues, feared that great calamities would come on them, if their lives were not quickly amended. And though the noble preachers, Moveane, Medane, Blane, and many other excellent doctors, daily exhorted our people to do penance for their iniquities, yet no preaching, nor fear of terrible plagues, might cause them to detest their cursed lives, but each day offending God with more offence: through which, intolerable affliction, each day worse than the previous, came to Scotland, as was seen afterwards; for Malcolm, son of Kenneth, and Prince of Cumberland, hearing that Constantine was made king against the laws lately made by his father, gathered his friends to a council, to advise by what way he might best recover the crown.

Some of them thought it best to sound the minds of the nobles before they proceeded any further, in case, when he believed it was best to deliver himself of all danger, he might bring himself into great trouble, to the great damage to both his personal and the common good: Others counselled him to attack Constantine before he was made strong in his authority; for Constantine had several with him at that time, who would not only leave him, but bring him bound to his enemies, when they saw the chance. Malcolm, following this last counsel, came with 10,000 men to Lothian. On the other side, King Constantine gathered an army of such strength, that he chased Malcolm to Cumberland. Thus Malcolm would have come to most shameful confusion, had not Kenneth, his bastard brother, come with a great force to Stirling, and prevented the army of Constantine, from passing over the Forth. Thus there arose great dearth and hunger in both the armies. King Constantine, for lack of supplies, might not follow fortune, but was forced, with great indignation, to disperse his army. Thus the realm was divided into several factions. There followed such continual incursions, raids, and slaughter, in all parts thereof, that it might have been sufficient document to all people of the vengeance and sorrow that falls by civil wars. The country people, by these wars, were brought to such poverty and hardship, that their land was left unsown and unworked. Finally, each trouble arose so fast on the previous one, that infinite slaughter, robbery, and extortions, were done, with all manner of cruelty that might be devised, without any hope of better fortune. While the Scots were in such trouble, Saint Edward, King of England, nearly completely oppressed by wars of Danes, was constrained to redeem the liberty of his people with

infinite money. And because their tyranny ceased not in that way, he decided to attack them in battle; and solicited Malcolm, Prince of Cumbria, to come with an army to his support. By the coming of his army, the Danes were so intimidated, that they agreed to have peace in this manner: King Edward shall pay 1,000 pounds sterling to the Danes; and the Danes shall stand content with the lands obtained before that time from Englishmen, and shall attack no further, but stand good friends in times coming, and defend them against their enemies. Whike the Danes and Englishmen were engaged in this, King Constantine, trusting to find sufficient opportunity to bring the lands of Scotland under his rule, because the Prince of Cumbria was involved with such wars of the Danes, came with 20,000 men to Lothian, which stood at that time under the dominion of the said Prince and Lord of Cumberland. Kenneth, the bastard foresaid, who was left by his brother, the Prince of Cumberland, to resist the wars of King Constantine, came quickly, with an army, to Cramond. And scarcely had both the armies joined together, when there suddenly arose a vehement wind in the East, and blew the sand with such force on the face of King Constantine's army, that none of them could hold up their heads against their enemies; and so his army was finally defeated. After most lamentable slaughter made on either side, Constantine and Kenneth met together in single combat, and were both slain. King Constantine was slain in this manner, the 3rd year of his reign, and buried in Iona; from the Incarnation, 1002 years.

Chap. Twelfth.

Of King Grime; and of the great dispute between him and Malcolm, Prince of Cumberland, in contention for the crown. And how they were finally reconciled.

Grime, grandson to King Dub, hearing how unhappily King Constantine and Kenneth were slain at Crawmond, gathered the residue of King Constantine's army, and came to Scone; where he was crowned, by the old laws. As soon as Grime had taken the crown in this manner, he entertained the friends of Constantine with the greatest liberality and pleasure he might, and obtained the favour and benevolence of the people in many different ways. And finally, to fasten the crown to him with more certain security, he rewarded several friends of Malcolm with lands and riches: and of others, who were to him repugnant, confiscated their goods, holding them as enemies to the common good. Malcolm, Prince of Cumberland, very sorrowful that Grime had taken the crown in this way, called all his friends to a counsel, to consider this matter; and dissimulated his mind, as if he regarded not the power of Grime. Yet, many of his friends persuaded him not to despise his enemy; for several of the nobles supported: and therefore, counselled him to contend against Grime, rather with wisdom than strength; giving his labour, if he might, to draw the nobles from his support. Malcolm, by their advice, sent his secret servants to the nobles that were with Grime; and prayed them to keep their faith and promise made to his father, Kenneth, and to assist him in his good matter, so that the laws lately made concerning the election of princes, be not abrogated by the ambition of the tyrant Grime; and promised, if they stayed his supporters, to govern the realm in such happiness, that all occasion of disagreements should be calmed at their pleasure. Many of the nobles, hearing this this message, left King Grime, and solicited their friends to do the same. Others took these servants of Malcolm, and sent them bound, as traitors, to Grime; who put them in prison. Malcolm, in reaction to these injuries, came with an army against Grime. Yet, because he was informed that Grime was coming against him with more people than he had, he commanded, under pain of death, that no man be spoken with or received within his army, until they were first brought to his presence. This was done, by the wisdom of Malcolm, that his army should not be informed of the huge ordinance against them: nonetheless, fame and rumour, which increases always more and more by frequent passage, made the thing most patent to his army, which he desired most hid. And further, it was said, that such treachery was in his army, that, if he went ahead, he should fight no less against them that were in his army, than against his enemies. This rumour arose by merchants, who had more knowledge in dealing in their goods, than in any craft of warfare. These merchants, because a great number of them were in this army, naked of armour and weapons, desired permission to go to Malcolm. And because this was denied, they filled all the army full of mourning and dolour. By the fear caused by these words of the merchants, all the captains who were in Malcolm's army, were afraid. Then Malcolm, seeing his captains daunted, thought it unprofitable to risk them, fearing the danger of battle so much, and therefore, by counsel of his associates, to avoid the present danger, he allowed the army to go home; and stayed at the Water of Forth, with his household and gentlemen, to prevent his enemies from coming over the water.

While there was such infinite trouble in Scotland, Fothad, bishop thereof, a man of proven virtue and clemency, seeing the people harrassed thus by the civil wars of Grime and Malcolm, and that the body of the realm was divided into different

factions, went with a company of prelates, in solemn procession, in their vestments, to King Grime: who received him with reverence, and inquired what errand moved him to come in such a way. He answered, I am coming, as a servant of Christ, the giver and lord of peace, to make intercession to you, to have mercy and pity of the great trouble in your realm, since God has made you prince thereof; for now so many different opinions sprout in it, that it shall certainly fall into miserable ruin unless you quickly provide a remedy. The civil wars are so frequent in this realm, that they have brought it to such calamity, that there is nothing in it but continual strife and slaughter, both of nobles and commoners; apparently as if destiny were determined to bring this realm to nothing. For, not only are wicked persons and scoundrels unpunished, but authorised in their iniquity. None may remain in his own house, without being either slain or robbed of all his goods. And understand surely, so long as these odious contentions reign between you and Malcolm, no justice nor order shall appear in this realm. No tranquillity shall follow; no end shall be put to such mischiefs, until you are finally agreed with Malcolm: yet, if you are agreeable, and hear my counsel, I doubt not to bring all matters to a good end. For these reasons, noble prince, have mercy of the great trouble falling to your people, who are broken now with more calamity than might move the most cruel tyrants to piteous tears. And if no affliction of your realm and people may move you to pity, yet have compassion on yourself, who may have no certain life when your people are perished." King Grime, moved by these words, answered, That he would condescend to have peace, provided it were not degrading to his honour: for he was king, by the old laws used so many hundred years in this realm; and therefore, he would not part with the crown, but fight for the same against Malcolm, and all that supported him, to the end of his life. Nonetheless, if Malcolm would dismiss his army, and stand content with the lands of Cumberland, intending to attack him no more, he would agree to peace: otherwise, he should persevere in battle against him, until the right was decided by the sword. Fothad prayed the king to cease a little from all malice, until he had seen the mind of Malcolm; for it might happen, that he might bring all matters to good purpose, if any of them had sight to the common good. After this, Fothad went to Malcolm at Stirling: where he, in a long speech, lamented the great trouble falling to the people by sedition of these 2 princes: and when he had said what miserable end might follow thereupon, he brought Malcolm to such a point, that he was content to go to Cumberland, provided that King Grime would dismiss his army. King Grime did not refuse this arrangement; trusting to persevere in the rule which he had sought before with such huge danger. Immediately, he dismissed his people, and came to Forfar, to consult with his friends, what was to be done in this matter. In the meantime, Fothad, the bishop, made an agreement between them as follows: King Grime should enjoy the crown during his life; and, after his death, the crown to remain with Malcolm, and the nearest of his blood, perpetually, without any dispute. He that was found afterwards, repugnant to the terms of this peace, should be held as an enemy to the common good. Also, all the lands lying between Lothian and Northumberland, and between Clyde and Westmorland, should come under the dominion of Malcolm; and he should stand good friend to King Grime in all matters. And if he did not keep this agreement, or do any thing in prejudice thereof, he should both lose the lands given to him by this agreement, and the crown from him and his posterity. When these 2 princes had sworn, in the most binding form that might be devised, to observe all points in this contract, they dismissed their companies, and set their minds to repair the trouble falling to the people by their division. There then followed good peace, many years after.

Chap. Thirteenth.

How a great number of Danes were slain by a deceit of the Englishmen. Of the Speech made to King Grime by the nobles; and how he was slain by Malcolm, Prince of Cumberland.

While such things were done in Scotland, Ethelred was made King of England, by the death of his brother, Saint Edward. This Ethelred suffered great oppressions by the Danes; who, by their wars, intended to settle, with their wives, children, and friends, in his realm; and finally, they wrought such raids and cruelties in all parts where they came, that neither peace, nor yet their faith before contracted by virtue of the sacrament, might cause them to live in peace. Thus appeared nothing more certain, than plain destruction of the realm of England. King Ethelred, to cease this cruelty, called a council of his nobles: in which, it was devised, secretly to slay all the Danes that were in England, on a particular day. This subtle deceit would have succeeded, had not the Danes been informed thereof, and avoided the murder devised against them. Nonetheless, many of them were slain in this way. The remainder of the Danes, who escaped from this slaughter, moved by the murder of their friends, garrisoned all strongholds and castles where they had any lands within England, and sent to Sweyn, King of Denmark, for support, to revenge the treachery done to them by guile of the Englishmen.

While such things were done in England, King Grime, by affluence of riches and long peace, was degenerate from his liberality and wholesome life, into the most corrupt and avaricious living. And when he had slain several nobles of Scotland, as often occurs, to seize their lands and goods, he oppressed the people, each day, with more tyranny. The people, knowing no mortal judge above him to punish his cruelty, after long endurance of insufferable injuries sustained by them, fell on their knees, making invocation to God, the punisher of sin, to have pity on their affliction, and to change the realm to some better governance. The nobles, having great indignation likewise, of the trouble falling both on them and their commoners; sent certain gentlemen as ambassadors to King Grime, urging him, in their name, to dismiss the wretched and mischievous advisers, in whom he had over-great confidence, as it appeared, to the damage of the common good. One of these ambassadors, to whom the charge was given, said: "We, who are a part of your nobles, and ever true to your crown, are coming to persuade you, if we may, for the welfare of yourself and your realm. It is not unknown to you, most noble prince, what infinite calamity and trouble has been done, these several years, to your laws, by the insatiable avarice of those wretched and wicked scoundrels, your servants. The shame and displeasure whereof may not be well excused, but redounds always to your great dishonour and sloth. Therefore, since it is at your pleasure to distribute all offices and authorities within the realm, you must answer for the crimes and iniquities done by your servants against your laws and subjects. The sword is given to you, not to enrich and magnify thieves and traitors, nor yet to attack true and innocent people, but to punish guilty and mischievous scoundrels. It were better for your people to be dead, as is commonly said, than to live in such daily trouble as they have, by injury from them that should be their defenders. Wherefore, we exhort you to remove all these wretched tyrants your counsellors, and to govern the realm and common good with such happiness as your elders has done before; for we think it unsuitable, so long as we are alive, if you will be ruled by us, that your subjects should be oppressed, either in time of war or peace; since we have been ever ready to defend you with our bodies and goods,

without any regard to our lives: and, therefore, show yourself a just prince, and make yourself loved by them whom you desire to be your friends; and understand that a just king makes his citizens obedient, without any rebellion or debate."

When King Grime had answered with dissimulated and feigned words to these ambassadors, he called them to a banquet, intending to have put them in prison. Nonetheless, they were informed thereof, and fled with swift horse to Perth, where the remaining nobles were assembled for the time. King Grime, not moved by their words, but trusting each thing to succeed with such happiness as before, gave himself to his lust and insolence, not ceasing from frequent exactions and scourge of his laws; until, at last, he was informed that his nobles had rebelled against him: and immediately he raised his banner, and came, with great number of people, to attack them that were repugnant to him. Then followed more trouble than ever was seen in Albion; for the castles were cast down, the towns burned, the crops destroyed, and the people slain in churches at their devotion. Such cruelties and trouble caused Malcolm, Prince of Cumberland, to come out of England, from the wars of the Danes, to Scotland. At his coming, all people, especially those that hated Grime, came to him, to be relieved of the cruel tyrannies done to them; and said, He was not born only for the good of himself, but partly for the good of his friends and country; and descended of noble blood, having riches and courage to support his country, when time occurred; and to deliver them of the odious tyrant Grime: which being done, all thing might succeed to him as he pleased. Malcolm, moved by these persuasions, came, with a great number of people, against King Grime. As soon as Grime was informed thereof, he gathered all the people that he might get for the time. Finally, both the armies set down their camp opposite each other, at the town of Auchnabart, on the Ascension Day. King Grime, trusting that Malcolm might be easily vanquished, as one that was given more to devotion than any warfare, because of the solemnity of the day; came forward, with all his power, at the break of day. Nonetheless, Malcolm was well informed of his purpose: and after he had requested him, although in vain, to desist from battle, in reverence for the holy day, both the armies rushed together. At the first meeting, there was great slaughter; but at last King Grime's army was vanquished and put to flight. It is said that King Grime was taken, fighting with great ferocity and courage; and after he was stricken with many bloody wounds in his head, both his eyes were put out: and when he had lived certain days in this way, in misery and dolour, he died, the 9th year of his reign, and was buried in Iona, from the Incarnation, 1010 years.

Chap Fourteenth.

Of King Malcolm the Second. How Sweyn, King of Norway, with double victory, chased King Ethelred of England to Normandy; and oppressed Englishmen with great cruelties.

Malcolm, after this victory, called several of his nobles, who were taken prisoners at this time, to his presence; and after he had treated them with great humanity, he said to them that he was just heir to the crown of Scotland, and fought not against the welfare thereof, but to relieve the people of the tyranny of Grime. The 15th day after, a convention was made at Scone, where all the nobility of Scotland being present, Malcolm declared that he would not receive the crown of Scotland, until the laws made before by his father Kenneth, were affirmed, and the nobles sworn never to act to the contrary thereof. Such things being granted, Malcolm was crowned in the fateful chair of marble; and made such concord with his nobles, that all occasion of hatred and sedition was set aside. After his coronation, he dealt his offices concerning civil actions, to them that were most learned in the laws: other offices, pertaining to warfare, were given to the most valiant captains: through which there followed better justice than was seen for many years before.

While the kingdom of the Scots was governed in this manner, Sweyn, King of Danes, arrived in Britain with a great navy, to revenge the injuries done before by the Englishmen. This Sweyn, after his coronation, as is written in the history of the Danes, wrought such punishment and cruelty on Christian people, that his subjects were constrained to renounce the Christian faith, and returned to their old superstitions. Nonetheless, his cruelty was not long unpunished: for he was afterwards, by just punishment of God, thrice taken prisoner by his enemies, and thrice ransomed with infinite money; and finally, broken with such frequent incursions, that he was beaten out of his realm by Olaf, King of Norway. As soon as Sweyn was banished in this way, he came to the Scots, desiring support to recover his realm. The Scots, having compassion for his calamity, brought him first to the sacrament of baptism; and finally, supported him in such manner, that he was restored to his kingdom. Sweyn, soon after that he was restored to his realm, came with an army of Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, Goths, Vandals, and Frisians, to England, and chased King Ethelred to Northumberland. This Ethelred, by treaty of confederation, drew the Scots to his support; and decided, with renewed courage, to seize the chance of fortune against the Danes. Proceeding, wherefore, straight against his enemies, he set down his camp not far from York upon the river Ouse.

In the meantime, Sweyn, having no memory of the great humanities done to him by Scots, charged them to return home, and leave the support of the Englishmen; otherwise, he would attack them by battle. King Ethelred took the herald who came to this effect, and cast him in fetters. King Sweyn went quickly forward with well-arrayed forces. Immediately, both the armies joined so quickly, that none of them had power to shoot their darts. The battle was long fought with uncertain victory, until at last the Englishmen were put to flight. King Ethelred, after this defeat, fled over the river of Ouse in a boat: the remainder of his army were either taken or slain. Ethelred, seeing each day more trouble rising in his realm, and despairing of relief, fled to Normandy: where he was so tenderly received by Richard, duke thereof, that he married his daughter Emma; and got on her, two sons, Alfred and Edward. He had also, another son, named Edmund, a man of high courage and strength of body. This

Edmund was got by Ethelred on his first wife, before the Danes attacked his realm; and was called Ironside, because he was exercised in warfare; and reigned 16 years above Englishmen, as we shall after describe. Sweyn, proud of his success, took counsel with the remaining Danes, how the Englishmen might be most easily destroyed; that he might secure the realm to himself and his posterity, without any impediment from the Englishmen, in times coming. The nobles of England, informed of this extreme hatred of the Danes against them, fell on their knees before Sweyn, exhorting him to have mercy on them, since they were an ancient people, once most powerful, both by sea and land: and prayed him to suffer them to remain alive, under what servitude he pleased; for they desired no castles, towns, nor riches, but only to live with their wives and children under servitude. Although Sweyn was by nature most cruel, yet he used his victory with less harshness on Englishmen than he proposed; and commanded them, many years after, to bear no weapons, but to use husbandry, or other labours, under servitude to Danes, honoring him as their just prince. And, in the meantime, he commanded them to bring all their gold, silver, jewels, weapons, and armour, to him, on a prefixed day; and to surrender their towns, castles, and fortifications, to him, so that they might be kept, in times coming, by the Danes. If any of the Englishmen were repugnant to these matters, to be punished by death. The Englishmen were, finally, so broken with each trouble rising above the other, that they fulfilled these charges in all points. Thus, the crown of England was obtained by Danes; after the first conquest made on it by Saxons, from the time of Vortigern, 526 years.

Sweyn reigned, after this, with great tyranny over the Englishmen; and took from them, their liberty, in such manner, that he would suffer none of their blood to bear authority nor honours within England. The priests and prelates not only were degraded of their benefices, but cast in prison, and Danes put in their offices. The Englishmen, oppressed with such miserable calamities, began to lament their wretched fortune; regretting that they had not chosen rather to have death when they might, than to live with such daily oppression by tyranny of unmerciful enemies: yet Sweyn was nothing moved with their lamentable regret, but subjected them, the more they lamented, to new and insupportable servitude: for the talent of tyrants is always of such condition; the more they see their subjects and lieges dejected in supreme misery and trouble, the more their unmerciful tyranny rages on them with new injury. Finally, the Englishmen were brought to such great calamity and misery by Danes, that each house in England was constrained to sustain a Dane, that the same might be a spy to the king, and tell him what was done or said in that house: by which way, the king might know soon, where there was any rebellion against him. This spy was called Lord Dane: which expression is now used for an idle wretch, that seeks his living from other men's labours.

Chap. Fifteenth.

How Olaf and Onetus came to Scotland with a great army of Danes; and how King Malcolm was defeated.

The Englishmen, oppressed in this manner, and plundered of their crown and riches, Sweyn, to secure his realm, thought it expedient to make peace with his neighbours, the Normans, Britons, and Scots, under these conditions. That none of them support Englishmen against Danes. And above these conditions, he sent his herald to the Normans, charging them to send King Ethelred, with his two sons, to him in England, or else to destroy them; so that no succession of them should remain alive, to be an impediment to him or his heirs in times coming. And because none of these conditions were observed, he garrisoned all the strongholds of his realm against Normandy with strong munition and supplies, and prepared to attack the Scots; and so that he might bring his purpose more easily to effect, he commanded Olaf and Onetus, his lieutenants, to go quickly to Scotland, with all the people that they might get, to attack the Scots. Soon after, these captains arrived, with a great army, at the mouth of the Spey; and landed with such awful force, that the inhabitants fled, with their cattle, wives, and children, to their best refuge. The Danes, after their coming, burned the churches, temples, and towns in Moray, and slew all persons whom they might apprehend; and took all the strongholds of Moray, except three castles only; that is to say, Elgin, Forres, and Nairn. At last, the Danes laid siege to the castle of Nairn; and trusted, when it was taken by force, the other two castles would be surrendered without any blow struck. In the meantime, the Danes were informed, that King Malcolm was coming forward, with all the army of Scotland, to give them battle: and immediately they left the siege of the castle, and went with no less courage against the Scots, than if victory had been present to their hands. Soon after came ambassadors of Malcolm to their Danes, inquiring why they attacked his lands without any occasion. Scarcely had these ambassadors said their message, when they were cruelly slain by the Danes. King Malcolm, moved by this cruelty, and complaining of the law of people broken by slaughter of his ambassadors; came, that same night, with great melancholy, to a meadow beside Kinloss. There was great noise and clamour all that night among his army, desiring battle, to revenge the cruelties done by Danes. Nonetheless, when they saw the Danes, on the following day, with more people and better order than they had seen before, they began to lose their courage, and took more solicitude to save their lives than to attack their enemies. Malcolm, seeing them daunted, feared, if he desired them to fight, that they would either fly, or else refuse his orders; and therefore went to a nearby hill, where he called his nobles to a council, and reproved their cowardice; they being so valiant at home, when no danger occurred, and at the first sight of their enemies daunted. "What thing," said he, "has moved you, my good friends, to pass so suddenly from the condition of valiant champions, discarding your ancient courage, without any experience of battle? For if you dread these bloody and furious people, and despair to have victory by your courage and valour, then you are not worthy to be sons of the valiant champions that vanquished these Danes at Luncarty, in the wars of Kenneth, my father. We find great multitude of Danes vanquished in Albion, to the interminable glory of our elders. What shame and misfortune has succeeded to Danes for their wars against us! Such an infinite number of them are buried in Albion, that it may be called justly, the sepulchre of the Danes. Some of them were slain in your days; others in your elders'. But these Danes that are now to fight against you, are not of such courage and strength as they that were vanquished before at Luncarty. Wherefore, your courage

should not decay, but increase the more, that you are to fight not only against the remainder of vanquished Danes, but against the breakers of the law of God and man. Your virtue and persevering constancy shall soon show, if you fight as your elders did before, what folly the Danes had to attack us without any occasion of injuries. Why do you hesitate, most valiant champions? Who do you not go forward with great spirit? This is no time to delay nor be cautious, unless you care more for your fragile bodies, which shall soon perish with more shame, than to your individual and common good."

The nobles, moved by these words, began to exhort their people to battle so that they should not appear cowards. Immediately, arose such noise and raging fury in their army, that they, without any sight to the strength of themselves or their enemies, rushed, without order, on the Danes. Olaf and Onetus, seeing them came so furiously, met them in battle array. There soon followed a terrible battle, fought with incredible courage, with great slaughter on both sides; and nothing was omitted that might pertain, on either side, to forceful champions: the Scots contending to defend their lands and liberties; the Danes, to save their lives: but at last the Scots were put to flight. King Malcolm was badly wounded, and his helmet beaten so fast to his head, that it might no way part from there. Nonetheless, he was brought out of the field for dead, and hid in a wood, until he was some part recovered; and, soon after, he returned home.

Chap. Sixteenth.

How the Castle of Nairn was taken, and the soldiers there treacherously slain by the Danes; and how the Danes were defeated at Mortlach.

The Danes, after this victory, thinking it not profitable to leave Moray until it was pacified to their rule, gathered the spoils of the field, and returned to besiege the castle of Nairn, with more strength than before. This castle stood, that time, surrounded by the sea; built with strong towers and walls, with no less skilful than curious labour. A narrow passage was made to it, by talent of man, in manner of a bridge, through which men might pass to the land. The soldiers who were left in the said castle, hearing how King Malcolm was defeated, surrendered the castle to the hands of Danes, under this condition: "They should leave their armour and weapons behind them, and depart; their life and remaining goods safe." Notwithstanding, the Danes, contrary to their faith and promise, hanged treacherously all persons whom they found within the said castle. Thus was Nairn, the strongest castle of Moray, taken by the Danes, and so garrisoned by their industry, that it seemed unwinnable. The soldiers in Elgin and Forres, hearing this treachery done by the Danes, left the castles deserted, and fled to King Malcolm. The Danes, rejoicing in their good fortune, and trusting to have certain dwelling in Moray, sent for their wives and children in Norway and Denmark, to come quickly to Scotland. And in the mean time, they flogged some of the Scots, such as had weak and feeble bodies, and constrained them to reap their corn.

King Malcolm, fearing the Danes, would become more powerful from more people coming; came, at the beginning of the next summer, with great multitude of people, to Mortlach, a town of Mar, where the first foundation was of the church of Aberdeen; and was not far from the sight of Danes, when suddenly both the armies were daunted by the sight of the other. The Scots, having experience of the cruelty done before by Danes, were afraid: and the Danes in the same manner; for they were far from their ships; and because they knew not the ground, they feared more the hidden ambushes than the open violence of their enemies. At last, both the armies, by exhortation of their captains, joined, with burning hatred on all sides. In the first attack, three valiant champions, Kenneth of the Isles, Grime of Strathearn, and Patrick Dunbar of that ilk, rushing fiercely on their enemies, were slain, and gave occasion to several Scots to fly: and yet the place where they fled was so narrow, that no people might fly easily through it. And though Malcolm withstood his enemies with persevering courage, yet he was driven back, as if he had been fleeing; and the place where he fought seemed always more narrow and difficult, through several ditches of water and turfs, which were made before for some previous war: also, many trees were hewn down, lying across the land, and stopped both the entrance and outpassage of this gate; in midst of which was a chapel, dedicated in the honour of Saint Molaug. Malcolm, driven back in this manner, raised his hands to heaven, and said, "Great God of virtue, rewarder of pity, and punisher of sin; we, your Christian people, defenders of our native territories, granted by your benevolence, which are now naked of mortal help, and attacked by treacherous injury of Danes, recourse to thee in this our extreme necessity, praying thee to have compassion on our miserable chance. Remove, O merciful Lord! This shameful terror from our people. And O, you Mother of God, the certain refuge of mortal people in their distress! And O, you Saint

Molaug, to whom this chapel is dedicated! Be our help, and we shall build a cathedral church in your honour, to be a memorial that our realm was saved by your support."

Scarcely was this speech ended by Malcolm, when a part of the nobles said, "O companions, God will that we return and renew battle on our enemies!" The outcry and noise of the army, by these words, arose with courage always more increasing, saying, "Show now pertly your visage; defend your land and lives, which are most dear to every creature in earth." Immediately all the Scots returned, as if it had been by a miracle, and made incredible slaughter on their enemies, without any regard to their lives or bleeding wounds. In the meantime. King Malcolm came with a force upon Onetus, who was then prancing through the field, as if he had been certain of victory, without a helmet on his head; and finally, he struck Onetus from his horse among the footmen, where he was slain. The remainder of the Danes, seeing their captain slain, ceased from any further attack on the Scots. Thus succeeded great blithness to Scots, and extreme desolation to Danes; and yet the battle continued long on either side, until at last the Danes were put to flight, and many of them slain, and few taken. Olaf hearing his colleague was slain, fled with a small company of Danes to Moray. King Malcolm, knowing the most valiant champions of his army slain, ceased from any further pursuit of the Danes, and divided the spoils of the field among his men; then went to Angus, where he remained the remainder of that year, taking consultation of such matters as pertained to the common good, and how to recover Moray from Danes.

Chap. Seventeenth.

How Camus, Prince of Norway, coming with a fleet of Danes to Angus, was slain, and his army defeated by King Malcolm at Barry; and how the surname of Keiths took their beginning.

Swein, King of Danes and Englishmen, hearing how unfortunately the Danes fought at Mortlach; so that this present adversity should not cast down the glory of the Danes, nor make the name of the Scots over-glorious, caused two navies, with a great number of Danes, to come to Scotland. The first was intended to come forth from the Thames in England; and the other, to come from Denmark: with a valiant knight named Camus, to be admiral of both the fleets. The next year, Camus came with this navy in the mouth of Forth, beside Saint Abb's, where he was prevented many days from landing. At last, by favourable winds, he raised his sails, and arrived at the Red Head in Angus, and landed his men before the country could be gathered to resist him. Camus, after he landed in this manner, went to the nearest hill; and rejoiced that he was landed in the place where Danes had wrought before several injuries, and cast down the town of Montrose; and trusted, therefore, the more to succeed in his remaining voyage.

Soon after, he raised his camp, and went through Angus, ceasing from no manner of cruelty that might be devised; and cast down churches, temples, cities, and towns, without any mercy, where he came. Such things done, he went to Brechin: where, once, there was a strong castle, with a church, dedicated in the honour of the Trinity. And because the castle could not be quickly taken, they entered both in the town and church with such cruelty, that they left not a stone thereof uncast down. Camus, raging with these and similar cruelties, both against God and man, was finally informed, that Malcolm had come to Dundee, with all the power of Scotland; and immediately, he fled to the sea, not far from Balbridie: where he used no less cruelty than before, on the people. King Malcolm, desiring to deliver his realm from the tyranny of Danes, came, with arrayed host, to the town of Barra, two miles from Balbridie: and took little rest that night; for his army was to fight on the following day in defence of their realm and liberty. On the following day, he called his nobles to his standard, and prayed them to consider how they were to fight against a people blinded with avarice, not seeking their living by just battle, except by robbery and theft; and not only enemies to Christian faith, but attacking innocent people, without any occasion of battle; and set to destroy the true faith in Albion: also, to remember how they were only defenders of their own realm, and ordained by God to punish the cruelty of the Danes; and therefore, prayed them to go forward with such courage and valour, that they may either die honorably, or else have victory most valiantly. On the other side, Camus exhorted the Danes to battle, with certain hope of victory; and to remember, they behoved either to die miserably in a foreign realm, or else to have victory, with immortal honour. Soon after, Malcolm came with arrayed battle against the Danes, with the more audacity and courage, because he had before experience of their cruelty; for the talents of noblemen are of such faculty, the more they have experience in honourable matters, the more rises their courage to do some notable honour. The two armies, burning in their hatred, rushed finally together, with great cruelty: through which followed such slaughter, that the burn of Lochty ran with bloody streams to the German Sea; and yet none of them seemed to give place to the other. Several were seen, that day, stricken through the body, and fighting with such cruelty, that they fell to earth with such a grip of their enemies, that they severed not

until they died both together: through which it appeared, they fought with no less rage than good will. Until at last, the Danes were vanquished, and Camus chased to the mountains. The Scots followed on him with such fury, that he was finally slain. In sign whereof, the place, where he was slain, is called yet, Camustane. The principal slayer of this Camus, was a young man, named Keith: who, for his singular honour proven in this field, got certain lands in Lothian, called Keith; whose house is now decorated with great honour, and called Marshals of Scotland: from whom are descended many noble and valiant men, always defenders of this realm, since their first beginning. Another company of Danes, fleeing in the same way, were slain at Aberlemno, not 4 miles from Brechin: where a great stone is carved with skilful letters, to inform the passers-by of the ancient and illustrious deeds done by our elders against the Danes. The remainder of the Danes, who escaped this field, fled to their ships; and told the great infelicity and harm, with all circumstances described above, to their companions.

Chap. Eighteenth.

How 500 Danes were slain by the Thane of Buchan. How Canute came, with a new army of Danes, to Scotland, and was defeated. How Scots and Danes were finally reconciled of all disputes.

After this defeat of the Danes at Barra, King Malcolm divided the spoils of this field, by custom of arms; and caused the bodies of the Danes to be buried with funeral obsequies, in several churches of the country. In memory whereof, many bones are yet seen, uncovered when the sand is blown from them. The Danes, who escaped from this field, raised sail, to have gone to Olaf in Moray. And when they had remained 4 days on the seas, a vehement tempest arose, by violent winds out of the East, and drove them to Buchhan, where there was no port for their refuge: through which, they would have all perished, if they had not had strong cables, and rode in the firth until the tempest ceased. At last, when they had lain there long, and finding no suitable winds to depart; their victuals having failed, they sent 500 men to the nearest land, to bring some plunder of goods for their sustenance. And when they had gathered a great number of cattle, and were returning with them to their ships, they were so sharply attacked by Marnachus, Thane of Buchan, and the inhabitants thereof, that they were chased to the nearest mountains. Finally, they were so cruelly attacked, that none of them were left alive, to bear tidings to their companions. This battle was fought at Gemmar, a town of Buchan. In memory whereof, many great bones of Danes lie yet, not far from there.

The remainder of Danes, who were in their ships, seeing no returning of their friends, raised sail with fair winds, and came to Moray. Sweyn, hearing the injuries done to his friends, sent a valiant knight, his brother, named Canute, with a new army, to revenge the cruelty done by Scots. Canute, impatient of long delay, arrived in the firth of Buchan; and after landing, he ceased from no manner of cruelty on the inhabitants thereof. King Malcolm, though he was broken before with this last battle, yet, to revenge these injuries, quickly gathered a company of people, intending rather to break the Danes with frequent skirmishing, than to risk the realm upon the chance of battle; for he knew no recourse nor strength to renew battle, if he were defeated. Many days after, there was nothing but frequent skirmishing between the Scots and Danes; until at last, the Scots, seeing such huge slaughter of their friends, their lands wasted, and their victuals failing, desired permission from King Malcolm to fight; saying, if he refused, they would fight without his command. King Malcolm, seeing the battle might be no longer delayed, besought his army to remember their honour and courage. Immediately, both the armies rushed together, and persevered with such furious hatred, that the nobles were near slain on either side. The Scots got small profit by this battle, although they had the name of victory; for they were so broken, that few of them could follow on the pursuit of the Danes. On the following day, both the armies seeing themselves broken, and not of strength to renew battle, were content to have peace with each other. Thus, was peace finally made, under these conditions: "The Danes should go out of Moray, Buchan, and all the lands of Scotland; and no wars to be made between Danes and Scots, during the rule of Malcolm and Sweyn; and neither of them to support the enemies of the others." The place, where this last battle was fought, shall by hallowed, and made a common sepulchre of Christian people. A church shall be raised in it, to do divine service for their souls." The peace ratified in this manner, Canute returned, with the remainder of Danes, to his ships, and

went home. King Malcolm, having his realm in certain peace, thought nothing so good as to keep the promise made to Danes; and, therefore, he built a church in Buchan, dedicated in honour of Olaf, patron of Norway and Denmark, to be a memorial, that several nobles of the Danes were buried in the said church. In memory whereof, the lands, that are given to this church, are called yet, Croivdan: which signifies as much as the slaughter of Danes. The church that was built to this effect, as often occurs in they parts, was overcast by violent blast of sands. Notwithstanding, a church was built after, with more magnificence, in another place, more suitable. Several of their bones were seen by us, a short time before the making of this book, more like giants than men of common stature: through which it appears, that men, in old times, had been of more stature than any men are presently in our days.

Chap. Nineteenth.

How King Malcolm divided his realm into baronies. How the nobles gave him the wardship, rents, and marriage payment of their heirs, when they were minors. How the see of Aberdeen first began. Of the death of King Malcolm. And of several marvels seen in Albion.

Malcolm, having enemies no enemies anywhere, commanded general processions to be made through all parts of his realm, to give thanks to God for delivering of them from the bondage of their enemies; and caused the churches which were destroyed by cruelty of the Danes, to be repaired, and more reverence to be given to good Saints: and commanded his laws to be observed, which many years before might have no place for wars. He made a convention of his nobles at Perth, which was a castle, standing, that time, not far from the place where the town of Perth stands now. And when he had done such things in the said convention, for the honour of God and the common good, he thought nothing so good as to reward the friends of them who were slain before by wars of the Danes. And to do that with most consideration, he divided the realm in several baronies; and gave all his lands, riches, and goods, with such liberality among his nobles, as the just rewards of their honour, that he left little to sustain the crown. As soon as the lords were made barons in this manner, that the crown of Scotland should not be poor nor indigent, they gave to King Malcolm and his heirs, for his liberality shown to them at this time, all the wardship and rents of minor heirs to their lands, with the avail^{<91>} of their heirs perpetually, in times coming; and he to enjoy the advantages and profits of the said lands, until the heir thereof was 21 year of age. Malcolm, remembering of his vow made in his extreme need, built a church, with no less cost than magnificence, in the honour of Saint Molaug; and gave all the lands of Mortlach, Clova, and Dunmeth, with the tithes thereof, to sustain the Bishop of Mortlach. This seat was called always, the See of Mortlach, up to the time of King David the First: by whom, it was called Aberdeen; and was then endowed more richly than before.

In this see there have been many good bishops: among whom, was William Elphinston, very prudent and constant for the common good: holding constantly all his days, that the king should reign above his lieges, more with benevolence and favour, than any extremity or rigour; that his barons should love and dread him, always increasing under him in friendship and concord; and that priests should live according to their vows; and finally, that every thing should be done, no less for the pleasure of God, than for the common good. After him succeeded a nobleman, Gawine Dunbar, one of the best prelates that ever was in this realm; for he built a bridge over the Dee, with great magnificence, where no bridge could stand before, because of the violence of the water; and assigned a yearly income, to sustain it: with many other notable deeds, which were too lengthy to describe at this time. But we will return to our history.

King Malcolm, after having led so many cruel battles against the Danes, governed the realm for many years with good justice: and made a book, called *Regiam Majestatem*, containing the laws by which his realm should be governed; and what rewards should be given in fees to his chancellor, secretary, constable, marshal, chamberlain, justice, treasurer, registrar, comptroller, and other offices in his house. This Malcolm would have been, in fame and love, not behind any other prince that

ever was in this realm, if the same virtue had been in his latter age as was in his first youth, or man's age. Nonetheless, all his glory was defiled by immoderate avarice; for, as often occurs, he came, both at once, to old age and avarice, and was penitent of the lands given, by his liberality, to his nobles: and to recover the said lands, he slew and banished many of his lords, by false accusations. The nobles, moved by these injuries, and having great indignation, that the king not only put his hands in their blood, but intended to seize their lands and territories by false accusations; they conspired against him, with frequent conventions to the same effect. King Malcolm, when he heard of their conspiracy, to save his life, fled with certain of his associates to Glamis: where he was slain by friends of the nobles who were slain before by him. These cursed scoundrels, after his slaughter, fled with their accomplices by swift horses, although they were uncertain where to fly; for the ground was so covered over with snow, that they could not know the road. Finally, they came to the loch of Forfar, which was partly frozen at the time. As soon as they came to the middle of the lake, they fell down through the ice, and perished miserably in that manner. Not long after, they were drawn out of the loch with glappling hooks and their quarters hung up in several towns of Scotland, in punishment of their cruelty. King Malcolm made this end, in the 31st year of his reign; from the Incarnation, 940 years; and was buried in Iona.

In this time, many marvels were seen in Albion. On Yule day, the earth trembled, and a great rift was made in the midst of Stirling: out of which sprang, such huge quantity of water, that it bore away the nearest wood to the Water of Forth. The sea, in the summer, rose further on the land than ever it was seen before at any time. On midsummer-day, called the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, there was so cold a frost, that all the crops were killed, and made great dearth in the country.

And so ends the Eleventh book of these Chronicles.

Book XII.

Here Begins the Twelfth Book of the Chronicles of Scotland.

Chap. First.

Of King Duncan. How the surname of Stuarts took their first beginning. And how Macbeth punished several enormities done in King Duncan's time.

Malcolm slain as we have said, his grandson Duncan, got on his daughter, succeeded: for Malcolm had two daughters, of which the eldest, named Beatrice, was given in marriage to Abbanath Crinin, who was Thane of the Isles and West parts of Scotland. On her was got Duncan, who succeeded immediately after him to the crown. The second daughter, named Doada, was given in marriage to Sinel, Thane of Glamis; on whom was got a fierce and valiant man, named Macbeth, very suitable to have governed any realm, were not his strength was given over-much to cruelty. Though Duncan and Macbeth were sister-sons, they were far different from each other in manners. For Duncan was so merciful, that he appeared not able to punish the vices of his people: by contrary, Macbeth was given as much to cruelty as Duncan was given to pity. And therefore the people wished the manners of each one to have been tempered with those of the other.

Duncan, in the beginning of his rule, governed the realm in good peace and justice; for it was governed by the same counsellors that governed it during his father's time. Thus the commoners lived, for many years, without any injury or oppression by great men. Yet the feeble mind of Duncan, when it was patent to the people, was not only the cause of great seditions among the nobles, but an opportunity to the Danes to attempt new wars against the Scots. The cause of these seditions arose by the Thane of Lochaber, named Banquo, who was the beginner of the noble surname of Stuart in this realm; of whom our king now present, by long progression, is descended. When this Banquo had gathered all the king's rents, he punished several scoundrels of the country with such extreme rigour of justice, that the people arose against him with great force, and plundered him of all the money which he had gathered for the king's use; and though he escaped with his life, yet he was badly wounded. At last, when he was cured of all his wounds, he came to the king, desiring the injuries and insults done to him to be punished. King Duncan, to punish these deeds, sent one officer of arms, and summoned all persons that were suspect in this matter, to face the law on a certain day. The scoundrels that did this cruelty, hearing themselves summoned, aggravated their contempt, by slaying the officer. And because the king's forces were to come on them to punish their offence, they made MacDonald their captain; and he gladly took the responsibility for battle on him, knowing the king soft, and, as he declared, more able to govern an abbey of monks than to guide any band of warriors. This MacDonald gathered a company of wicked scoundrels, out of Ireland, the Isles, and other regions thereabouts; and slew Malcolm, lieutenant to Duncan in Lochaber, and put his men to flight. King Duncan, daunted by the slaughter of his men, for he was not experienced in war, nor yet knew how such things might be dealt with, convened his nobles to a council, to decide on punishment for their deeds. After several opinions had been given, Macbeth reproved King Duncan for his soft governance, having no talent to punish injuries done to his people: and said, if the lands of Lochaber were given to him and Banquo, they would leave none of MacDonald's blood alive. And as he promised, so it followed: for soon after his coming to Lochaber, the people, hearing the fame of his honour, dared not attempt such things as they did before; and many of them left MacDonald, and came to Macbeth. In fact, MacDonald was so pressed, that it was necessary for him to give

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battle to Macbeth. Nonetheless, he was defeated, and chased to a castle in Lochaber. Macbeth followed on him to the said castle, and by long siege brought him to such misery, that he was constrained to ask grace for himself, his wife and children. And because he got nothing but rejection for this, he slew first his wife and children, so that they should not remain for the derision of his enemies; then slew himself in the same manner. Macbeth entered the castle; and though he found MacDonald slain, yet he cut off his head, and sent it to the castle of Perth, where the king was, and hung his body on a tall tree.

The Islesmen made their compositions with great sums of money; others of them were punished by death. The remaining people of the Isles, moved by the slaughter of their friends, gave displeasing words to Macbeth; calling him a bloody monster, without any mercy. Macbeth immediately prepared to go to the Isles, to punish them for their unbridled language. Nonetheless, by solicitation of their friends, he did not do this, but punished them by taking their goods.

Chap. Second.

How Edmund Ironside and Canute divided between them the realm of England. How Sweyn, King of Norway, came to Scotland with an army, and vanquished King Duncan. How the foresaid Sweyn was, afterwards, vanquished by an unheard-of trick.

Scarcely had the realm of the Scots been delivered by Macbeth of all sedition, when Sweyn, King of Danes, arrived in Scotland, with an army. And to show of what lineage this Sweyn was descended, we will describe some part of his origins.

Sweyn, the first King of Danes that reigned over Englishmen, had three sons, Harold, Sweyn, and Canute. The first was made King of England; the second, King of Norway; and the third, King of Denmark. The first was slain by Ethelred, after he was exiled by Sweyn to Normandy, the third year after his father's death: and yet Ethelred did not long enjoy the crown of England; for Canute, King of Danes, came with an army to England, to revenge the murder of his eldest brother Harold, and slew the said Ethelred. After whose death, his son, Edmund Ironside, came with an army against Canute, intending both to revenge the slaughter of his father, and to recover the crown. At last, when the armies were arrayed in the sight of each other, ready to fight, this Edmund came before his army, desiring to fight with Canute in single combat; saying, It was more honourable to decide the right between them two, than by any slaughter of people: and he that was victorious of the two, should succeed to the crown, without any more debate. Canute was glad of this condition, having no less confidence in his courage than had this other Edmund. Immediately, they came from their armies on their barded^{<87>} horses, and ran, with sharp lances, each one against the other, to fight to the death. At last, when they had fought long with uncertain victory, their steeds overset and weary, Canute said, "O Edmund, who have now certain experience of my fierce and awful blow, I see you may not be vanquished, as it appears, without propitious favour of the Gods; for their will is that you have a part of my kingdom, and reign with me in this region. Sheathe your sword; and be content that the crown of England be divided between us, so that you enjoy the half thereof, having equal rule with me during my life."

Edmund, glad of this condition of peace, thought it better to succeed to half of England without any more danger, than to risk himself to uncertain chance of battle; trusting sometime to find an occasion to recover the whole rule of England, with little labour. Immediately, they dismounted from their horses, and embraced other with great tenderness. Thus the realm of England was divided between them in this manner: The part of England opposite France was assigned to Canute, and the other part to Edmund.

In the meantime, Enna, Queen of England, fearing this agreement would be unprofitable to her, fled to Normandy, with her two sons, Alfred and Edward, who she had borne to the said Ethelred. But we will return to our history.

When Sweyn, King of Norway, saw his brother add to his rule of Denmark, half of England, he wished to be equal to his brother, as well in rents as in martial glory. And to bring his purpose to effect, he came with an army to Fife. The motive of his coming was, to revenge the slaughter of his uncle Camus, and other Danes slain with him at Barra, Crowdane, and Gamrie. And though Sweyn was coming, as we

have said, to acquire fame and honour, yet he was nothing compared to his brother Canute; for he slew innocent children, women, and aged persons, without any difference of their estate. King Duncan, when he heard of these insupportable and shameful cruelties done to his people, began to be a prudent captain; for often dull and slothful people are forced, by necessity, to become prudent and virtuous. King Duncan, hearing how Sweyn was coming, in the manner forsaid, to attack his realm, assembled an army of all people under his rule, and divided them in three squadrons. The first squadron was given to Macbeth; the second, to Banquo; and he stayed himself in the centre, with the remaining nobles of Scotland: then met his enemies at Culross, where both the armies fought with great cruelty; but the Scots were finally defeated. Yet the Danes were so broken by this battle, that they did not make a long chase, but stood all night in battle array. On the following day, when they saw the field deserted and no enemies appearing, they divided the spoils by custom of arms; and declined to slay naked men, trusting to conquer the realm with the favour and benevolence of the people. Such things done, Sweyn raised his camp, to follow the remaining Scots. And because he was informed that King Duncan had fled to the castle of Perth, and Macbeth was gathering a new army to resist his incursions, he laid a tight siege about the said castle. As soon as King Duncan saw himself surrounded on each side by enemies, he sent one officer, by counsel of Banquo, to Macbeth, commanding him to wait at Inchechuthill, until he sent him other word. In the meantime, he sent a herald to Sweyn, desiring licence for himself, and the nobles that was within the castle, to depart, their life and goods safe. This was desired by Duncan, although he expected nothing better than repulse thereof, so that his enemies might have no other suspicion but the castle was to be surrendered without any more delay. At last, when Sweyn had demanded the castle be surrendered, King Duncan, to delay him until all matters were brought to good purpose, promised to send a large provision of victuals out of the castle to refresh his army. These offers were not only pleasing to Sweyn, but also to his army; for they had been many days before without any fresh victuals, in great want. Immediately, the Scots took the juice of deadly nightshade berries, and combined it in their wine, ale, and bread; and sent the same, in great quantity, to their enemies. Sweyn and his army, rejoicing in this plenty of victuals, began to drink as was their custom, and to have experience who might engorge their belly with most greediness, until at last the poison of their berries was scattered through all parts of their bodies; through which, they fell into a deadly sleep. Then Duncan sent to Macbeth, commanding him to attack his enemies with all diligence; for they were in an easy position to be vanquished. Macbeth, without more delay, came with his people to the camp of enemies; and first he slew their watchmen and the rest of them, drowned in sleep, were all slaughtered in their beds. Sweyn was brought, with a few of his people, to the ships, where he raised sail, and returned to Norway. Of all this army escaped none but Sweyn, and 10 persons with him, by the mariners. Many years after, no knights were made in Norway, until they were sworn to revenge the slaughter of their friends in Scotland. The remaining ships, which the Danes left behind, in the Scots Firth, within three days after their departing, crashed against each other, by violence of a East wind, and sank down in the Firth: where they lie yet, to the great danger of all other ships that come in the same; for when the sea flows, they are covered with water, and when it ebbs, they appear some part above the sea. The place is called yet by the people, Drumlaw Sands. The Scots, after this victory, got the spoils of the field, and made general processions through all parts of their realm, giving thanks to God for their success.

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While the Scots were at their processions in this way, tidings came that a new fleet of Danes had arrived at Kinghorn, and the warriors coming on land, attacked the country with great cruelties. To defeat them, Macbeth and Banquo were sent, with the king's authority; who slew a great part of these Danes, and the rest chased to their ships. The Danes that fled to their ships, gave great sums of gold to Macbeth, to allow their friends that were slain by him, to be buried in Iona. In memory whereof, many old tombs are yet in the said island, carved with arms of the Danes. At last, peace was ratified between Scots and Danes, in this manner: "The Danes shall never come to Scotland, to move any war against the Scots."

These were the wars of King Duncan, led against the Danes, the 7th year of his reign.

Chap. Third

Of the prophecy given to Macbeth and Banquo. How Macbeth was made Thane of Cawdor; and how he slew King Duncan, to make himself King.

Not long after, there happened an unknown and wonderful thing, by which there soon followed a great alteration in the realm. It happened that Macbeth and Banquo were going to Forres, where King Duncan happened to be for the time, and met by the way three women, clothed in strange and unknown clothing. They were judged, by the people, to be the Fates^{<96>}. The first of them said to Macbeth, "Hail, Thane of Glamis!" the second said, "Hail, Thane of Cawdor!" and the third said, "Hail, King of Scotland!" Then Banquo said, "What women are you, so unmerciful to me, and so favorable to my companion? For you gave to him not only lands and great rents, but great lordships and kingdoms; and give me nothing." To this, answered the first of these Fates, "We say more happiness will come to you than to him; for though he happen to be a king, his rule shall end unhappily, and none of his blood shall after him succeed; by contrast, you shall never be king, but from you shall come many kings, who, in a long progression, shall enjoy the crown of Scotland." As soon as these words were said, they suddenly vanished out of sight. This prophecy and divination was held many days in derision by Banquo and Macbeth. For some time, Banquo would call Macbeth, King of Scots, for derision; and he, in the same manner, would call Banquo, the father of many kings. Yet, because all things succeeded as these women devined, the people trusted and judged them to be the Fates. Not long after, it happened that the Thane of Cawdor was disinherited and forfeited his lands, for certain crimes of lese-majesty; and his lands were given by King Duncan to Macbeth. It happened in the next night, that Banquo and Macbeth were sporting together at their supper. Then Banquo said, "You have got all that the first two Fates prophesied. There only remains the crown, which was prophesied by the third sister." Macbeth, revolving all things as they were said by these Fates, began to covet the crown; and yet he decided to wait until he saw the time suitable thereto, firmly believing that the third prophecy would come, as the first two did before.

In the meantime, King Duncan made his son Malcolm Prince of Cumberland, to signify that he should reign after him. Which was a great displeasure to Macbeth: for it made plain contradiction of the third prophecy, promised to him by the Fates. Nonetheless, he thought, if Duncan were slain, he had most right to the crown, because he was nearest of blood thereto, by the old laws made after the death of King Fergus, "When young children were unable to govern the crown, the nearest of their blood shall reign." Also, the response of the Fates led him to believe, that the third prophecy should come as well as the first two. Also, his wife, impatient of long delay, as all women are, especially where they are desirous of one purpose, gave him great incitement to pursue the third prophecy, that she might be a queen: calling him, often, feeble coward, and not desirous of honours; since he dared not attack the thing with courage and valour, which is offered to him by benevolence of fortune; although several others had attacked such things before, with most terrible risks, when they had not such certainty to succeed in the end of their labours as he had.

Macbeth, by persuasion of his wife, gathered his friends to a council at Inverness, where King Duncan happened to be for the time. And because he found sufficient opportunity, by support of Banquo and others his friends, he slew King

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Duncan, the 7th year of his reign. His body was buried in Elgin, and afterwards taken up and brought to Iona, where it remains yet, among the tombs of other kings; from our redemption, 1046 years.

Chap. Fourth.

How Macbeth usurped the crown, and chased the sons of King Duncan to Cumberland. How he punished several scoundrels, and made laws for the common good.

As soon as Duncan was slain in this manner, Macbeth came with a great force to Scone, and took the crown; then chased Malcolm Canmore and Donald Bane, the sons of King Duncan, to Cumberland: where Malcolm remained continually, until Saint Edward, son to King Ethelred, recovered the realm of England from the Danes, and received the said Malcolm with great tenderness. But Donald went to Ireland. Macbeth, after their departing, to keep the realm to him with certain security, distributed the king's rents among the nobles, and in that way he obtained their favour. And because he saw no man oppose himself to him, he set himself to govern the realm with justice, and to punish all enormities that happened by the feeble administration of King Duncan. Yet, because he feared great trouble would follow, if his purpose were known before it came to effect, he devised a subtle deceit, to bring all misdoers and broken men to his justice; and solicited several of his lieges, with large payments, to challenge the thieves who oppressed them most, to trial by combat, on a prefixed day. And when these thieves had entered the enclosure, where they should have fought against their neighbours, they were all taken by armed men, and hanged on gibbets, according, justly, to their crimes. The remaining misdoers were so intimidated by this, that for many years after, all theft and raids were suppressed, and the people brought to great tranquillity.

Such things done, King Macbeth visited all the lands of his realm, and was held the certain shield of innocent people, and the most diligent punisher of all injuries done against the common good; and worked to cause young men to increase in good manners, and priests to do their divine service. He slew several Thanes of Caithness, Sutherland, Strathnaver, and Ross, because great trouble arose in the realm from their sedition. He brought Galloway to good peace; and slew the tyrant Magill, who had for many years defied the king's authority. Also, he made laws for the common good; and was worthy to be numbered among noble kings, if he had succeeded to the crown by just title, and had persevered in justice to the end of his rule. And because several of his laws appear profitable, I have collected them in this work, to make them the more patent, as follows: "He that is in clerical orders, shall not answer before a profane judge, but shall be remitted to his ecclesiastical superior to judge. The tenth part of all fruits growing on the ground shall be given to priests, and God shall be adored with offerings and prayer. He that perseveres in contempt of the church, shall stand excommunicated a year, and if he will not be reconciled thereto, he shall be reputed an enemy to the common good: if he persevere with obdurate mind, for two years, all his goods shall be confiscated. He that is made a knight, shall be sworn to defend widows, commoners, and orphans; and he that is made king, shall be sworn in the same manner. The eldest daughter shall succeed to the inheritance, in default of the eldest son; and if any woman marry the lord of the ground, she shall lose her heritage. No man shall possess lands, rents, offices, or buildings, by any other authority, except by the king's licence. No office shall be inherited, but during the king's pleasure. No man shall sit judgement in profane or temporal cases, without the commission of the king. All conventions, offices, and justice, shall be held in the king's name and authority. He that makes allegiance, or is sworn liege, to any other man, except to the king, shall be punished by death; and

each man shall be bound to defend the king against all other living creatures. He that attacks the king's lieges shall be put to death, and his goods confiscated; and all the people that he gathered, in that same manner. He that follows a man to the church or market or any other gathering, as an armed guard, shall be punished by death, unless he live by his industry that he follows. A horse kept by commoners for any other use than tilling the soil, shall be forfeited to the king. Fools, minstrels, bards, and all other such idle people, unless they are specially licenced by the king, shall be compelled to seek some craft to win their living; if they refuse, they shall be forced to pull the plough and harrow like a horse. If a son is put in fee of the land, during the life of his father, by licence of the king; yet he shall be disinherited afterwards, if his father is found criminal to the king's majesty. A woman that is married with any free baron or lord, if she have no children with him, shall have a third of his land after his death; and the remainder shall be enjoyed by his heirs. All great barons shall be forbidden to marry with each other, under pain of death; especially if their lands and territories lie together. All armour and weapons that are borne for any other purpose than the king's wars, shall be confiscated, with all his other movable goods. The king's captain that buys any lands within the lands where he is captain, shall lose both the land and the money. Similarly, if he marry his son or daughter with any people dwelling within his lands, he shall lose his office, and it shall not be lawful to his son nor his son-in-law to take his office."

These and similar laws were made by King Macbeth; through which he governed the realm 10 years in good justice. Although, this was contrary to his natural inclination; for he did this to acquire the favour of his people, and to secure the realm to him, rather than for any sight of the common good.

Chap. Fifth.

How Banquo was slain by Macbeth, and his son Fleance slain in Wales. How Walter, the son of Fleance, came to Scotland. And of the genealogy of the Stuarts.

A short time after, Macbeth turned from all meekness to his innate cruelty; for he was led by insane furies, as the nature of all tyrants is, who conquer lands or kingdoms by false title; always full of suspicion and dread; and expecting each man to do similar cruelties to him, as he did before to others. Further, remembering the prophecy given to him, as we described, that Banquo's posterity should enjoy the crown in long progression; he called Banquo, and his son Fleance, to a supper, intending to slay them both, although they suspected nothing less than his treachery. Macbeth, when the banquet was done, thought it not expedient to slay them in his own house: and, therefore, to avoid all suspicion of crime that might be imputed to him thereby, he laid a band of armed men in their way, to slay them both, on their returning home. These men, that were laid in wait to this effect, slew Banquo. Nonetheless, Fleance, under cover of night, escaped, and was saved, as it appeared, by the singular favour of God, to a better fortune.

Fleance, escaping in this way, and seeing new watching laid for his murder, fled to Wales; where he was welcomed by the prince thereof, and became so familiar with the prince's daughter, that he made her with child. The Prince of Wales, finding his daughter deflowered, pursued this Fleance with such hatred, that he finally slew him; and held his daughter in most shameful servitude, because she consented to her defloration by foreign blood. At last, she was delivered of a son, named Walter, who, within few years, became a valiant and lusty man, of greater courage and spirit than any man that was nurtured in the country where he was. And though he held high office with the Prince of Wales, his grandfather; yet he had a high mind, and was able to attempt great achievements. At last, he fell into a quarrel with his companion, who taunted him, that he was not got in lawful bed. After many fierce and injurious words on either side, this Walter was so impatient, that he slew his companion; then fled to Scotland, to seek the support of friends. At his coming, he fell into company with the Englishmen that came to Scotland with Saint Margaret: where he behaved himself so pleasantly in every way, that he obtained their benevolence and favour. Not long after, he was sent with a great force to the Isles, Galloway, and other parts of Scotland, to punish tyrants and scoundrels of the country; whom he defeated with such courage and prudence, that he was made Steward of Scotland, to receive the king's dues and rents out of all parts of the realm. This Walter Stuart had a son, named Alan Stuart, who, afterwards went, with the Duke of Lorraine, and Robert, bastard son of the King of England, to the Holy Land, where they did many valiant deeds against the Turks; from the Incarnation of Christ, 1099 years. Of this Alan, was got Alexander Stuart, who founded the Abbey of Paisley: where many religious men have been, of the order of Saint Benedict. Of this Alexander, was got Walter Stuart of Dundonald, who fought valiantly in support of Alexander the Third at Largs, as we shall describe below. This Walter had two sons; the first named Alexander, who fought in support of his father at the said field of Largs. His second son, named Robert Stuart, got the lands of Tarbolton, and married the heir of Cruixton; from whom descended the Earls of Lennox and Darnley. Also, this Alexander Stuart, that founded Paisley, got several other sons; John and James, and some others; although they took new surnames, from the name of the lands to which they succeeded. This John Stuart, after the death of his

brother James, married the heir of Bonkil, a virgin of great beauty; and got on her, Walter Stuart, who succeeded to the lands of Bonkil, Renfrew, Rothesay, Bute, and Stuarion, after his father John was slain at Falkirk. This Walter Stuart married Marjory Bruce, daughter to King Robert Bruce; of whom was got Robert, the second of that name. This Robert the Second took Isobell Muir, a virgin of incredible beauty, daughter to Sir Adam Muir, Knight, as his wife; and got on her, three sons and three daughters. The first was John Stuart, otherwise named Robert; who succeeded immediately to the crown. The second was Robert, Earl of Fife and Menteith, Duke of Albany; and was Governor of Scotland 15 years. The third son was named Alexander, Earl of Buchan, and Lord of Badenoch. The eldest daughter was married to James, son and heir to William, Earl of Douglas. The second was married to John Dunbar, brother to George of Dunbar, Earl of March; and he was made Earl of Moray. He got on her only a daughter, who was married to Douglas, and so Douglas came to the earldom of Moray. The third daughter was married to John Lyon, who was afterwards made Lord Glamis. Also, this Robert, the first king of the Stuarts, married Euphemia, daughter of the Earl of Ross; and got on her, two sons; Walter, Earl of Atholl, and David, Earl of Strathearn. This Walter solicited Robert, Duke of Albany, to slay David Stuart, Duke of Rothesay; and after the home-coming of King James the First, he solicited the king to slay all Duke Robert's lineage, in the same way: expecting, after the slaughter of his friends, to come to the crown. And finally, he solicited his grandson, Robert Stuart, and Robert Graham, his daughter's son, to slay King James the First; for the which crime the said Walter was, afterwards convicted, and executed, with all his sons. And from his brother, David, Earl of Buchan, came no heirs: and, therefore, both their lands returned again to the crown, without any memory of their blood. Of Robert Stuart, Duke of Albany, came Duke Murdo; who married the Earl of Lennox' daughter, and got on her, three sons, Walter, Alexander, and James. Duke Murdo, with his first two sons, were slain at Stirling, by King James the First: and the third brother James, to revenge their slaughter, burned Dumbarton; and after that, he was chased to Ireland, where he died without any heirs. Robert, the third of that name, married Annabel Drummond, daughter to Sir John Drummond of Stobhall, Knight; and got on her, David and James. The first died in Falkland; and the other was James the First, and married Jane, daughter to John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, in England. He got on her, two sons, born together, Alexander and James. The first died in his infancy; the second was James the Second. He had 6 daughters: of whom the eldest was married to the Dauphin of France; the second, to the Duke of Brittany; the third, to the Lord of Fier; the fourth, to the Lord of Dalkeith; the fifth, to the Earl of Huntley; and the sixth had no succession. James the Second married Margaret, daughter to the Duke of Guelder, and got on her, three sons and two daughters. The first son was James the Third. The second, named Alexander, was Duke of Albany, and married first the Earl of Orkney's daughter, and got on her, Alexander, now Bishop of Moray; and not long after, he parted from her, and went to France, where he married the Countess of Boulogne, and got on her, John Stuart, Duke of Albany, who was many years Governor of Scotland in our days. The third son, John Stuart, was Earl of Mar, and was slain in the Cannongate, in a bathtub. The first daughter of James the Second, was married to the Lord Boyd: of whom was got a son, who was slain by the Lord of Montgomery; and a daughter, Gregane, who was married, after, to the Earl of Cassells. And after the death of the Lord Boyd, this daughter of James the Second, was married to the Lord Hamilton: and in that way, the house of Hamilton is decorated in the king's blood. The other sister was married to the Lord Crichton; and of her came little succession worthy to have memory.<97> James

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the Third married Margaret, daughter to the King of Denmark: on her was got, James the Fourth; Alexander, who was Bishop of Saint Andrews and Duke of Albany; and John Stuart, Earl of Mar: and they both died without any succession. James the Fourth married Margaret, daughter to King Henry the Seventh, and got on her, James the Fifth; who reigns now with great happiness above us, the year of the translating of their Chronicles. But we will return to our history.

Chap. Sixth.

***How Macbeth slew his Lords, to take their lands and goods.
How he built the Castle of Dunsinane; and slew Macduff's
wife and his children. Of the speech made to Malcolm
Canmore by Macduff.***

Nothing succeeded happily to Macbeth after the murder of Banquo; for each man began to fear for his life, and dared not come to where Macbeth was. Thus there followed more displeasure each day; for when this tyrant perceived each man having him in dread, he began to dread each man in that same manner; and in that way, he grew most odious to his subjects, always slaying his nobles, or else confiscating their goods by false accusations. At last, when he had got great profit by murder and proscription of his nobles, he began to put his hands more perty in their blood: for he thought the profit so sweet that came to him by slaughter of his nobles, that he would not desist from it; for he had double profit in that way: first, they were slain whom he feared; and secondly, he got their goods to sustain a guard of armed men, to defend him from injury from them that he suspected. Further, that he might attack the people with more tyranny, he built a strong castle in the height of Dunsinane, a hill in Gowrie, 10 miles from Perth. This castle was built with infinite expense; for no stuff could be carried to the site without great difficulty: and yet, he ceased not from the building thereof, but caused all the Thanes of each shire in turn to build the said castle. At last, it fell to Macduff, Thane of Fife, to build his part of the said castle. And because he dared not come to this work, in case the king put hands in him, as he did before with other nobles of the realm, he sent craftsmen, with all provision; and commanded them to do so in his absence, that the king might have no occasion to be moved against him. Soon after, Macbeth came to visit his castle: and because he found Macduff not present at the work, he said, "This man will not obey my commnds, until he is ridden with a curb bridle: nonetheless, I shall make him draw like a horse in a cart." From thence, he might never see Macduff with patience; either because he thought his power too great, or else, because it was said, by the prophecy of the foresaid witches, that Macduff should attack him with displeasure: and, as oft occurs, where any prince takes suspicion, a small offence is occasion of great injuries. Finally, he would have slain Macduff by some deceit, had not a witch, in whom he had great confidence, said, to put him out of all fear, That he should never be slain by a man that was born of woman; nor vanquished, until the wood of Birnam had come to the castle of Dunsinane. Macbeth, having great confidence in these words, set aside all fear of death; and trusted firmly, that he might do what he pleased, without any punishment following after: for by the one prophesy, he believed it was impossible to defeat him; and by the other, impossible to slay him. But these false illusions of the devil brought him to utter confusion, and had him rage in continual slaughter of his subjects, without any fear of his life. At last, Macduff, despairing of his life, decided to go to England, that he might bring Malcolm Canmore to Scotland, to resist the tyranny of Macbeth. And yet the plan was not devised so secretly, but Macbeth got knowledge thereof; for all kings, as the proverb say, have sharp sight and long ears. This Macbeth had, in every great house in Scotland, some men, who were corrupted by his money, to reveal all things said or done in their houses; and through this deceit, he oppressed all the nobles of the realm, before they might fulfil their attempts against him. This tyrant was always full of anxiety, dreading to have a terrible end, for his cruelty; for that came by impulsion of conscience, which brings every man, that is

guilty, in perpetual fear, without any security of his life. In the same manner, Macbeth, ever in fear of enemies, because of his treacherous murder and tyranny; came quickly, with a great force, about Macduff's house. The men that were in the house, trusting no evil, opened the gates. Immediately, Macbeth entered, and slew Macduff's wife and her children, with all other persons that he found in it; then confiscated Macduff's goods, and declared him an outlaw. Macduff, banished in this manner, fled to England to Malcolm Canmore, to see if he might find any way, by his help, to revenge the murder made so cruelly on his wife and children. And when he came to Malcolm, he declared the great oppression done to him by Macbeth; and how the tyrant was hated by his lieges, for slaughter of the innocent, both of his nobles and commoners; and several other detestable cruelties, not worthy to be described. At last, when he saw Malcolm sigh for compassion of his sorrows, he said, "How long shall you suffer the murder of your father and other friends to be unpunished? When shall you be satiated with the affliction of your realm? What damage have we suffered by your proscription? You were, at that time, of such tender age, that you could not defend against such a bloody monster. And though we agreed, once, to the election of this tyrant, to our great damage; yet now, having experienced his cruelty, we desire nothing more than to be rid of him. The people mourn; accusing their wilful ignorance, in consenting to such great harm and their own perdition. And now, their only hope is in you; trusting to be delivered of their calamity by you. Therefore, unless you enjoy the affliction of your people and your own proscription, set yourself to deliver your people of the tyranny they daily endure. For King Edward, the most humane and gracious prince, shall not fail to support you with all the strength you desire: because his own realm was once oppressed by tyrants; and finally, delivered, by grace of God, and his own courage, out of their cruel hands. Also, if you know not what benevolence your people have for you, you may understand some part by these words: Your people are murdered in all parts, as this bloody butcher decides to do: and, therefore, you need not doubt, but your returning to Scotland shall be very pleasing to all Scotsmen; (for these cruelties, daily done to us, should not be lamented by degenerate people, but rather revenged by valiant champions;) since you are not only saved from invasion of your enemies to better fortune, but ordained, by divine providence, to deliver your people of all afflictions."

Chap. Seventh.

How Malcolm Canmore said he was unsuitable to be King, because of his many vices. And how he came to Scotland, and was made King thereof. And of Macbeth's death.

Although Malcolm was greatly moved by the oppressions and cruelties done to the Scots, yet, with great prudence, he dissembled his mind, to have better understanding of Macduff's intention; that is to say, to see if he were coming for the same purpose as he said; or if he were coming, by deceit and industry of Macbeth, to betray him, or put him in his enemies' hands. And therefore, he answered, "I am very sorrowful for the trouble falling on my country. And though I have great affection thereto, yet, for certain irremediable vices following me, I am unable, either to govern the realm, or to relieve the people of the trouble that they presently sustain: first, for immoderate lust, the abominable fountain of all vices, which rages in me with such unbridled fury, that, if I were made King of Scots, I should defile virgins and matrons in such manner, that my intemperance should be more insupportable to you than the bloody tyranny of Macbeth." To this answered Macduff, "That is an evil thing; for many noble princes and kings have been deposed, and lost both their life and kingdom for that fault. Nonetheless, there are plenty of women in Scotland; and therefore, you should take my advice and make thyself king. I shall address that matter so wisely, that you shall be satisfied at your pleasure, and your vice shall be unknown." Then Malcolm said, "I am also, the most avaricious man on earth: and I will seek so many opportunities to seize lands or goods, that I will slay many of the nobles of Scotland by false accusations; so that I may enjoy their realms, lands, and goods. And therefore, to show you what infinite harms shall come on you by my insatiable avarice, I will tell you a fable: a fox was assailed by a swarm of flies, continually sucking out her blood. And when a passenger by the way had asked her, if she would have their flies brushed from her body; she answered, 'No, because the flies that sat on her wounds, were all full of her blood; and for fullness thereof, sat with little displeasure: and if they were brushed off, others, who were more greedy and unsated, should land in their territories, and suck out the remainder of her blood; which was unprofitable.' Wherefore, suffer me to remain where I am, in case such harm fall on you by my insatiable avarice, that you shall afterwards chase me out of your realm with more shame; and think the displeasures now reigning among you, but small, in respect of such terrible outrages which shall appear soon by my coming." To this answered Macduff; "This is a worse fault than the first; for avarice is the root of all mischief: and the most part of all our kings are slain for that crime. Nonetheless, make thyself king, and do my council: you shall have riches at fullness; for there is gold and goods enough in Scotland, to satisfy you at your pleasure." Then said Malcolm: "I am full of lying and deceit, and rejoice in nothing so much as to betray all them that give me credit or trust. And since nothing fits a prince better, than constancy, truth, and justice; and nothing is so unfitting as falsehood, treachery, and lying: you may consider how unable I am to govern any province or country. And since you have so many remedies to colour all the rest of my vices, I pray you to hide or colour this vice among the rest." Then said Macduff: "This is the worst fault of all; and there I leave you. O wretched and miserable Scots! who are scourged with so many calamities, each one above other; you have now a cursed devil that reigns above you without any title, and destroys you by his bloody tyranny. This other, that has the right to the crown, is so replete with the treacherous manners and vices of Englishmen, that he is

unworthy to be king; for, by his own confession, he is not only avaricious and given to insatiable lust, but so false a traitor, that we may not believe a word he says. Adieu, Scotland! Now I am banished for ever, without any comfort or consolation."

And with these words, the tears fast flowed over his cheeks. At last, when he was going to depart, Malcolm took him by the sleeve, and said, "Be of good comfort; for I have none of these faults: however, I refused, only to test your motive; for Macbeth has often, in such ways, desired my slaughter. And the slower that I was to agree with you, I shall be the more diligent to fulfill the same." Immediately, they embraced each other; and considered, how they might provide all matters for their individual and common good.

Soon after, Macduff sent letters to the nobles of Scotland, saying how Malcolm was allied with him to come quickly to Scotland; and prayed them, since the said Malcolm was just heir to the crown, to assist him, that he might recover the same. In the meantime, Malcolm persuaded the Earl of Northumberland to come with 10,000 men, to help him to recover his realm. These tidings, from the time they were known in Scotland, drew the nobles into two factions; one siding with Macbeth, and the other with Malcolm: through which, there arose often frequent skirmishing between these parties; for the nobles who supported Malcolm, would not risk themselves to the chance of battle, until his coming out of England for their support. Macbeth, seeing his enemies increase in strength each day, fled to Fife; and stayed, with all his friends and supporters, at Dunsinane; intending to fight with his enemies, rather than to fly out of the realm shamefully, without any blow struck. His friends gave counsel, either to make peace with Malcolm, or else to fly quickly, with his treasure and gold, to the Isles; so that he might hire several great princes of that realm with his money, to take his part against Malcolm. Nonetheless, he had such confidence in his prophecies, that he believed firmly he would never be vanquished, until the wood of Birnam were brought to Dunsinane; nor yet to be slain by any man born of a woman. Malcolm, following quickly on Macbeth, came the night before his victory, to the wood of Birnam. And when his army had refreshed themselves a short time, he commanded each man to take a branch of the wood, that they might come, on the next day, arrayed in the same manner, in his enemies' sight. Macbeth, seeing him come in this guise, understood the prophecy was fulfilled, that the witch said to him; nonetheless, he arrayed his men. Scarcely had his enemies cast from them the branches, and were coming forward in battle, when Macbeth took to flight: on whom Macduff followed, with great hatred, saying, "Traitor, now your insatiable cruelty shall have an end." Then Macbeth said: You follow me in vain; for none is born of a woman that may slay me." Then Macduff said: "I am that same man; for I was cut out of my mother's belly." Immediately, he slew Macbeth, and brought his head to Malcolm. This was the end of Macbeth, after he had reigned 16 years. In the beginning of his rule, he did many profitable things for the common good; but soon after, by illusion of devils, he degenerated from his honourable beginning, into the most terrible cruelty; and was slain, from the Incarnation, 1061.

Chap. Eighth.

Of the death of Edmund, Canute, Harold, and Hardicanute, Kings of England. How the Crown of England was recovered from the Danes; and Godwin struck dead, for the murder of the innocent Alfred.

Now we will say how the rule of England was taken from Danes, and restored to King Edward, rightful heir thereof. When Canute and Edmond had divided the realm of England between them by agreement, as we have said, the realm was in good peace for four years after; for each of them feared the strength of the other, though always desiring to have the whole rule of England under their sole dominion. At the same time, a wicked and malevolent man, named Edrik, decided to attempt a brave deed, to come into the favour, as he believed, of one of these two princes. This Edrik, hoping, in this manner, to have thanks or advantages, waited when King Edmund was sitting on the privy, and speared him through the bottom into his bowels: through which, this Edmund died. Edrik, after this shameful murder, went to Canute, and said, "Hail, King of all England." Canute, struck by this salutation, demanded how the matter stood, more diligently. And when he found King Edmund slain, by the treachery of this wretched man, he thought nothing so good as to give him reward according to his treacherous deeds; and hanged him on a gibbet. Canute, exonerated in this way from all suspicion of Edmund's death, succeeded, with benevolence of the people, to the whole rule of England. Soon after, a council was held: in which, the nobles delivered, both King Edmund's lands, and his 2 sons, Edward and Edwin, into the hands of Canute; whom he, for some years, treated with great humanity: but soon after, he changed his purpose, and thought to slay them both, so that the realm might be secured to his posterity. Not long after, he sent them to Valgarius, Regent of Sweden, with quiet letters to slay them both. Nonetheless, this regent, knowing the innocent and noble blood of these 2 children, was moved with such pity, that he sent them both to Salamon, King of Hungary; and made Canute understand, that all his charges were done as he devised. After death of Canute, his son Harold succeeded, named, for his great swiftness, Harefoot: who enjoyed the crown of England for two years. After whom succeeded his brother, Hardicanute, the most vicious and proud tyrant that ever reigned above Englishmen; for he would not suffer the bones of his brother to rest under the earth: but, for unnatural spite, took up his bones, and set his head upon a high stake, where the greatest confluence of people was in London, and cast the remainder of his body into the Thames. He made a law, that every Englishman should bow and uncover his head, when he met a Dane. If an Englishman and a Dane came both to a bridge at once, the Englishman should wait, until the Dane had gone over the bridge.

The Englishmen, very perturbed by these oppressive laws, conspired against the Danes in all parts of England; and called all their soldiers to supper, and slew them all, when they were full of wine, in one night. Hardicanute, hearing all his men put down by this deceit of Englishmen, slew himself in despair. Thus, England was delivered from the tyranny of the Danes; for a short time after, the nobles of England sent one of the great princes thereof, named Godwin, who had married Canute's daughter, to Normandy, to bring the two sons of Ethelred to England, and to receive the crown thereof. This Godwin, because he married Canut's daughter, thought to get the crown for his own son; and therefore, at his coming to Normandy, he planned to destroy both the sons of Ethelred by poison. The eldest son, named Alfred, was slain

in this manner; but Edward escaped, by a miracle of God, and came soon after to England, where he received the crown. Godwin, seeing that his attempt did not succeed, dared not return to England, for fear of the treachery that he did against the said Edward. Nonetheless, this Edward was a man without any rancour; and so merciful to the people, that he was reputed a mirror of virtue. When Godwin asked grace from him for the slaughter of his brother, he not only remitted the offence, but also, made his son Harold, Duke of Oxford. And yet, this cruelty done by Godwin was not long unpunished: for within a short time after, he was standing at the board before King Edward; and when he heard the nobles lament the death of Alfred, the king's brother, he ate a piece of bread, and said, "God grand that bread kill me, if ever I had either hand or part of Alfred's murder." And immediately, he fell down struck dead. The nobles, stunned by this divine punishment, gave praise to God, that he had punished this tyrant: and commanded his body to be buried under the gallows. But we will return to our History, where we left off.

Chap. Ninth.

Of King Malcolm Canmore and his deeds. And how he punished several conspirators against him. Of the death of King Edward. And how the Bastard of Normandy obtained England.

Malcolm Canmore, with the support of Edward, King of England, recovered his realm, in the 8th year of the reign of the said Edward; and was crowned at Scone, the 25th day of April; from the Incarnation, 1061 years. After his coronation, he made a general convention of his nobles at Forfar: in which, he rewarded all them that assisted him against Macbeth, with lands and offices; and commanded, that each man have his office and lands named after his surname. He made many earls, lords, barons, and knights. At his coming, many of them that were Thanes before, were made earls; as Fife, Menteith, Atholl, Lennox, Moray, Caithness, Ross, and Angus. These were the first earls among us, as our Chronicles state. Many new surnames came at this time among us; as, Caulder, Lockhart, Gordon, Seton, Lauder, Mawane, Meldrum, Shaw, Leirmouth, Liberton, Strachan, Cargill, Rattray, Dundas, Cockburn, Merton, Menzies, Abercrombie, Leslie; with many other names of lands, which gave names to their possessors for the time. Others got their surnames by offices; as, Stuart, Durward, Bannerman. Many other proper names of valiant champions were turned into general surnames; also, Kennedy, Grahame, Hay, with many others, which are too lengthy to number. In this same council, King Malcolm made many civil and religious laws, to the honour of God, and profit of his realm: and gave to Macduff, Earl of Fife, and his heirs, because he was principal bringer of him in the realm, 3 privileges: first, that the Earl of Fife should crown the king; the second, the Earl of Fife should lead the vanguard of all battles, when the king is to go on his enemies; the third, he shall have free regality, <85> to appoint officers under him, and to have his men transfer their allegiance, if need be, from the king's laws to his regality. It was ordained also, by the said council, that free barons should make gibbets, and drowning pools, for punishment of criminal persons. And among his many other constitutions, he abrogated all the laws made by Macbeth. While King Malcolm was given to such business, tidings came, that Lulach had come, with a great number of people, to Scone, and made himself king. To resist such foolish attempts, Macduff, Earl of Fife, was sent by the king's authority, who finally slew the said Lulach in set battle, and put his company to flight. There followed for several years after, good peace; until at last, a great number of thieves came to Merse and Lothian, attacking the country with continual raids and slaughter. Nonetheless, they were finally taken and judged, by Patrick Dunbar of that ilk. Then King Malcolm, that no virtue should be unrewarded, made this Patrick Earl of March, and gave to him the lands of Cockburnspath, under this condition, that in times coming the Earls of March should purge Merse and Lothian of all thieves. In memory whereof, he bore in his banner, a thief's head sprinkled with blood. Not long after, King Malcolm was informed, that several of his nobles were conspiring against him, and devised his murder. Immediately, without any fear or dread, he went promptly to the hunt, where his murder was planned, and drew the principal mover thereof with him, until they were both apart from all company; and immediately he pulled out his sword, and said, "Traitor, you have devised my death; now is best time; defend thyself, and slay me now, if you can." This man that had conspired against him, knowing his singular courage, fell on his

knees, and desired grace. The king, seeing him penitent, said, "I pardon your offence, provided you attempt no such treasonable deeds in times coming."

While such things were done in Scotland, Edward, King of England, because he had no heirs of his body, sent his ambassadors to Hungary, to bring home the two sons of Edmund, named Edwin and Edward: but Edwin had died many years before; and this other Edward was married to Agatha, daughter to the King of Hungary: on whom, he had a son, named Edgar; with 2 daughters, Margaret and Christine. Soon after, Edward came with his wife and children to England. At his coming, King Edward would have resigned to him the crown: although he refused it, saying, He would not be so inhumane, to take the crown during his uncle's lifetime. Here is a thing to be in admiration by all people: a man refuses the crown offered freely to him with benevolence: which all people covet with great desire; shrinking from no cruelty, by fire or sword, to succeed to a kingdom. And yet, the felicity of these 2 princes succeeded not long to England; for Edward of Hungary soon after died: through which, King Edward, his uncle, had such grief, that he too soon after died. There followed then, great contention for the crown of England; for though the same pertained justly to Edgar, nephew of King Edward, yet the nobles supported Harold, Earl of Oxford, son to Godwin, described above. As soon as Harold was made King of England, he began to govern the realm in good justice, ceasing from all slaughter; as seldom is seen with them that usurp the crown by false means. He also allowed, Edgar, with his mother and sisters, to go freely in all lands where they wished, although the said Edgar was rightful heir to the crown; and therefore it appeared, that he held fortune in contempt, believing nothing might succeed against his happiness.

Nonetheless, Agatha, having suspicion of trouble to follow, kept her son Edgar secretly in her chamber. Until at last, King Harold, as if no business were to be done at home, decided to go to Flanders; and was driven, by contrary winds, to Normandy, among his enemies; for Godwin before slew Alfred, who was grandson to William, Bastard of Normandy. As soon as he was presented to the said duke, he said, with dissimulated and false mind, That he sent not, as other kings did, ambassadors to do his errands; but was come, himself, to treat of marriage between him and the said Duke of Normandy. William, Duke of Normandy, suspecting no deceit under his words, gave such credit, that he condescended to give his daughter to him in marriage. Immediately, a day was set, and the marriage made with all solemnity that could be devised, to the great pleasure of all the people, both of Normandy and England. Within a few days after, King Harold returned, with his new wife, to England; having with him, many nobles of Normandy, for affection, as it appeared, of his new wife. Nonetheless, from when he had come to London, he commanded, by general edict, all the Normans to depart from his realm, within 3 days, under pain of death. And not satisfied with this injury, he caused his wretched scoundrels to defile his lady. And after he had caused them to cut her ears, he sent her again, in a fishing boat, to Normandy. William, Bastard and Duke of Normandy, moved by this insufferable injury, arrived with an army in England; and after his coming, burned all his ships, so that his people could have no hope of flight; but either do valiantly, or die shamefully. Finally, he fought with Harold at Townisbrig[sic], and took both his life and kingdom at once; and was crowned soon after, at Westminster, by Ethelred, Archbishop of York, the 25th day of December, the year of God, 1066 years.

Chap. Tenth.

How King Malcolm, married Saint Margaret, and received all her friends in Scotland. How several armies of England were defeated by the Scots; and how peace was made between Englishmen and Scots.

Edgar, seeing the crown of England obtained, as we have said, by the bastard of Normandy, was desperate to succeed, in any way, to the crown. And therefore, to avoid all danger appearing, he got a ship, intending to return, with his mother and sisters, to Hungary. Nonetheless, by contrary winds, he arrived in a part of Forth, called Queensferry. King Malcolm, who was at this time in Dunfermline, when he heard of the coming of this ship, sent his servants to see what people they were, lately arrived in his water, and to inquire of them what they desired. As soon as he understood they were Englishmen, and descended of King Edward, who had done him so many favours; he came, with an honourable company, to the ship where they were. Edgar, in the same manner, arrayed himself, with his mother and sisters, in their best apparel; and was received by King Malcolm with greatest tenderness, and brought into his palace. A short time after, King Malcolm, seeing the excellent beauty, wisdom, and good manners of Margaret, eldest sister to the said Edgar, proposed to Agatha, her mother, to have her in marriage: and Agatha, knowing well her daughter would not be able to get so noble a prince in this world, agreed gladly to his desires. Soon after, by convention of all the nobles of Scotland, after the Octave of Easter, Queen Margaret and King Malcolm were wedded, with the greatest triumph and honour that could be devised.

William, the bastard of Normandy, and conqueror of England, when he heard of this marriage between King Malcolm and Queen Margaret, feared that sundry factions would follow in his realm, by the assistance of Edgar's friends; and, therefore, he banished all the lineage and blood that pertained to the said Edgar. By this proscription of Edgar's friends, there came a great number of people in Scotland to King Malcolm; and many of them got lands from him, for their honourable behaviour: among whom were Lindsay, Waus, Ramsay, Lovel, Towris, Preston, Sunderland, Bissart, Sowlis, Wardlaw, Maxwell, with several others. Also, there came a great number of people out of Hungary, to Queen Margaret; as Creighton, Fotheringham, Giffart, Melville, Borthwick. Many other surnames, by at different times, came out of France to Scotland; as Fraser, Sinclair, Boswell, Mowtray, Montgommery, Campbell, Boece, Beton, Taillifer, and Bothwell; with many others, which it would take too long to name. These men, that came out of England to Edgar, brought much silver and gold with them, with many holy relics, which were held in great reverence among us.

In the meantime, William, the Conqueror of England, sent his herald to Malcolm, desiring Edgar to be delivered to his hands; saying, if he refused, he should take him by force of battle. King Malcolm, notwithstanding this great menacing of King William the Conqueror, rejected his requests, and said they were not just. King William, for this repulse, declared war on the Scots. In the meantime, all the people of Northumberland supported King Malcolm; for he was their earl's nephew. Soon after, King William sent a valiant captain of the blood royal of Normandy, named Roger, with an army, to Northumberland. Although he stayed short time in honour; for he was defeated by Scots and Northumbrians. King William, little daunted by this defeat, sent the Duke of Gloucester, with a new army, to Cumberland; against whom were

sent the Earls of March and Menteith, and kept the lands of Scotland from all invasion of the said Duke. King William, hearing no honour done by the said Duke, sent a new army, with more strength than before, to Northumberland. By this last army, a great number, both of the Scots and Northumbrians, were vanquished and slain. King Malcolm, moved by these injuries, raised an army of all people under his dominion, and, in support of the Northumbrians, followed, with no less diligence than hatred, on this army of England, and, with infinite slaughter, put them to flight. King William, nothing broken by these setbacks, sent his son Robert, with greater force than before, to Northumberland: and when he had remained a long time at the river of Tyne, and dared attempt nothing worthy to have memory, he made peace between the two kings, under these conditions: "King Malcolm shall have that part of Northumberland which lies between Tweed, Cumberland, and Stainmore; and shall make homage to all Kings of England for that same: and in middle of Stainmore shall be a cross, with the King of England's image on the one side, and the King of Scotland's on the other; to signify the one shall be the border of England, and the other of the Scots." This cross is called, now, the Rey Cross; that is to say, The Cross of Kings. Also, Voldosius, son to the Earl of Northumberland, should have King William's kinswoman in marriage; and should be free of taxes, for 20 years after following."

Chap. Eleventh.

***How King Malcolm defeated several conspirators in his realm.
Of his great devotion, and liberality to the church. With a
complaint of riotous cheer.***

After the two kings had agreed in this manner, there followed, in Scotland, some trouble. The men of Galloway and the Isles arose, with a great number of people, and made great slaughter and raids in all parts where they came. King Malcolm, to punish these deeds, sent Walter, the son of Fleance described above, with a band of chosen men, to Galloway. And this Walter defeated all these scoundrels with such success, that he was made Steward of Scotland, and called Stuart for his surname. After this trouble was defeated in this way, there followed another of greater difficulty. The Murrays gathered to their support the inhabitants of Ross, Caithness, with several other people thereabouts; and not only slew the king's servants and ministers of justice, but, by assistance of Macduncan, made more raids and slaughter than was heard of any time before. To punish these cruelties, Macduff was sent, with an army, to Mar. The inhabitants thereof, daunted by his coming, thought nothing so good as to stop his invasion with their money. In the meantime, it happened King Malcolm came to Monymusk, and was told, that all the North parts of Scotland and the Isles were allied with these Murrays against him. The King, frightened by these tidings, asked his treasurer, if any lands were in those parts pertaining to the crown. And when he was informed that the barony of Monymusk pertained thereto, he vowed it to Saint Andrew, to send him victory. At last, when he was coming to Spey, and found his enemies of greater power than he might resist, he saw his banner-man trembling for fear of enemies, and not passing so bravely forward as he desired. Immediately, he pulled the banner from him, and gave it to Sir Alexander Carron, who got many rich lands for that same office. But his name was changed, afterwards, to Scrimgeour; of who is descended a noble house, persevering yet, in great honour, under the same surname. When King Malcolm was coming over Spey, where the armies were ready to fight on all sides, they were parted by the intervention of prelates; and truce made under these conditions: "The commoners shall return home, and the nobles shall submit them to the king's will, their lives and lands safe." Nonetheless, many of them were plundered of their goods, and held in prison to the end of their life.

Such things done, King Malcolm, by the persuasion of his holy Queen, gave himself wholly to virtue, and began to do holy works in such manner, that he excelled all other men in his days in fervent devotion; and was so obedient to his holy Queen, that he left nothing undone, that pertained to works of piety. The devotion of these two holy people brought many others, in their imitation, to a clean life. They contended which of them should be most fervent in the love of God. Agatha and her other daughter, moved to religious manners by the example of these two holy people, left the company of men and women, and went to a private and solitary life, giving themselves wholly to contemplation. It is said, the peace having being made between Englishmen and Scots, Edgar went to William, King of England: where he got certain lands to sustain his estate; and become so familiar with him, that he was kept by him in great happiness to the end of his life. Further, King Malcolm ceased not, in imitation of his wife, to do good works; and gave his extreme diligence to recover the things that were lost before, by negligence of his predecessors.

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Before this time, there were in Scotland but four bishoprics; Saint Andrew's, Glasgow, Galloway, and Mortlach. Saint Andrew's and Mortlach stood in that same manner as they stand now; but Galloway and Glasgow were all deserted, until they were restored to their old dignity by King Malcolm, and two bishoprics added to those, Moray and Caithness. It is said, that such insolence arose, that time, among our elders, when the manners, language, and gluttonous merrymaking of the Englishmen came first among us, that the nobles went to King Malcolm, and lamented heavily, that this venomous plague was burgeoning fast, to the perdition of his people; and prayed him to remedy the same, that the people might live with such temperance as their elders did before: for our elders ate only once in the day, desiring no dainty meats which were sought curiously by sea and land; but desired only so much as nature required for their necessary sustentenance, having their bodies in continual exertion: through which they grew more strong, and greater of bodies, than we are in these days; for they were like giants, with great bodies, great arms and legs, coming like fierce lions against their enemies, and were not daunted by them: for they passed all strength of man that was in their days. King Malcolm took great labours to expel this sprouting plague from his people: nonetheless, the talent of man is so wretched, that it is more ready to evil than any good works. Although the Scots were before content with scarceness, knowing no intemperate nor riotous surfeit; yet, from when they tasted the venomous savour thereof, it increased each day so far, that nothing might restrain the same. And yet the riotous and gluttonous habits which were brought to this realm by the coming of Englishmen with King Malcolm, are of little comparison to such things as are used in our days. In those days, the nature of man was not so overcome by superfluosities as now: for then the people ate but twice in the day, and had but two courses; but now the avaricious gluttony of man's belly is so desirous, that no fruit growing under the heavens, by land or sea, can be sufficient to satisfy the hungry appetite of gluttons; no man so esteemed, nor yet commended, as he that can swallow most; compared justly to the nature of greedy wolves. But it profits little to complain by my words; for this vice is gone so far, that it may be purged in no way. Sooner shall the people be altogether destroyed, before this vice can be banished.

Chap. Twelfth.

Of the Death of King William, bastard of Normandy. Of several noble deeds done by King Malcolm. Of the Death of the said Malcolm and Saint Margaret. And of several marvels seen in Albion.

While such things were done in Scotland, King William the Conqueror died, the 20th year of his reign; from the Incarnation, 1086 years: and left behind him 3 sons, Robert, Duke of Normandy; William Rufus, who succeeded after him to the crown of England; and Henry Beauclerc, to whom he left great riches and jewels.

About this time, King Malcolm cast down the old church of Durham; and rebuilt it from the ground, with great magnificence. The prior of this abbey was named Turgot, who was, afterwards made Bishop of Saint Andrew's, and wrote the lives of Saints Margaret and Malcolm, in the common tongue. He died in Saint Andrew's, but his body was brought to Durham, because he was once prior there. King Malcolm, by the persuasion of this Turgot, built a church in Dunfermline, which was ordained to be the common tombs of all Kings of Scotland in times coming. Also, those who wish to know the life of King Malcolm Canmore, and his blessed queen, Saint Margaret, may return to the said Turgot, who tells the same at length. Among many works which he did, it was not little to be commended, that he abrogated the wicked law made by King Edwin the Third, and commanded half a mark of money to be paid to the lord of the ground, in redemption of the woman's chastity and honour; called, yet, The Merchet of Women. This law was not unlike to the thing that was used in a town not far from Louvain, where the citizen redeemed the use of his wife with great sums of money, from the lord of the ground.

King William Rufus, after he had received the crown of England, attacked the church with intolerable injuries; and took from it all the lands and rents which were given to it before. He cast down many abbeys; for they were, as he alleged, an impediment to his hunting. He slew all his nobles that opposed his doings; and banished Anselm, Bishop of Canterbury, and would allow none of his lineage to abide in his realm, because he reprov'd his doings. Finally, hearing that Scots had a great part of Cumberland and Northumberland, he raised his army, and attacked them with great slaughter, before any wars were proclaimed against them. At last, he took the castle of Alnwick, and slew all people found in it. King Malcolm, to resist such things in the beginning, came with an army to Northumberland, and besieged the castle of Alnwick. And when the castle, by long siege, was ready to be surrendered, a knight of England, intending to do a brave deed, came, on a swift horse, out of the castle, without armour, bearing the keys of the castle on his spear point; to signify, the castle was ready to be surrendered. The watch, seeing him came in such manner, took no suspicion; but brought him, with great noise and clamour, to the king's tent. The king, hearing the noise, came out of the tent, to see the cause thereof. In the meantime, this Englishman held out the keys to King Malcolm; and when the king was looking at them, this Englishman ran him through the left eye, and fled quickly to the nearest wood. Thus was the king slain, in midst of all his army. It is said that King William of England changed the surname of this hardy knight, and called him Percy: of whom is descended a noble house, under the same surname, decorated with great honours, called the Earls of Northumberland. The Scots, after the murder of King Malcolm, scattered from the siege, and returned home; and buried King Malcolm in the Abbey

of Tynemouth, within England. But he was taken up afterwards, by Alexander, his son; and buried in Dunfermline, before the Trinity altar. After the death of King Malcolm, there followed new trouble; for Edward, Prince of Scotland, eldest son to King Malcolm, died, through a wound that he got at a skirmish, not far from Alnwick; and was buried in Dunfermline. Queen Margaret, when he heard of the death of her husband and her son, fell into melancholy, and died, the third day after. King Malcolm was slain the 25th year of his reign; from our redemption, 1097 years.

At this time, many strange marvels were seen in Albion. By inundation of the German Sea, many towns, castles, and woods were flooded, both in England and Scotland: and in this year, all the lands of Godwin, by the inundation of the sea, were covered with sand; and therefore it is called Goodwin Sands. The people believed this vengeance came to him and his posterity for the slaughter of Alfred, as we have said. Several castles and towns in Moray were cast down by the sea. Such thunder arose, that both men and beasts were slain, and great houses cast down. In Lothian, Fife, and Angus, green trees and crops burst into flames.

In the time of King Malcolm, there was a general Council held at Clairmont; in which pope Urban, the second of that name, instituted the hours and matins of the Blessed Virgin Mary, to be said daily in her honour; and commanded the people to have her in special remembrance each Saturday: for on Saturday after Good Friday, the Christian faith was lost by all earthly creatures, save in her only. The same time, Lycia, which is a great part of Asia, was destroyed by the Saracens; and the bones of Saint Nicholas brought from there to Bari.

Chap. Thirteenth.

Of King Donald the 7th; and how the sons of King Malcolm fled to England. How Duncan, bastard son to King Malcolm, usurped the crown, and was slain for his tyranny. How Edgar recovered his realm. And of the death of Donald.

Malcolm had 6 sons with Saint Margaret: Edward, who was slain, as we have said; Etheldred, who died in his tender age, and was buried in Dunfermline; Edmund, who renounced the world, and lived a holy life in England. The other 3 were named Edgar, Alexander, and David. Some authors say, this Edmund was put in prison, and slain by his uncle, Donald Bane. This Donald, as we said before, fled to the Isles to avoid the tyranny of Macbeth: and after the death of King Malcolm, his brother, he returned to Scotland, with the support of the King of Norway; for he promised to give the Isles of Scotland in perpetual dominion to the said king, provided that he obtained the crown by his support. Donald, finally, took the crown with little difficulty; for the people detesting the riotous and intemperate manners brought among them by Englishmen, came soon to his support; and trusted, because he was nurtured with their old customs and good manners, to recover, by his severity, the temperance of their old ancestors. As soon as Edgar, brother to Queen Margaret, was informed that Donald Bane had taken the crown of the Scots, he brought quietly his three nephews, Edgar, Alexander, and David, with their two sisters, to England. And when he had kept them a certain time, a knight, named Organus, moved of malice, and trusting to get reward therefore, accused him of treachery, saying, He nurtured his sister's sons and daughters in England, to be heirs to the crown thereof. But this malice was not long unpunished; for the said Organus was slain by a friend of Edgar, who assisted to the said Edgar, and defended his action in single combat, to the death. When Donald had received the crown at Scone, he found part of the nobles not supporting him, having more benevolence to the children of King Malcolm than to him: and for that cause, he said among his familiars, after dinner, that his nobles would quickly repent their doings, unless they supported him. But these words were deeper printed in their minds than he believed. In the meantime, Sir Duncan, bastard son to King Malcolm, was sent out of England, with the support of King William Rufus, to put King Donald from the crown. King Donald, informed of his coming, met him with an army; and when the armies were ready to join battle, many of the nobles and commoners of Scotland came over from Donald to Sir Duncan. Thus, Donald was constrained to flee to the Isles. Sir Duncan came quickly with his victorious army to Scone, and took the crown. And because he was more exercised in warfare than any administration of justice, he trusted nothing just nor right, but as it succeeded by sword and right of battle. There followed infinite trouble and divisions in the realm. Donald Bane when he heard of these divisions among the lords, solicited Macpender, Earl of Mearns, to support him; and finally, slew King Duncan sleeping in his bed, after he had reigned a year and an half. And because this Duncan was a tyrant given to cruelty and blood, few mourned his murder, or thought it evil done. After his murder, Donald was restored to the crown; which he held before Sir Duncan, a year and 6 months; and so the realm was in continual trouble 3 years, by their tyranny. The nobles sought many opportunitys to end his rule. In the meantime, there arose great slaughtering and plundering in all parts of the realm. And notwithstanding this division and trouble among the lords, yet the wars continued against Englishmen. Although, nothing followed worthy to be remembered.

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Not long after, Magnus, King of Norway, came, with a fleet of ships, about all the Isles of Scotland; and garrisoned all the strongholds thereof with men, munitions, and victuals; and made the same laws and institutions which are yet used in the Isles. The Scots, greatly indignant that the Isles of Scotland should pass under foreign rule, sent their ambassadors to Edgar, who was fourth son to Malcolm, desiring him, with much urging, to recover his father's heritage and crown of Scotland. Edgar soon after sent his ambassadors to his uncle, Donald; promising, if he would abdicate the crown peacefully, since it pertained not to him, to deliver to him great lordships in Lothian. These ambassadors, by cruelty of King Donald, were finally slain. Edgar, very desirous to revenge these injuries, came to Scotland, with a great force, with the support of William, King of England. And when he was coming to Durham, he got a vision in his sleep: If he raised the banner of Saint Cuthbert, he would have victory. On the following day, he entered the abbey of Saint Cuthbert, where he had divine service done with great reverence: and soon after, as he was commanded in his vision, he displayed Saint Cuthbert's banner. Nonetheless, King Donald met him with arrayed hosts: and after a long battle, he was chased to the Isles, where he was taken; and finally, brought to Edgar, and put in prison, where he soon after died. Edgar, after this victory, went to Dunfermline, to visit the tombs of his blessed mother, Saint Margaret, and his remaining brothers; then made a convention of his nobles at Scone: where he received the crown; and was anointed by Godric, Bishop of Saint Andrew's, the year of God, 1101: for Saint Margaret obtained, a short time before her death, from Pope Urban, that after her, all Kings of Scotland should be anointed; and, therefore, Edgar was the first King of Scots that was anointed. This privilege was confirmed after by Pope John, the second of that name.

Chap Fourteenth.

Of the honourable deeds of several Christian princes in the Holy Land. How Maud, eldest daughter to King Malcolm, was married to the King of England; and the youngest daughter married to the Earl of Boulogne. Of their succession; and of the death of King Edgar.

Two years before the coronation of King Donald, many noblemen went to the holy land; among whom was Robert, Duke of Normandy; Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine; the Earl of Blasen; the Earl of Flanders; with many other princes of France. And because they went to attack the Saracens, and gave large fees to their men of arms, they gathered an army of more power and number of people than ever was seen before. This army went first through Greece and Constantinople; then came through the seas called Hellespontus, with displayed banner, to little Asia; and won a strong town, named Antioch, in the land of Syria: where they were warned by a vision of Saint Andrew the apostle, that the spear-head that pierced Crist's heart, was hid under the earth in the church of Saint Peter. Finally, after many strong towns taken by them, they took Jerusalem, the head town of Judea; from our redemption, 1099 years. And because the Holy Land was recovered in this manner from the Saracens, the people made frequent processions through all parts of Cristindom, giving thanks to Almighty God for these happy victories falling to Christian princes.

After this, fell a great contention among them, who should be King of Judea: each one refused that honour, knowing himself not worthy to sustain so great charge. At last, by general voice, Robert, Duke of Normandy, was chosen to be king: nonetheless, because he was informed that his brother, King William Rufus of England, had died, without any heirs of his body, he refused the crown of Judea; trusting it better for him to have the rule of England, with the Duchy of Normandy, than to be King of Judea: and, therefore, he gave his right thereof to the Duke of Lorraine. Such things done, many of these Christian princes returned home. Robert, Duke of Normandy, was frustrated both of the crown of Judea and England; for, after he had refused to enjoy the crown of Judea, his brother, Henry Beauclerc, took the crown of England. This Henry Beauclerc married Maud, eldest sister to King Edgar of Scotland: and King Edgar's second sister, named Mary, was married to Eustace, Earl of Boulogne; and bore to him a daughter, who was heir to Boulogne, and was married afterwards to Steven, Earl of March, in England, who succeeded immediately to the crown thereof; for he was grandson to King Henry Bewclere, as we shall describe below. This Henry Beauclerc got on Maud, first sister to King Edgar, two sons, named Richard and William, and two daughters, named Euphemia and Maud. But we will return to our history.

King Edgar, for the benevolence granted to him by Saint Cuthbert, gave all the lands of Coldingham to the monks of Durham; and gave the town of Berwick to Canulphus, Bishop of Durham. And because this Canulphus committed several treacherous deeds against King Edgar, he lost both the keeping of Berwick, and was deprived of his benefice. Queen Maud, after she was married to King Henry Beauclerc, gave herself to singular virtue, following the life of her blessed mother, Saint Margaret: through which, she was a mirror of good living to all people of England. King Edgar had no foreign wars nor trouble in his days, and governed his realm in good peace, and was held in more veneration than terror among his people;

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until at last, he died, the 9th year of his reign, at Dundee; and was buried in Dunfermline; from our redemption, 1109 years.

Chap. Fifteenth.

Of King Alexander the First. How King David, his brother, was made Earl of Huntingdon and Northumberland. Of the wars made between Henry Beauclerc and France. Of his sorrow in the death of his sons. And of the death of King Alexander.

After the death of King Edgar, there succeeded the 5th son of Malcolm, named Alexander the Fierce, because he crushed thieves with great courage. In the beginning of his reign, the Murrays and Rosses seeing him continually exercised in such contemplative matters as his father and mother used before, made divers raids and extortions in the country, with great slaughter, both of men, wives, and children, wherever they came. King Alexander, to punish these acts, came with such diligence on the conspirators, that they were finally taken, and executed. At his returning home, a woman in sorrowful clothes fell on her knees before him, complaining that both her son and husband were slain by the Master of Mearns. King Alexander, moved by this pitiful complaint, alighted from his horse; and never mounted him, until he saw the earl hanged for his offences. Such things done, he decided, on his return, to repair the castle of Baledgarno, which was founded before by King Edgar, in Gowrie: where a great multitude of thieves used to remain in the wood, attacking the people often with slaughter and plunder. The king got certain lands from the Earl of Gowrie, and annexed them to this castle. Yet, when he was building this castle with great diligence, the thieves took such fear, dreading that the said castle should be a restraint on them, that they conspired against him, and corrupted his personal servants with money, to allow them to lie in wait within a closet of this castle, so that they might come, during the night, to slay the king when he was sleeping. Nonetheless, soon after they came into the chamber, the king was informed, by providence of God; and pulled quickly his sword, which was hanging on his bed-head: and slew first, his personal servant, because he was participant with their treachery; and finally, he slew six of these scoundrels, with the support only of God and his own hands. The remainder of these scoundrels, attacked in this manner, fled with all the diligence they could: nonetheless, many of them were taken and brought before the king. As soon as they were asked for what occasion or motive they intended the king's murder, they said that they were solicited thereto by several great barons of the country. Finally, the king got certain information who the persons were that devised his murder; and immediately, he gathered a great company of men to go against them. Nonetheless, before the king had come to Spey, these conspirators gathered all the forces they could, to resist him. The king, seeing them gathered in this way, sent his bannerman, Sir Alexander Carron, with a company of chosen men, over the Spey: by whom these conspirators were vanquished, and many of them taken and executed. For many years after this punishment, there followed great tranquillity in this realm. This Alexander Carron, by his singular honour, slew several of their conspirators, with a crooked sword, before the king, and was called, therefore, Scrimgeour; that is to say, a sharp fighter, and, for his singular honour, he got arms; in which, is a lion rampant, with a crooked sword. Others say, that he was called Scrimgeour because he slew an Englishman in single combat. The principal of this surname is Constable of Dundee; and has in his banner, a crooked sword, like a hook.

Such things done, King Alexander built the abbey of Scone, of Canons Regular, and dedicated it to the honour of the Trinity and Saint Michael. Not long after, King Alexander came to Iona: where he was forced, by a violent tempest, to remain three days, sustaining his life with scarce food, provided by a hermit that dwelt in the said island: in which, he had a little chapel, dedicated in the honour of Saint Colm. Finally, King Alexander, because his life was saved by this hermit, built an abbey of Canons Regular, in the honour of Saint Colm; and endowed it with several lands and rents, to sustain the abbot and convent thereof. Such things done, he endowed the church of Saint Andrew's with certain lands, named The Bear-Rink; because a bear, that did great injuries to the people, was slain in the said field. The teeth of this bear are sixteen inches long, and four inches thick; and hang now with chains, on the stalls of the choir, before the high altar of Saint Andrew's. This Alexander completed the abbey of Dunfermline, and endowed it with many lands and possessions. While King Alexander was given to such business, his brother David lived in England with his sister Queen Maud, and married Maud, the bastard of Normandy's wife, who was daughter to Woldosius, Earl of Huntingdon and Northumberland; and through this marriage he was made Earl of Huntingdon and Northumberland; and got on his wife the heir foresaid, a son, named Henry: by whom, the lands of Huntingdon and Northumberland were added to the crown of Scotland, as we shall describe below.

At this time, Maud, daughter to King Henry Beauclerc, was married to Henry, the fourth Roman Emperor; and soon after, Queen Maud died: whose body was buried in Westmorland; from our redemption, 1120 years. The third year after, Mary, Countess of Boulogne died; a woman of singular devotion; as her epitaph says, above her sepulchre, at London, in the abbey of Saint Saviour. After the death of Maud, King Henry had three years continual war against France, with several battles; but at last, peace was made between the two realms of England and France. In the meantime, King Henry was returning with his navy to England; when suddenly there arose so vehement a tempest in the seas, that his three sons, named William, Richard, and Euphemius, perished, with all the remaining people that were in their navy. King Henry, destitute of all his children in this way, save only Maud, his daughter, who was married to the Roman Emperor, took such displeasure, that he would suffer no consolation nor blithness to be made in his palace. There followed nothing but affliction and dolour in all parts of his realm: each man clothed in dark clothes. It is said, that he took such melancholy for the loss of his sons, that he never afterwards during his life laughed, nor took any consolation in his mind. A short time afterwards, King Alexander died, without heirs of his body; and was buried in Dunfermline, beside his father's sepulchre, the 17th year of his reign; from our redemption, 1125 years.

Chap Sixteenth.

How King David went to the hunt on the Cross Day in harvest-time. How he was thrown from his horse by a wild hart. And how he founded the Abbey of Holyrood House, by a miracle of the Holy Cross.

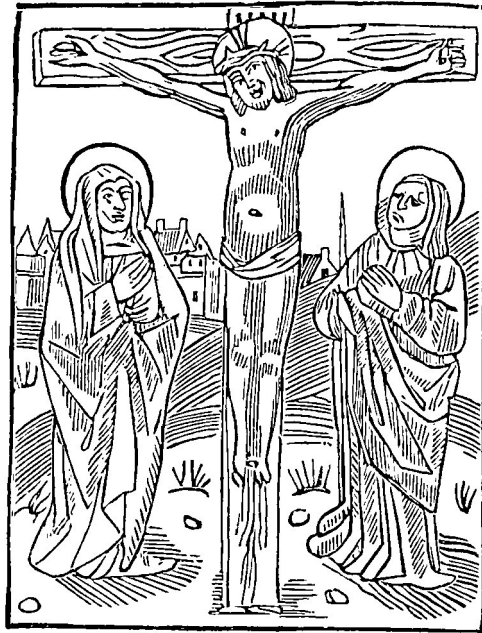


Illustration: The Crucifixion

In the time of King Alexander, the Comyns took their beginning, from John Comyn; who, by his singular courage and virtue, was promoted to several lands in Scotland. These Comyns, from small beginnings, increased to a great number of people, and grew so high in number of supporters and power of lands, that their great power and unsupportable height, as often occurs in this realm, was the cause of their declination and final ruin; as we shall afterwards hear.

At this time began the military order of the Knights of Rhodes. At this time also began the order of white monks; of which there are now many religious places, full of devout men, in all parts of the world. And at this time, Saint Bernard decorated the Cistercian order, with singular erudition and holy life. This order began by Saint Robert, the year from our redemption, 1085. But Saint Bernard died in the Abbey of Clairvaux, and was buried in the said abbey, with Saint Melchiad, Scotsman. But we will return to our history.

After the death of Alexander the First, his brother David came out of England, and was crowned at Scone, the year of God, 1124 years; and did great justice, after his coronation, in all parts of his realm. He had no wars during the time of King Henry; and was so benevolent, that he sat daily in judgement, to cause his poor commoners to have justice; and caused the actions of his nobles to be decided by his other judges. He made each judge redress the harms that came to a party by his wrong sentence: through which, he decorated his realm with many noble deeds, and drove out the

venomous custom of riotous cheer, which was introduced before by Englishmen, when they came with Queen Margaret; for the same was repugnant to all good manners, making his people soft and degenerate.

In the fourth year of his reign, this noble prince came to visit the Maiden Castle of Edinburgh. At this time, all the lands of Scotland were full of woods, pasture-land, and meadows; for the country was more given to raising cattle, than any production of crops: and about this castle was a great forest, full of hares, hinds, foxes, and similar beasts. Now the Rood Day had come, called the Exaltation of the Cross^{<98>}; and, because the same was a high solemn day, the king went to his devotions. After the mass was done with great solemnity and reverence, there came before him many young and insolent barons of Scotland, very desirous to have some pleasure and amusement, by hunting with hounds in the said forest. At this time, there was with the king a man of singular and devout life, named Alcuin, Canon of the order of Saint Augustine; who had been for a long time confessor, to King David in England, the time that he was Earl of Huntingdon and Northumberland. This religious man dissuaded the king, with many arguments, from going to the hunt; and said the day was so solemn, for reverence of the holy cross, that he should give himself, on that day, rather to devotion, than any other exercise. Nonetheless, his dissuasions availed little; for the king was finally so provoked, by the inopportune solicitation of his barons, that he went, notwithstanding the solemnity of this day, to the hunt. At last, when he was coming through the vale that lies to the East from the said castle, where now lies the Cannongate; the hunt went through the wood with such noise and din of scent-hounds and bugles, that all the beasts were startled from their dens. Now the king was coming to the foot of the crag, separated from all his nobles, at their game and amusements; when suddenly there appeared to his sight, the fairest hart that ever was seen before by living creature. The noise and din of this hart, running, as it appeared, with awesome and broad antlers, made the king's horse so afraid, that no reins could hold him; but ran unstoppably, over mire and moorlands, away with the king. Nonetheless, the hart followed so fast, that he threw both the king and his horse to the ground. Then the king thrust his hands between the antlers of this hart, to save himself from the stroke thereof; and the holy cross slipped, immediately, into his hands. The hart fled away with great violence, and vanished in the same place where now springs the Rood Well. The people, very frightened, returned to him out of all parts of the wood, to comfort him after his trouble; and fell on their knees, devoutly adoring the holy cross: for it had come by some heavenly providence, as well appears; for there is no man can say of what substance it is, metal or wood. Soon after, the king returned to his castle; and in the night following, he was admonished, by a vision in his sleep, to build an abbey of Canons Regular in the same place where he got the cross. As soon as he was awake, he told his vision to Alcuin, his confessor; and he nothing suspended his good mind, but rather inflamed him with most fervent devotion thereto. The king, immediately, sent his trusted servants to France and Flanders, and brought very skilful masons to build this abbey; then dedicated it in the honour of this holy cross. This cross remained continually in the said abbey, to the time of King David Bruce; when it was unhappily taken to Durham, where it is held yet in great veneration. This abbey was lately in governance of a good man, Don Robert Bellenden, abbot for 16 years. He gave away, each week, 4 bushels of wheat, and 60 shillings of silver, among poor householders and indigent people. He brought home the great bells; the great brazen fountain; 24 capes of gold and silk. He made a chalice of fine gold; a ciborium^{<99>}; with several chalices of silver. He roofed the church with lead. He built a bridge at Leith, another over the Clyde; with many other good

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works, which are too lengthy to describe. Nonetheless, he was so envied by several other prelates, because he was not given to lust and insolence after their manner, that he left the abbey, and died a Carthusian monk.

Chap. Seventeenth.

Of the great liberality of King David towards the Church, to the damage of his successors; and of the Battle of Northallerton. And how peace was made between Scots and Englishmen.

King David built 15 abbeys in Scotland: whose names are, Holyrood House, Kelso, Jedburgh, Melrose, Newbattle, Eynhallow, Dundrennan, Cambus Kenneth, Kinloss, Dunfermline, Holme in Cumbria; 2 nunneries, one at Carlisle, and another at North Berwick. He founded 2 abbeys at Newcastle; one of Saint Benedict's order, and the other, of white monks. He founded 4 bishoprics, Ross, Brechin, Dunkeld, and Dunblane; and endowed them with great rents, lands, and possessions.

Some prudent men do not approve of the great liberality of King David towards the church; for he endowed the church so richly with the lands pertaining to the crown, that his successors could not sustain their royal estate, after him, so well as they did before: and for that reason, he has been the death of many noble princes in this realm, sometimes giving them occasion to bring great houses to naught, to conquer lands to sustain the crown; extorting the country with continual taxes and unsupportable exactions on the people; and sometimes forcing them, desperate princes, to attack England with battle, taking no care what came of their life; and coining debased money, against the common good. All these mischiefs have followed since then in this realm, because the crown was left indigent, through transferring of great rents to the church. Although, King David did the same, as he believed, for the best; for the people were so simple in those days, that they trusted firmly, no man might have such singular favour of God, as he that gave the most riches and lands to the church. Therefore, the wise prince, King James the First, when he came to David's sepulchre at Dunfermline, said, "He was a sore Saint for the crown," as if he would mean, that King David left the church over-rich, and the crown over-poor; for he took from the crown, as Master John More writes in his Chronicles, 60,000 pounds Scots: which is possessed at this day, by the church, to no less damage of the common good, than perdition of good religion; for if King David had considered the manners and nourishing of devout religion, he had neither endowed the churches with such riches, nor yet built them with such magnificence: for the superfluous rents of churches, now as they are used, are not only opportunity to evil prelates to rage in the most insolent and corrupt life; but a certain net, to draw all manner of gold and silver out of this realm. Although less damage would result, if the abbeys were provided by their ordinaries, without any dispensation from their habit and religious manners; and the ordinaries, by their primate, without any exemption; and the primate, by their counsel provincial: for in truth, within these 70 years, no manner of benefices, except bishoprics, went to Rome; and since then, we see what infinite gold and silver is taken out of this realm, by their continual promotion. And therefore, this realm shall be brought to such irrecoverable poverty, by continual promotion of prelates, within a few years, that it shall be an easy prey to our enemies: for it may not sustain, now, so great a charge in time of war, as it did before in our elders' time. And because neither spiritual nor temporal estates, within this realm, have any affection for the common good thereof, but each man set only for his own personal good; I will deplore no more the calamities succeeding daily by their imprudence: but will return to our history, where we left.

King David transferred the see of Mortlach to Aberdeen, where there have been many noble bishops, as we shall describe below. King David had a son, named Henry, got, as we have said, on Maud, heiress to Northumberland, Cumbria, and Huntingdon. This Henry was married to the Earl of Warrenne's daughter, and got on her, three sons; Malcolm, William, and David: and three daughters; Adama, Margaret, and Maud. In the meantime, King David's house was in great distress: for his wife died in her flourishing years, and was buried at Scone; from our redemption, 1132 years; in the 7th year of the reign of King David. After her death, King David passed the remainder of his days without any company of women.

While such things were done in Scotland, Maud, daughter to Henry Beauclerc, returned to England; for her husband, Henry, the fourth of that name, Emperor, had died, without any heirs of his body. At her coming to England, her father, King Henry, made a general convention of all his nobles; and had them swear to defend the said Maud, his daughter, as just heir to the crown of England: then married her to Geoffrey Plantagenet, Earl of Anjou; to whom she bore a son, named Henry, who was afterwards King of England; called by the people, the son of the Empress. At this time, Robert, Duke of Normandy, died, without any succession of his body; by whose death, the Duchy came to Henry Beauclerc, his brother. This Henry Beauclerc died, from our redemption, 1135 years. Then there succeeded great trouble in England: for Maud, the Empress, was, at the time of his death, with her husband, Geoffrey Plantagenet, in Anjou; who was that time very ill, having her son Henry but 2 years of age. In the meantime, Stephen, Earl of Boulogne, sister-son to Henry Beauclerc, gathered a great army to come to England, that he might obtain the crown thereof. And first, as if he intended to obtain the country by deceit, he desired the crown to be given to him, until Prince Henry were of lawful age to succeed. The nobles, seeing his petitions reasonable, made him king; and surrendered all the strongholds of the country, garrisoned with men, munition, and victuals, at his pleasure. A short time after, King Stephen sent a herald to King David of Scotland, charging him to come, without any delay, to England, to give his oath of fidelity and homage for the lands of Northumberland, Huntingdon, and Cumberland; threatening, if he refused, to attack him with battle. King David answered, That he gave his oath before, for these lands, to Maud, his wife; and since it was not lawful to violate his oath, he would rather stand with the faith that he had promised, than to acknowledge any new invader. King Stephen, angered by this answer, sent the Duke of Gloucester, with an army, to Northumberland, which stood, at that time, under the rule of the Scots; and made incredible slaughter and plundering in all parts thereof. The Scots, moved by these injuries, ceased not until they revenged the said injuries on England; for the Earls of March, Menteith, and Angus went to England with a great force, and fought at Northallerton; where the Englishmen were defeated, and many nobles of England, with the said duke, brought prisoners to Scotland. King Stephen, through this defeat, was constrained to redeem the said duke, and his nobles, with huge money; and, in payment of their redemption, gave over all right and claim that he, or his successors, might any way have to Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntingdon. Nonetheless, after the redemption of his nobles, he regretted this agreement; and came to Northumberland, where he made great slaughter and plundering, through all lands thereof, to recover it to his dominion. King David, to resist these injuries, gathered an army, with the firm intention, either to expel Englishmen out of all lands pertaining to his rule, or else, to die all together. After his coming to Roxburgh, the Bishop of York came to him, and made peace for 4 months, under these conditions: "That the Englishmen should deliver Northumberland, free, to Henry, Prince of Scotland." And

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because this condition was not kept, King David came, with a new army, to Northumberland, and left no Englishmen in it alive. King Stephen, to revenge these injuries, came, with a great force, to Roxburgh; and was constrained to return home without any attack on the Scots, because his nobles would not support his purpose. At last, peace was agreed, under these conditions: "Northumberland and Huntingdon should remain under the rule of Henry, Prince of Scotland, by right of his mother; and Cumbria to remain with him, by right of King David, his father. And for these lands, the said Henry, and his successors, shall make homage to all Kings of England for the time."

Chap. Eighteenth.

Of the Death of Henry, Prince of Scotland. Of the Speech made by King David to his nobles. How Malcolm, his first Grandson, was made Prince of Scotland; and William, his second Grandson, Earl of Northumberland. Of the Death of King David; and of several great Clerks.

The peace ratified in this manner, King Stephen returned to Kent, and King David to Cumberland, where he remained some time, repairing the town of Carlisle with new walls. These were the deeds of King Stephen, in the third year of his reign. In the 4th year, Maud, the Empress, came to England with an army, to recover her heritage; and left behind her, Geoffrey, her husband, with her young son, in Anjou. At her coming, both the Earls of Chester and Gloucester, with many other their friends, came to her support: and because the remainder of the nobles supported King Stephen, the decision of this dispute continued, in a long war in England, with several changes of fortune. In the meantime, Henry, her son, married Eleanor, who was heir of the Duchy of Touraine and of the earldoms of Poitiers and Mans: from which, he was provided with a great army, and came to England. Nonetheless, when the armies were ready to join, peace was made in this manner: "Henry should have a part of the lands pertaining to the crown of England, to sustain him, during the life of King Stephen; and after his death, to succeed to the whole rule of England." This Eleanor was married, before, to Louis, Dauphin of France; and parted with him, because she was conjoined to him in proximity of blood. She bore to this Henry, a son, named Richard; who was, afterwards heir to England, Normandy, Anjou, and Gascony, by right of his father; and was heir to the Duchy of Touraine, Poitiers, and Mans, by his mother.

While these things were done in England, Henry, son to King David of Scotland, died, greatly lamented by the people; and left behind him, as we have said before, three young sons. He was buried in the Abbey of Kelso, the year from our redemption, 1152. The death of this Henry was very upsetting to King David; for he was a prince of singular virtue and good manners. After the death of Henry, the nobles convened forth from all parts of Scotland, to make consolation to King David for the sorrow that he felt for the death of his son. Yet, because Henry left behind him 3 sons and 3 daughters alive, they thought the realm well garrisoned. King David, seeing his nobles very sorrowful and heavy for the death of his son, called them to a banquet, and said: "Dear friends, your true faith, and persevering diligence for my welfare, is very patent this day; even if I had not experienced it in time past: for I see your minds given to me, with no less compassion for my sorrow, than as if any of your own sons had died. You are coming to make me consolation for the sorrow that I have taken in the death of my son: and because we cannot give you appropriate thanks at this time, we will postpone it until we may do it more suitably; for now it is enough to say, that everything that is in me, both body and soul, is indebted to you. Further, concerning the matter that you have come for, showing your humanity towards me, you may have my mind in few words: My parents, whom I believe added to the number of Saints, for their singular and devoted life, have taught me, in my youth, to worship God with all reverence, who does nothing in vain, but disposes everything, by his infinite wisdom, to some good end. When I consider these wise and godly commandments of my parents, both adversity and good chance are accepted by me in equal balance. Our

father, our mother, brothers, and sisters, have passed from this fragile life, and we must follow them: and since we are mortal, all adversity should be patiently suffered by us, unless we, by sinful life, should doom ourselves to eternal death. I think, therefore, that I should rather rejoice that God gave me a son, by his special favour, who has obtained the benevolence of all people by his good behaviour, than to sorrow in his death; for what injury is it, though I ask the goods from you, which you have possessed long time by my tolerance? And yet, I believe that I shall not be long parted from my son; trusting, by the will of Him that is the most puissant King, to be suddenly brought to him and those of my friends, who are now of more pre-eminance and glory, than ever they were in this sorrowful vale. Now, I rejoice that the merciful God has given us certain hope to believe my son has passed to that permanent glory where we all hope to come; and praise God, that we may be worthy, when our souls must leave this corporal prison, to go to the happiness where, we trust, he is gone."

After this speech, the nobles went to their lodgings, having great admiration of the king's constant devotion. Soon after, King David caused Malcolm, eldest son of Henry described above, to be declared Prince of Scotland, and the nobles sworn to his support. After this, he went to Northumberland, and made William, his second grandson, Earl thereof. After this, he went to Carlisle, where he made Henry, Prince of England, knight; and had him take his oath, that he would never take Northumberland, Cumberland, nor Huntingdon, from the rule of the Scots. A short time after, King David fell into a serious illness, which stayed with him to the end of his life. And when he found himself feeble, he went to the church, and took the blessed body of Christ, with greatest reverence; and surrendered his happy soul to God, the 29th year of his reign, and was buried in Dunfermline, from the Incarnation, 1153 years.

This noble prince was no little commended in his time for his singular pity, which he had above any man in his realm, for the poor people. He had such prudence, that he not only purged his realm from corrupt and vicious scoundrels, but caused his servants to be exercised in virtuous occupations. Never vicious word was heard of his mouth; nor insolence within his house; no riotous banquetting, nor gluttonous feasting, happened in his company. All words, works, and doings of his servants were always directed to some good end, without any sedition or displeasure; with such charitable feeling and concord, that all his servants appeared under one mind and friendship.

In the time of King David there were many noble clerics: as Richard, Scotsman, Canon of Saint Victor's Abbey; where he was afterwards buried: Peter of Lombardy, Doctor of Theology, and Bishop of Paris. In those days also lived Gratian, that gathered all the *Decretals* together into in one volume.

And so ends here, the Twelfth book of these Chronicles.

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Book XIII.

*Here Begins the Thirteenth Book of the Chronicles of
Scotland.*

Chap. First.

Of King Malcolm the Maiden. Of great mortality and famine in Scotland. How King Henry took Malcolm, in his wars against France. And of several plots devised against Malcolm by the said Henry.



David having been buried in this way, his grandson Malcolm, got by Henry his son, being but 13 years of age, was made king: and though he was not suitable to sustain such a great charge, because of his tender age; yet he appeared, by his manners and virtue, to be a noble prince. He was nurtured, from his first youth, with so clean and holy a life, that he was named Malcolm the Maiden. In the first year of his rule, Henry, Prince of England, took the crown: through which, King Stephen took such melancholy, that he died.

At this time, there was a miserable famine, through all parts of Scotland. And soon after followed a violent plague, although it was not contagious, causing great mortality both of men and beasts. This mortality gave opportunity to Somerled to attempt a matter of higher business than seemed appropriate to his estate: and because he saw the one half of the realm slain by plague, and the other by hunger, he came with a huge force to seize the crown; and slew, or else destroyed, all them that he found opposing him. But his attempts were not long unpunished; for Gilchrist, Earl of Angus, slew 2,000 of his army, and chased him to Ireland.

Henry, the second of that name, King of England, hearing that King Malcolm had defeated his enemies in this way, feared that it would give him occasion to be insolent, and attack England with battle: and therefore, with the approval of his nobles, he sent a herald to King Malcolm, charging him to come to London, to make homage and service to him for the lands of Cumberland, Northumberland, and Huntingdon, as David, his grandfather, did before to Henry the First; with a promise, if he failed, he would take from him all the said lands. King Malcolm obeyed this command; howbeit, it was under this condition, "That it should not be prejudicial to the liberty of Scotland." King Henry was at war, at this time, against Louis the 6th, King of France; and constrained King Malcolm to go with him to France: for though King Malcolm had a safe-conduct to come and go, yet he might not disobey King Henry's command at that time. Also, he was meek, and more desirous of peace than of war: and though he knew it detestable and injurious to go to war against his allied friend, the King of France; yet he thought, because he was forced, he might have sufficient matter to excuse himself, when the opportunity arose. Thus he obeyed King Henry in all points. In this expedition, King Henry attacked France with great injuries, and besieged the town of Toulouse; and took with him King Malcolm, in all his expeditions and wars: so that King Malcolm should incur such hatred and indignation from the Frenchmen, that they might dissolve the treaty between them and the Scots. At last, King Henry, broken with great slaughter of his nobles, returned to England, and allowed Malcolm to go to Scotland.

King Malcolm, after his returning, sent his ambassadors to make his obedience to the Pope: and after their returning, a convention was held at Scone, in which the lords reproved King Malcolm, that he, in his vain folly, bore armour and weapons against Frenchmen, their allied friends. King Malcolm excused him with humble

words, saying, He came unsuspecting into King Henry's hands, and could not resist his wishes for that time: and believed, therefore, the King of France should have little hatred against him for that matter, if he understood the truth.

King Henry, not satisfied that he gave occasion of sedition between Malcolm and his nobles in times past; but to renew it with greater displeasure, he caused King Malcolm to return again to York. After his returning thereto, he complained to his nobles, that King Malcolm revealed all the secrets of his army to the French, to no little damage and slaughter of his people; and said, therefore, that was sufficient reason to deprive him of the lands of Cumberland, Huntingdon, and Northumberland. Though King Malcolm, with many sufficient arguments, declared these accusations were untrue: yet King Henry, before King Malcolm's return to Scotland, sent word to the nobles thereof, that King Malcolm had renounced all claim that he had to the said lands; to make him odious to all his realm and lieges. As soon as he had returned to Scotland, many of the nobles conspired against him, and besieged him in the castle of Perth, although, he knew nothing of the injuries wrought against him by deceit of the English. Nonetheless, when they knew the truth, they scattered from the siege, and asked him mercy. King Malcolm, moved by these injuries, and seeing his lands withheld unjustly from him, raised his army, and attacked England with several inroads. At last, after several battles, a convention was made at Carlisle and peace made in this manner: "Northumberland shall pass under the rule of King Henry; but Cumberland and Huntingdon shall remain, as before, under the rule of Malcolm."

Chap. Second.

How King Malcolm punished sundry Conspirators; and how the Murrays, for their rebellion, were disinherited, and put out of Moray.

This trouble being calmed as described above, there followed another: although it was less serious. Angus, Thane of Galloway, seeing his ambitions could not be obtained peacefully, came with a great company to usurp the crown. Nonetheless, his army was defeated by Gilchrist, Earl of Angus; and himself chased to Whithorn, where a sanctuary is dedicated in honour of Saint Ninian. King Malcolm would not break the sanctuary: nonetheless, he commanded a guard to wait on this Angus so long, until he came willingly. King Malcolm, to punish his insolence, and so that he should not have occasion to do such attempts in times coming, confiscated the most part of his lands, and took his son as hostage for his good behaviour in future. Angus, seeing that he could not sustain his estate when his lands were taken from him, shaved his head in Holyrood House, and died a canon thereof.

Not long after, there arose another similar trouble. The Murrays, by the advice of Gildo, their captain, raided Ross, Boghall, Mar, Garoch, Buchan, and Mearns; and slew the king's servants who were sent to inquire the motive of these injuries. To punish these actions, King Malcolm sent Gilchrist, Earl of Angus, with an army, to Moray: nonetheless, the Murrays put him to flight. King Malcolm, notwithstanding this discomfiture, came with displayed banner over the Spey, and defeated the Murrays in several victories: and in punishment of their offences, he commanded none of them to be spared, except wives, children, and aged persons; to be an example to all his other subjects, not to move rebellion against him in times coming. The Murrays being, in this way, nearly destroyed in all parts of the realm; the king commanded new people to be set down in their lands, for the inhabitation thereof.

In the meantime, Somerled, Thane of Argyll, who was banished, as we have said, to Ireland; thinking King Malcolm was odious to his nobles and commoners for his cruelty against the Murrays, thought it expedient to try a new chance of fortune, and returned with certain unarmed men to Scotland. But his attempts came to a worse end than before; for he was vanquished, and hanged on a gibbet, by command of King Malcolm.

Chap. Third.

***How the Bishop of Saint Andrew's urged Malcolm to marry.
Of several deeds done by King Malcolm; and of his death.***

Malcolm, free of all danger and need for fighting enemies in all parts, set his energies to govern his realm in justice. And because he had two sisters ready for marriage, named Margaret and Ada, he married the first to the Duke of Brittany, and the other to the Earl of Holland. Such things done, he held a council at Scone for certain matters concerning the common good. The nobles being assembled, a man of singular prudence, named Arnold, Bishop of Saint Andrew's, arose up, and said: "There is a thing, most noble prince, that I would say for the common good, praying, therefore, your Highness to give ears thereto; for it shall pertain no less to your personal honour than the common good. Not long ago you decided to pass your time without fruit of marriage. And since you took this purpose in your tender youth, although it was by zeal of virtue, yet, if you give ears to me, who never exhorted you to vain purpose, you will change your mind, as unprofitable to the governance of your realm; for what thing may be more honourable than marriage, which was not instituted by Minos, King of Crete; nor Ligurgus, King of Lacedemon; nor Solon of Athens: although they were most civil and prudent men in their constitutions: but only by God, as most honourable and profitable to the nature of man. And if that wise and prudent beginner of the world had found any other thing more profitable than marriage, he would have commanded it for the welfare of man. Also, what is more profitable than it, that brings all living creatures in the world? What is then more natural than conjunction of male and female? And though you would allege, Christ and many of his Saints lived chaste; I say, such life is not ordained for public persons, nor yet for every state, but only for religious men, and preachers of the laws: but you are chosen to another office; that is to say, to govern your people in justice, and to leave heirs of your body, that may profit the common good after your death. What thing may be more pleasing or profitable to you, than to have a lady as your fellow, who may give you consolation in every sorrow or adversity that may fall; to do you pleasure in your health; to calm you when you are angry; to cure your body, and refresh your spirit, when you are weary? And do not despair, for some lady can be found very agreeable to your conditions. Other private persons might have solicitude or great distress in essaying such things, but you should have no fear thereof. Finally, what thing is more sweet and pleasing to kings and princes, than to have children of their bodies? Who are most necessary to them in war and peace: in peace, that the common good may be governed most faithfully by them: in time of war, that they may be their lieutanants and invincible champions; and bear such responsibilities, that they shall be no less a terror to your foes, than a weapon for to your people. Therefore, said the prudent and wise philosophers, men are not come into this world only for their own welfare, but partly for the welfare of their friends and their children, and partly for the welfare of their realm and country; especially those that are made public persons by God and nature. Therefore, since nothing is so commendable, so honourable, nor yet so profitable to them that have the public governance, as to leave heirs behind them, for the common good; trust finally, you shall not do a thing more displeasing to God, than to defraud your realm of heirs."

When Bishop Arnold had argued with these and many other reasons to persuade the king to marriage, the king was more repugnant to it than before; for he was instituted so in his youth, that he dedicated his virginity to Christ. Nonetheless,

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God provided that the realm should not want heirs to govern the same in justice. Not long after, King Malcolm fell into a serious illness; and because of this, he was constrained to make peace with his neighbours. And, in the meantime, he founded the abbey of Saint Regulus, now called Saint Andrew's, which is built, as we see, with great magnificence. But he endowed it with small rents, sufficient enough to sustain divine service; and, therefore, the Canons of the said abbey lived then in most fervent devotion and service of God, because they had no temptation to lusts by superfluous rents; not given to avarice and pleasure, but to their devotions. He founded also, the abbey of Cupar, for the Cistercians, and endowed it in the honour of the blessed Virgin Mary, with many lands and possessions. At this time, Thomas of Canterbury, a man of singular life and devotion, was exiled out of England. King Malcolm, finally, vexed with long infirmity, died at Jedburgh, the 12th year of his reign. A comet shone fourteen days together before his death, with long and terrible beams. His body was buried in Dunfermline; from the Incarnation, 1165 years.

Chap. Fourth.

Of King William, and his acts. How the Scots sustained more harm from thieves, than by external wars. How King William was taken at Alnwick.

Malcolm having been buried in this manner in Dunfermline, William, his brother, called, for his singular justice, The Lion, was made king. After his coronation, he thought nothing so honourable, as to recover the lands taken before from his brother, King Malcolm; and sent his ambassadors to King Henry, desiring Northumberland to be restored to him, because it pertained to him by natural heritage. King Henry answered, He should have all things pertaining to him by reason, provided he would, as his elders did before, come to London, and make homage for the lands of Cumbria and Huntingdon. King William soon after came to London; and when he had made his obedience for the said lands, he desired Northumberland to be restored to him. King Henry refused, saying, The lands, which were annexed to the crown, might not be severed from there by any private authority. Notwithstanding, he promised to convene his nobles to a council, to fulfill his wishes, if they were found reasonable, when a more expedient time occurred. In the meantime, King Henry went with an army in Normandy, and caused King William, with many other nobles of Scotland, to go with him in the expedition. King William would not refuse these commands at this time, in case the same was the pretext to refuse his desires. At last, when he had tarried a long time in this army, and had no hope of recovering his lands, he asked permission to return home: which being with great difficulty granted, King William, with his nobles, came through England the quickest way he could, to Scotland, and set his talent to punish the cruelties done by thieves and traitors of his realm. This act, by my estimation, was the most profitable thing that he might have done; for if any wise men will consider both the damage and commodities of this realm, they shall find the injury and damage done by thieves, are more displeasing and harmful to us than any wars with England: for often we find innocent people and travellers murdered by the thieves, for little booty, in their voyage. And yet these harms are but small, compared other cruelties and injuries done by these thieves. When they are gathered, they burn the country, and slay the commoners, who may not resist them; with many other cruelties, more insufferable to us than any foreign wars, although they are not done so openly. Also, the slaughter and raids made by foreign wars, are not so miserable and unworthy to be described, as these cruelties done by strong thieves and traitors. For in every chance of battle is some consideration concerning the estate of all people; but these bloody butchers and thieves make raids and slaughter, without any mercy, wherever they come. And therefore, the prudence of this noble prince, in defeating such strong scoundrels, was more to be commended, than if he had have slain many thousands of foreign enemies.

Such things done, King William sent his ambassadors to King Henry, desiring Northumberland, as before, to be restored to him; certifying, if the same were not done with favour, it would be taken by force of battle. King Henry, seeing that he had either to leave Northumberland, or else to fight with set battle against the Scots; after consulting with his nobles, restored King William to so much of Northumberland as was held before by Malcolm, his grandfather. King William thought this offer not to be refused: although, he would not cede the right that he had to the whole lands. And yet King Henry, within few years after, regretted this contract: and, to recover the said lands, he persuaded the remainder of the Northumbrians, who stood under his rule, to

provoke the Scots, by frequent raids, to battle; that he might have some occasion to attack the Scots, and recover the lands of Huntingdon, Cumberland, and Northumberland, to his rule. As soon as these injuries and raids were made on the Scots, the Warden of the Scots Border desired restitution: and, because nothing was done according to justice, the Wardens raised great companies, and made raids and slaughter on either side. Yet, because King Henry was at this time in France, and the harvest to be gathered, both sides were content, to defend their own, without any further attack on the other, until the next year.

The next summer, King William came with an army to Cumberland. The right wing was given to Gilchrist, who, for his singular courage and virtue, proven often in the time of King Malcolm, had married his sister. The left wing was given to a cousin of the king, named Rowland. In the centre was King William. While the Scots were arraying themselves in this manner, King Henry sent a herald to King William, desiring him to withdraw his army, without any further invasion; and he would redress all expenses made by his wars. King William answered, That he raised not his army for desire of money, nor yet gave the first occasion of battle; but was always content to have lived on his own. And further, he was not so inhumane, nor desirous of blood, but he would gladly withdraw his army, provided that the lands, which pertained to him by just heritage, were restored. At last, when King William had wasted all Cumberland, he came to Alnwick in Northumberland, where he stayed many days, hoping to have battle with the Englishmen. In the meantime, the Englishmen lay so close together, without any noise or din, that no Scotsmen knew where they were. King William, irked with long residence at Alnwick, and seeing no enemies appear, decided, before his returning to Scotland, to do some notable honour; and sent all his army here and there, with most awful and warlike incursions through the country: and left none but a few people with himself, until they returned. Immediately, a force of Englishmen came on him, with standards of Scotland, and were not suspected for Englishmen, until the king was surrounded with them on each side, and finally taken away, before any Scotsman knew, save only a small company, who were left, as we have said, with him for the time. King William was taken in this way, at Alnwick, the 13th day of July, the 10th year of his reign; from the Incarnation, 1174 years. Not long after, he was brought to King Henry, as prisoner, in Normandy. And, notwithstanding this trouble that fell to King William, because no slaughter was made at his taking, the wars continued still between England and Scotland: until at last peace was made, under these conditions: "During the captivity of King William, Northumberland shall remain under the dominion of Englishmen; and Cumberland and Huntingdon shall remain, as before, under the rule of the Scots."

Chap Fifth.

How Saint Thomas of Canterbury was martyred. How King William was ransomed. How Gilbert defended the liberty of Scotland against the Papal Legate. Of several marvels; and how the Abbeys of Arbroath and Haddington were founded.

At this time, Thomas, Bishop of Canterbury, who was banished before, for his obstinacy in defence of the liberty of holy church, was reconciled with King Henry, by the request of several great princes. But this reconciling resulted in his great harm: for within a short time after, King Henry, very impatient to sustain the hatred within his breast, which he had conceived against Saint Thomas; sent his associates and household men, named William Breton, Hugh Morville, William Trace, and Reginald Fitzuese, and they slew this holy bishop, at the mass within his church of Canterbury, before the high altar of Saint Benedict, upon the sixth day following the nativity of Christ. The year next following, King Henry, returning out of Ireland, after he had put it to great affliction, for rebellion against his rule, arrived in Normandy, and came to the cathedral church of Rouen; where he, by solemn oath, purged himself of the murder of Saint Thomas. And yet, within few days after, he become so penitent, that he came in his linen clothes to the sepulchre of Saint Thomas, and, with many salt tears, asked mercy for his murder. The third year after, Saint Thomas was canonised by Pope Alexander, and added to the number of Saints.

In this year, there appeared a marvellous star standing still in the West, both day and night; with many other stars about the same.

When the wretched fate of King William was divulged through the realm, his brother, David, Earl of Leicester, by authority of King Henry, came to Scotland, to govern the realm, until his brother was redeemed. As soon as he had secured the realm in good justice, he sent Richard, Bishop of Saint Andrew's, with many other nobles, in Normandy, to King Henry; and paid King William's ransom, in this way: "King William should pay a hundred thousand pounds sterling for his redemption: the first half to be paid with ready silver; and for certain payment of this other half, he shall give Cumbria, Huntingdon, and Northumberland as a pledge, until the remainder of his ransom was paid to the King of England. Also, King William should move no war against England, for retention of these lands from his rule. And for the more security of these premises, four of the strongest castles within Scotland, that is to say, Berwick, Edinburgh, Roxburgh, and Stirling, should be delivered into Englishmen's hands."

Such things done, there followed new trouble in Scotland; for Gilbert of Galloway, a cruel and wretched man, decided to seize the crown, and made great slaughter and raids on all those that opposed him. He put out his brother's eyes, and cut off his hands, because he reproved his faults. Nonetheless, Gilchrist came soon against him with an army, and chased him to Ireland.

In the year following, Hugo, Cardinal of Sant Angelo, was sent by the Pope to reform the churches of England. As soon as he had reformed them, he came to Scotland, and summoned all the bishops thereof to Northampton. After they had convened, he began to persuade them, with long speech, to obey to the Archbishop of York: saying, All other realms had a bishop, to hear their complaints; that they might avoid great expense and labours in remitting their cases to Rome. And because there

was no metropolitan church in Scotland, where they might convene for consultation, it would be best to obey the Archbishop of York; for in that way they might avoid unnecessary expenses, having the decision of their actions done conveniently by their Superior. To this answered Gilbert, a young man of great erudition, who was sent by the king, to allow nothing prejudicial to be done to his realm by this cardinal; and said: "Scotland, since it first took the faith of Christ, was never subjected to any other bishop, except to Christ's vicar: and, therefore, it was a thing very unreasonable to this cardinal, to desire the Scots to be subjected to Englishmen, considering each one of them was continually at war with the other. Although, it appeared more honourable to agree concord or peace among them, than to give occasion of battle. Also, nothing was done by the bishops of Scotland, worthy to deprive them of their liberty: and if any wrongs were done in Scotland, they might be decided sufficiently within the realm, by civil or prudent men; and if any great charges occurred, they could be decided by the king." For these and similar reasons, he desired our holy father the Pope, not to subject the realm of Scotland to any jurisdiction or rule of their enemies, considering it never offended against his see. Because this Gilbert defended the liberty of Scotland so well, he was made Bishop of Caithness; and for his holy life, he was added to the number of Saints.

Several marvels were seen, this year, in Albion. On Midsummer's day, called the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, was such a vehement shower of hail, that it slew many small cattle. The people that were out of doors, at this time, were stricken to the ground, by the violence of the same. In September, the sun was obscured of his light, at noon, for two hours, without any eclipse or interposition of clouds. In Yorkshire, there was such great thunder, with unheard-of flames, that many abbeys and churches were burned by the same.

Not long after this time, the Abbey of Arbroath, of the order of Saint Benedict was built, and dedicated to Saint Thomas of Canterbury, and endowed by King William most richly; from our redemption, 1178 years. The same time, the Abbey of Haddington was founded, by Ada, Queen, King William's mother; who died soon after it was endowed.

Chap. Sixth.

***How Pope Alexander sent to King William a rose full of balm.
How Gilchrist was deprived of his lands for the murder of his
wife. Of great cruelties done by Turks to Christian people.
How King William defeated the thieves, and Gilchrist returned
to favour.***

A short time afterwards, King William sent ambassadors, to make his obeisance to Pope Alexander the Third. The Pope soon after sent to King William a golden rose, full of balm, with several new privileges concerning the liberty of holy church. The same time, Gilchrist slew his wife, for suspicion that he had against her of adultery. King William, moved by this crime, banished him out of Scotland, and cast down his house to the ground. This Gilchrist had a brother, named Bredus, who, before this trouble, got the lands of Ogilvy; of whom the Ogilvies took their beginning.

At this time, King Henry returned the Castle of Edinburgh, by request of the Bishop of Durham, to King William. This William, after death of his first wife, married Ermengarde, daughter to the Earl of Beaumont; who was got on King William, the Bastard of Normandy's sister. By this marriage and alliance, the peace was confirmed between Scotland and England, in this manner, that none of them might harbour other rebels within their realms. Thus was Gilchrist, who was banished before to England, for his wife's murder, constrained to return to Scotland: where he and his two sons lived long time a miserable life, unknown, for their poor habits, to any people, among the woods and caves of the country.

At this time, the Sultan attacked the Holy Land with heavy wars, and recovered Jerusalem, with many other towns, which were that time under dominion of Christian men. The cruelty of this Sultan raged so far, that he could not be satiated with the blood of Christian people: for by him were slain, 30,000 foot soldiers; 1,200 horsemen, and all such as were bishops, prelates, and masters of hospitals. The fame of these miserable calamities, when they were divulged, made the people lament with sorrowful mourning. Also, an incredible number of noblemen were held in captivity, who sent their friends to all Christian princes, for support, for their redemption, and described the misery and displeasures that they suffered; their towns besieged, and themselves brought into captivity: whose infinite sorrows were so insupportable, that they moved every people to pity and tears. King Henry, moved by these insufferable cruelties done to Christian people, promised to come quickly, with an army, to their support. But his purpose was prevented by several troubles which followed in his realm: for his son Henry, who was crowned by him before, conspired, with the assistance of several princes of his realm, to depose him from the crown. Thus he was constrained to cease from his wholesome purpose.

At this time. King William came to Ross, and punished MacElyn and MacBain, with many other wicked scoundrels of the Isles. Such things done, King William came to Arbroath, and commanded the craftsmen to cease not for expenses; that it might rise with great magnificence, to the honour of God. At his returning to the castle of Perth, he saw, by chance, Gilchrist, with his two sons, cutting turf for their meat, not knowing who they were; for they were disguised: nonetheless, he marvelled that such pleasing young men as they appeared, were occupied with such

vile labour. Immediately, Gilchrist, with his head bare, fell on his knees before him, and said, "If you have any mercy for lost men in you, most merciful prince, when they are punished suitably for their offence; I beseech you, for the love that Christ had to all sinful people, when he spared not to shed his precious blood for their redemption, to have pity on me, and these my miserable sons; who have suffered greatly with me, without having committed any crime." At last, when King William had inquired him who he was, and how he was brought into such misery, the tears fell so fast from his eyes, with continual sighs, that for a long time he could not say, who he was. At last he said, "I am Gilchrist, most wretched and sorrowful creature on earth, which, alas! put my hands in your blood, and was therefore deprived of all my lands, and exiled to England, with these my two sons. And because I could not suffer the shameful injuries done to me by the Englishmen, taunting me daily with the great felicity that I had once, for my derision; and also, for the laws made lately against outlaws of other realms; I was constrained to come here, with my sons: where we live on the roots of herbs in summer, and cut turf, as you see, to sustain ourselves in the winter. Wherefore, if any pity or mercy is in your heart, or if your indignation is calmed by the passage of a long time, have mercy on our sorrowful life, and pardon us for our offence; for we desire not to be restored to our heritage and honour, but only to your favour and grace. And if you will condescend to do this, you shall not only acquire great honour and fame by this example of pity, but be a renowned prince among all people, and win great merit before God, showing yourself the follower of Christ, the giver of mercy and peace."

The king, moved by these words, and remembering the great courage which Gilchrist had so oft proven before, in several dangers, for the honour and common good of Scotland, and seeing him cast down from great honour into supreme misery; not only pardoned all his offences, but piteously embraced him in his arms, and commanded him to be of good comfort; then gave him a horse and money, to follow him to Forfar, where he restored him and his two sons to all their lands, except those which were given before, by King William, to the Abbey of Arbroath. After this, Gilchrist persevered in good faith and obedience to the king: and because his eldest son died without any heirs, and his other son unable to marry, he gave much of his heritage to Arbroath. After his death, his son was of no less devotion; for he gave the remainder of his lands to the said abbey: and, therefore, Gilchrist, and his two sons, are buried in the said abbey, before Saint Katherine's altar; as their superscription shows. And though King William was given, in this way, to the building of the said abbey; yet he left nothing undone that might pertain to a good prince, and governed his realm in justice, applying his mind to reward all good men and virtuous persons, and to punish scoundrels. He made several laws to punish thieves and oppressors of the country, which were too lengthy to put in this book.

Chap. Seventh.

How King William recovered his lands. How Richard, King of England, and Philip, King of France, went with great armies in Judea. Of their honourable deeds and setbacks. How Earl David returned out of the Holy Land, and founded Lindors.

While such things were done in Scotland, King Henry, the Empress' son, died in England: to whom succeeded his son Richard; for Henry, his first son, was dead. King Richard, after his coronation, full of courage and spirit, gathered a strong army to go to the Holy Land; and made peace with all his neighbours, so that no trouble should follow in his realm by his absence. Before his journey, he surrendered Berwick, Roxburgh, and Stirling to King William; with so much of Northumberland as was taken from him before, in this last battle at Alnwick. He gave over all the lands of Cumberland and Huntingdon, under these conditions: "The fortifications and strongholds thereof shall remain under his captains; and the remaining lands thereof to be inhabited by the Scots." Also, to have the more benevolence of the Scots, he discharged the remainder of King William's ransom, except 10,000 pounds, which he took only to support his wars. And when King William had received all his lands and castles in this manner, he made his brother David Earl of Huntingdon; and sent him, with 5,000 men, to support King Richard in his wars. King Richard left his brother John Governor of England, until his return; and made his sister's son, Arthur, Duke of Normandy, to be heir to the crown of England, failing succession of him and his brother.

Not long after. King Richard came, with many noblemen, dukes, earls, barons, to Marseille, a port of Provence; where he raised sail, with 101 ships, to go to Jerusalem: from our redemption, 1191 years. In the same manner, Philip, King of France, came out of the port of Genoa, with many noblemen, spiritual and temporal; and arrived at Acre, a great town of Judea, which was that time under the rule of Saracens, and besieged it closely. While King Philip was lying thus at the siege of Acre, King Richard arrived in the isle of Cyprus; and decided, before he went any further, to purge the same of Christ's enemies. Soon after, he displayed his banner, and came with bloody sword through the said isle; and finally, took the King of Cyprus, with his daughter, prisoners. And when he had delivered this isle to Christian people, he raised sail, to meet King Philip at Acre; and, by chance, met a fleet of Saracens by the entry to the harbour, who were coming to the support of the said town: and, after long and terrible battle, he sank a large part of the Saracens in the sea, and put the remainder to flight; then went forward to King Philip. The siege continued a long time at this town, through the great defence that the Saracens made; although the outer walls were broken in several parts, by force of rams, and other instruments of warfare. At last, King Philip fell into such an infirmity, that he was constrained to return to France. Nonetheless, King Richard determined, not to depart from the siege of Acre, until it was taken. In the meantime, a Scot named Oliver happened to be in the said town; for he was banished before out of Scotland, and fled to the Saracens: and, by long conversation with them, he had their language perfectly, none of them knowing what he was. This Oliver was then soldier in a tower of this town, where no trenches nor outwalls were beyond it. He happened, by adventure, to see among the watch of Earl David of Huntingdon, one of his kinsmen, named John Durward, with whom he was acquainted a long time before; and immediately, he called on him by name, desiring, under safe-conduct, to converse with him. After certain discussion,

this Oliver set an hour to give Earl David, with all his army, entrance into the town; provided that Earl David would restore him to his land and heritage in Scotland. The hour set, Earl David came, with a great force of men, to the tower described above, where he entered with his army; and immediately, with great noise and clamour, he came through the town, with great slaughter of all people found in it. King Richard seeing, on the following day, the Scots standard on the walls, entered the town; and within a short time after, brought a great castle, which stood not far from this town, to ruin. Also, he would have taken many other great towns and strongholds of Judea, which were taken before from Christian men, by cruelty of the Saracens, had not a wicked contention arisen between Englishmen and Frenchmen, from desire of honours. At last, when King Richard had destroyed this town of Acre, and was returning to Italy, a sudden tempest scattered his navy: through which he was destitute of friends, and finally, by the treachery of certain evil Christian men, he was brought to Henry, Emperor. The ship that Earl David was in, was so broken by raging tempest, that many of them who were in her perished, and he narrowly escaped with his life. After this, he was taken by the inhabitants of this land, and brought to Alexandria, where he was held long time in prison: until at last he was bought by merchants of Venice, and brought to Constantinople. Not long after, he was brought to Venice, where he was redeemed by merchants of England, and brought to Flanders; and there he raised sail, to return to Scotland: and, when he was little departed from the land, he was driven, by an unmerciful tempest, not far from Norway and Shetland, with incredible danger. Finally, when he had made a vow to build a church in the honour of the Virgin Mary, if he were fortunate to escape the danger of seas, he arrived in Tay, beside Dundee, not far from Saint Nicholas' Chapel, without any rudder or rigging; and gave thanks to God and the Blessed Virgin for delivering him from such extreme peril. The place where he arrived was called Allectum; but after his coming, it changed name, and was called Dundee, which signifies, in our language, the Gift of God. King William, hearing the returning of his brother, whom he believed had died many years before, came with the greatest diligence to Dundee, and embraced him; then gave thanks to God and the Blessed Virgin Mary, that delivered his brother from so many dangers. After this, he had general processions made through the realm, to give thanks to God for the happy returning of his brother.

Such things done, a convention was held at Dundee; in which, licence was given to Earl David to build an abbey in whatever place he pleased in Scotland, and to endow it with lands and rents at his pleasure. King William gave many privileges to Dundee, which endure to these days. David, not refusing the benevolence of his brother, built an abbey, called Lindor, for the order of Saint Benedict. In that place there is a very marvellous thing: no man is hurt in that abbey by adders. These adders lie in the midst of a vale, surrounded with wood and running water: through which, they burgeon plentifully than ever was seen in any other parts. Although, no man gets injury thereof: for we have seen young children play among them, without any damage or hurt following.

Chap. Eighth

How King Richard returned to England. How King William punished great scoundrels in his realm. Of the birth of Prince Alexander. Of the Coronation of King John. How the Pope sent a sword to King William.

King Richard, a short time after, was redeemed with such a huge ransom, that most of the silver and golden vessels of England was made into coin for his redemption. Thus he was finally delivered, and received in England with great triumph. King William, when he heard of the return of King Richard to England, came with his brother Earl David to London, and gave to him two thousand marks sterling; for he had wasted all his money by payment of his ransom and wars. By these generous acts, there followed great friendship and tenderness between the two kings.

In the meantime, King William fell into great infirmity while in England: and, because the people believed in his death, there arose great trouble in all parts of Scotland: for several scoundrels, trusting that all justice would expire by his death, attacked the people with raids and slaughter in all parts. Not long after, King William recovered from his infirmity, and returned to Scotland with such diligence, that many of these scoundrels were taken, and punished according to their crimes. The principal mover, named Harold, was brought to the king: first his eyes were put out, then he was castrated, and hanged, afterwards, upon a gallows. Also, all his friends were gelded in the same manner, that no heirs should follow of them in times coming.

In the following year, was more dearth than ever was seen before; for a bushel of barley might scarcely be bought for 5 crowns. And in the next year, which was from the Incarnation 1199, there was more abundance and plenty than ever was heard before. In this year, King William's wife, named Ermengarde, was delivered of Prince Alexander. The same year, King Richard of England died; to whom John, his brother, succeeded. The 3rd year following, Alexander was made Prince of Scotland. The same year, a legate was sent from the Pope, to King William; and presented to him a sword, with hilts and sheath of gold, set with many precious stones. This legate also presented a tiara, made like a diadem, of purple hue; to signify that he was defender of the faith. At this time, many indulgences and privileges were granted by the Pope, for the advantage of holy church in Scotland. It was commanded by King William, that Saturday should be held holiday, from 12 hours at noon onwards; which should be told to the people by the sound of a bell: and no ordinary work to be exercised from that time forth until Monday; and the people to persevere only in divine service. Great punishment was ordained for them that were found rebelling thereto.

Chap. Ninth.

How King William and King John were allied by marriage. Of King William's holy life, and liberality to the Church. How the Town of Perth began.

After this, King William returned to London, to make his homage for the lands of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntingdon. As soon as he had made his homage, King John desired him to go with him to France, against King Philip. And because he refused, because of the treaty that his elders made before with France, King John claimed again his lands foresaid, and took a great number of goods out of the same, as compensation for the profit forgone. Nonetheless, the nobles of England, knowing it would be very difficult to have war both with France and Scotland at once, caused all the said goods to be restored. In the year following, there was such vehement frost in Scotland, that no plough might be put in the land before the middle of March: also, the ale was so frozen, that it was sold by pound weight. After which, there followed a huge snow, to the great mortality of cattle. Also, a continual trembling and earthquake followed, from the Epiphany Day^{<100>} to February.

After this winter, King John ended his wars on France: and, to have occasion of battle against the Scots, he began to build a castle against Berwick. King William, informed whereof, sent his ambassadors to King John, desiring him to seek no occasion of battle, and to build no strongholds against him: and because he got nothing but rejection of his wishes, he came with a great force, and cast down the castle. King John, to revenge these injuries, raised an army, to come to Scotland; and King William, to prevent his incursion, came to the Borders. Yet, when both the armies were ready to fight, they were parted by the intervention of prudent men. Finally, both the armies dispersed, and the two kings came to York; where peace and friendship was confirmed between them, under these conditions:

"King William's two daughters, named Isobel and Margaret, should marry two sons of King John, named Henry and Richard; so that, if one died, the other should succeed to the crown of England: for which King William should give sufficient dowry. Also, the castle that was cast down lately by King William, should remain so, never to be rebuilt in times coming. As a guarantee for the observation of all these articles, nine noblemen of Scotland should be delivered to King John." In this convention, King William resigned the lands of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntingdon, into the hands of King John, so that his son, Prince Alexander, would be granted them. For a similar custom was observed, in possession of their lands by Scotland, that they should be held of the King of England; and homage to be made to him and his successors, by all Scots kings that enjoyed and occupied them for the time.

After these two kings were at their council at York, there was brought to them a child of great beauty, heir to several lands of England; yet he was troubled with a marvellous infirmity: for one of his eyes was consumed by flux of evil humours; his hand withered away; and he had no power of his tongue, nor yet his one side. The physicians, seeing him have such contrary infirmities, and not knowing the cause thereof, judged him incurable. Nonetheless, King William made a cross over him, and restored him, immediately, to his health. Several believed this done by miracle of God, that the virtue of this noble man should not be hid, nor unknown to the people.

Not long after, King William returned to Scotland, and endowed the churches of Newbattle, Melrose, Dunfermline, and Aberdeen, with several lands. He founded a new bishopric, called Argyll, with lands sufficient to sustain it. Such things done. King William went to the castle of Perth; and within a few days afterwards, the Water of Tay and Almond arose with such terrible inundation and force, that it broke the walls of Perth, and drowned many of the people that was in it. And though King William narrowly escaped, with his wife, children, and friends; yet his young son, named John, perished, with his nurse, and several other persons that depended on him at the time. Thus arose no less dolour and lamentation, than is with the people when their towns are taken by enemies: for the force of raging waters appears to me more terrible and dangerous than any fire. For the fire increasess from a small beginning, and shows itself so soon, that it attacks the people more in their goods than in their bodies, and is soon quenched, where men are diligent. By contrary, no wit nor diligence of man may resist the inundation of waters; for it enters at doors and windows with such violence, that there is no remedy against it, unless a man find quickly ships or boats: and when such things cannot be got, though the people pass to the top of the house, yet they are not saved in that way; for the water goes above their heads, and puts them to miserable death. Thus several houses which once stood on land, are now nothing but sea.

King William, seeing the castle of Perth destroyed by inundation of water in this way, founded the town which was called, after, Perth, by a man of that name, who gave the ground where this town was built. King William, to cause the town to rise in honour and riches, gave several privileges to it. But now this town is called Saint Johnstone; it was founded, from our redemption, 1210 years.

Chap Tenth.

How King John subdued Ireland and Wales. How King William punished several Conspirators. How England and Ireland were made tributaries to the Pope. Of King William's Death; and how several orders of Friars began.

The year following, King John of England subdued the most part of Ireland to his rule; and the next year, he subjected all Wales. The same time, there arose great trouble in Caithness; for Gothred, son of MacWilliam, whose rebellion was described above, made great raids in Ross, and several other lands thereabouts. His company increased each day, by the assistance of sundry scoundrels of Lochaber and the Isles. To punish these deeds, King William sent the Earls of Fife, Atholl, and Buchan, with 6,000 men; and they, in a set battle, vanquished Gothred, and brought him prisoner to the king: who had him beheaded, with many others who were brought to him in the same way.

At this time, there arose a great dissension between King John of England and Pope Innocent the Third; as after follows. King John took, by general exaction, the tenth penny of all lands and fruits pertaining to the church, and punished them that were refused this with great cruelty: and because certain abbeys and bishoprics within his realm were not obedient, he took possession of all their lands, and not only took from them all their gold, silver, and jewels, but banished the religious men thereof. Pope Innocent, believing such cruelties not appropriate to Christian princes; so that other princes should not attack the church with similar avarice, urged King John, with many arguments, to desist from these extortions, and to redress all injuries done by him to the church. And because he could no way divert his mind from the same, he proclaimed him excommunicated, and deprived him, so far as he could, of all honour and dignity; making invocation to all Christian princes to come with their armies against him, for defence of the liberty of holy church. King John, seeing himself of no strength to resist so many armies devised against him in all parts, feigned himself penitent. And, to have absolution for the offence that he had committed against the church, he gave over the realms of England and Ireland to Pope Innocent, to pay yearly, until 7 years were gone, 10,000 marks sterling to the Pope and his successors, for the realms of England and Ireland; which pension is yearly paid, to our days. Such things done, King John and his realm was absolved from all censures laid against them.

A short time after, King William, broken by long age, died at Stirling, the 49th year of his reign; from our redemption, 1214 years; and was buried in Arbroath, before the high altar. The year before his death, two comets appeared, in the month of March, very terrible to the sight of people: one shone always before the sun rising, and the other before his setting. In the next year, a calf was seen in Northumberland, with head and neck like its own nature, and the rest of its body like a horse. In the next winter, two moons were seen in the sky, severed from each other, and horned naturally, as the moon is in her increasing or waning.

In the time of King William there were many noble clerics: as Dominicus, Spaniard, Canon of Saint Augustin's order; who, soon after, left the same, and began the order of friars, called Predicators. And in this time also lived Saint Francis, who began the orders of friars Minor, called Gray Friars; of whom there are now many richly built abbeys, in all parts of the world. At this time was Abbot Joachim of

Calabria, who wrote the *Commentaries* on the book of the Apocalypse. At the same time lived Rudolph, Archbishop of Cologne, who brought the bodies of the three kings out of Persia to Constantinople, and afterwards to Cologne; where they remain now, greatly venerated by the people. The same time, Peter Comestor wrote the *Ecclesiastic History*. Among us, there were in those days several holy men: as Udward, Bishop of Brechin; Eustatius, Abbot of Arbroath: who were excellent preachers. King William founded the Abbey of Balmerino, but it was endowed by Ermengarde, his wife. And about this time the monks of the Trinity were instituted, for the redemption of captives. Two of them were sent to Scotland by Pope Innocent; to whom King William gave his royal palace in Aberdeen, to build their abbey; and intended to give them several other things, if he had lived.

Chap. Eleventh.

Of King Alexander the Second, and his deeds. How King John of England oppressed the church with great exactions. How the Pope and priests were corrupted by his money to support him. How King Alexander renewed the treaty with France; and of the Death of King John.

After King William died, his son, Alexander the Second, was crowned at Scone. After his coronation, he went to Arbroath, where he remained 14 days, doing funeral obsequies for King William, his father; and commanded no plays nor banquets to be used for a year to come, so that the people might lament the death of his father with public mourning. The king's servants were clothed in dark clothes all the following year. The first convention that he held, was in Edinburgh, where he ratified all things done by his father. And after he had assigned certain lands to his mother, to sustain her royal estate, he assigned certain judges to remain in all towns of his realm, for the decision of uncertain matters, and execution of justice.

At this time, there arose great dissension between King John of England and his nobles: for he was so full of avarice, and burning desire to acquire goods, that he would admit no heir to their lands, until he had the income from their heritage for a year. He took yearly pensions from abbots and bishops, contrary to the liberty of holy church: and when any prelate died, he took all the rents of the office, until the successor entered. The prelates of England, refusing to tolerate such exactions, solicited several great princes to rise against the king; and finally, advanced their purpose so much, that both the Kings of France and Scotland promised to come to England to their support. King John, hearing such rebellion made against him, to avoid the present danger, made an agreement with his prelates; and promised, by his great oath, to repair all injuries done by him. Although, nothing thereof followed in effect: for he was so blinded with avarice, that he returned to his wickedness; and sent his ambassadors to Guala, a cardinal of Rome, complaining of the violence of his subjects against him, who, by their arguments, had persuaded the Kings of France and Scotland to attack him, in such a way, that he could not govern his realm in liberty. Pope Innocent, because he had a yearly pension from King John, was more easily convinced by this complaint, and promised to defend him with the greatest favour. In those days there were, as there are now, very avaricious people in the court of Rome; and therefore everything was granted that might bring any benefit to them, without consideration of reason or conscience. Among all such inordinate persons, none was more vicious nor covetous than Guala; for he disapproved nothing proposed by King John, where he might make any gain from it.

Now will we make a digression, and see how far the prelates and priests in old times were above the prelates in our days, in virtuous personal life: of whom the prelates now present bear nothing but the name, not following their life. For these old Fathers were given to imitation of Christ in poverty, piety, humility, and justice; drawing the people, by their fervent charity and continual preaching in the service of God, with equal affection to poor and rich: not arraying themselves with gold, silver, nor precious clothes; not attending at court, nor accompanied by warriors and whores; not striving to exceed the lust and insolence of princes, and doing nothing by deceit, but living with poverty, conscience and truth. But the prelates and priests, in our days, are steeped in more vices than are seen in any other people. Such enormities have

reigned perpetually in the church, since riches were valued and held in great honour among priests.

King John, notwithstanding his promise and obligation made before by his great oath; when he was informed by Guala's writings, promising to defend him in all matters, began to attack his nobles, spiritual and temporal, with more exactions than he did before; regarding nothing, except to acquire goods and riches. The nobles, very reluctant to sustain these extortions, solicited Louis, Dauphin of France, and Alexander, King of Scotland, to come with great armies in their support. King John, having little confidence in his subjects, fled to a fortress: through which, Louis came, without any obstacle, to London, where he was received joyfully by the people. After this, he sent to King John, desiring him to abstain from all exactions, and not to injure his people, in times coming, with such extortions; for such things make princes both odious to their subjects, and to all other people. Also, the said Louis desired King John to redress all harms which his subjects had suffered by his tyranny, and to keep his faith to them, as before promised. And if he agreed to do these things, to send his son, with others of his nearest friends, to remain as hostage for observation thereof. King John, having his confidence in nothing more than in his money, and in this Cardinal Guala described above; would hear no conditions of peace, and said, he would not cease until his people were suitably punished. Louis, immediately, raised his army, with many Englishmen who supported him, to attack King John. Nonetheless, he was advised to hold his hand, because it might cause more damage to the country, than punishment of him that was the cause of all their trouble. King Alexander, when he heard of such trouble in England, came with an army to London, without doing any harm to the people. By whose coming, all trouble ceased: for as soon as these two princes, Alexander and Louis, had discussed between them the several matters pertaining to their realms, they went to King Philip in France; leaving behind them 10,000 men, to support the lords of England against King John. Soon after, King Philip and King Alexander met together at Boulogne; where the treaty was renewed between Scotland and France, with all articles as before. Such things done, King Alexander and Louis returned to England. After their coming, King John took such melancholy, that he died.

Chap. Twelfth.

Of the General Council held at Rome by Pope Innocent. And how the Kings of Scotland and England attacked each other's realms with great raids and slaughter; and how they were reconciled.

After the death of King John, his son Henry was crowned. While such things were done in England, a general Council was held at Rome: in which were 400 and 12 bishops, and 800 abbots. In this council, Pope Innocent excommunicated all them that were enemies to King John of England; and in special, excommunicated Louis, Dauphin of France, and Alexander, King of Scotland, with all their other supporters; calling them attackers of the authority of Rome, because England was tributary to the Pope. A short time following, Guala, the avaricious cardinal described above, came to England, and excommunicated all them that attacked King John during his life, and interdicted all places where they came. Louis, seeing the most part of England support King Henry and Guala, bought an absolution with infinite money, then returned to France. Also, this avaricious cardinal excommunicated and interdicted several great princes of England, until they were constrained to buy their absolutions with infinite money; for he did not care whether his actions were honourable or dishonourable, provided they were profitable to him.

Not long after, King Henry came with an army to Scotland, attacking the country with great slaughter and raids, wherever they came. As soon as he was told that King Alexander had gathered, with all the force of Scotland, to give him battle, he fled with great diligence to England. Nonetheless, King Alexander followed him, and cast down many castles and strongholds of Northumberland to the ground; and after he had won Carlisle, and garrisoned it with his people, he returned, with great triumph and honours, to Scotland. King Henry, hearing that King Alexander had dispersed his army, returned with a new force to Scotland, and took both the town and castle of Berwick; then burned and plundered all the country as far as Haddington; and spared no-one that was found on the way, except wives, children, and priests; and returned with his army to England. In the meantime, the avaricious prelate Guala, trusting to find sufficient opportunity to acquire great money in Scotland, put the country under interdict; and pursued King Alexander, because he attacked England, with most terrible cursing. This cursing inflamed the Scots with such hatred against Englishmen, that it seemed it would not end without utter extermination of both their realms. Nonetheless, by intervention of prelates, peace was finally made between the two realms, under these conditions: "King Alexander should surrender to the English the town of Carlisle; and King Henry should surrender the town of Berwick to the Scots. The whole dominion of Cumberland to remain with King Alexander, with the half of Northumberland, as far as the Rey Cross; and King Alexander to be absolved of all censures led against him by Guala." The two kings being reconciled, in this way, of all disputes. King Alexander was absolved, and his realm delivered from interdiction. Immediately, Guala, so as not to leave empty-handed, summoned all the prelates of Scotland to Alnwick; having no accusations against them, but just to trouble them, until they disbursed large sums of money for his profit. Several of them, to be freed of trouble, gave him large sums of money; others refused him, and were indignant, that spiritual matters were so openly sold for money. Immediately, Guala summoned them to Rome; thinking they would be so reluctant to make a long and wearisome journey there, that they should agree to his wishes. Nonetheless, they were

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undaunted, but went finally to the Pope, and complained of the insufferable injuries done in England and Scotland by Guala. Guala was finally discharged of all authority, and condemned to give great sums of money to the Pope. All those prelates that were summoned by him to Rome, were absolved from his petition.

At this time, David, Earl of Huntingdon, died; and was buried in an abbey of England, named Sawtry.

Chap. Thirteenth.

How King Henry and King Alexander were allied by marriage. Of the translation of Saint Thomas of Canterbury. Of several legates sent to Scotland by the Pope to acquire money.

Henry, King of England, after his coming of age, was more desirous of peace than war. A convention was made between him and King Alexander at York; in which, the two kings were allied together in this manner: Jane, sister of King Henry, was married to King Alexander; and the two sisters of King Alexander were married to two great princes of England. This alliance was made, from our redemption, 1220 years. And in this year was the translation of Saint Thomas of Canterbury done by the king and his nobles spiritual and temporal, with all the solemnity and reverence that could be devised. The next year, a legate was sent by the Pope to Scotland, to collect money, to furnish a new army to go against the Turks. And when he had got no little money to this effect in Scotland, he spent it in his lust and insolence; and said, at his returning to the Pope, that it was taken from him by brigands. A short time after his coming to Rome, another legate was sent to the same effect to Scotland. King Alexander, when heard that he was coming, convened his nobles to a counsel; in which, a bishop said to him as follows: "Although there are several reasons why I should not speak about matters of public importance; yet, most noble prince, when I consider your humanity, faith, and constancy, applied to the defence and welfare of your lieges, I can not fail to say that which is true: for since tyranny is intolerable, which is exercised by kings or princes who are lineally descended to their natural heritage; much more is the tyranny insufferable, when it is exercised on us by men of vile and obscure lineage. Therefore, if the several and manifest wrongs done to us these many years past, had come from the Pope's intentions, they should be suffered in some manner: but since scoundrels of vile and obscure lineage, who are promoted to benefices for their horrible vices, have not only interdicted our realm without our having committed any sin, but have spent in their corrupt vices, the money that they gathered in our country, by the Pope's authority, for raising of armies against the Turks; I think their cursed avarice should have no further place among true people, specially among us, because they despise our simplicity and meekness. You previously complained of the injuries done by Guala, when he held your realm under interdict, and many of your prelates under curses, because they would not give him money to sustain his lusts. Also, this Guala was such a harmful fountain of all iniquity and vice, that, although he was sent to make concord between Englishmen and Scots; yet, by his avarice, he gave such occasion of battle, that both the realms, had not their hatred been quickly allayed, would have attacked each other, to their utter destruction. And since these terrible deeds are patent, what need have we to displease you by reminding you of them? Also, after we were freed of Guala, there came in his place a new legate, of no better life, but rather worse; for when he had got large money from us, for redemption of prisoners, and raising new armies against the Turks, he spent it all in his insolence, and feigned that it was taken by brigands. Wherefore, since we have experience of so many wicked and heavy damages done to us by these two legates described above, we shall be reputed wicked fools to admit a third; for it is not to be believed, that this new legate will be any better than his companions were before. And if any man asks me what is to be done in this matter, I say, Neither this legate, nor yet any other legate in times coming, should be received within this realm; because the same is stripped and wasted of money by their continual exactions. If any

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of you have superfluous money, you should dispose of it rather to poor folk, than to such corrupt and vicious legates."

Finally, these words were so approved by the council, that this legate was not allowed to come into the realm.

Chap. Fourteenth.

How King Alexander punished several Conspirators in his realm. And of the first coming of Black and Gray Friars to Scotland.

After peace was confirmed as we described, there followed a civil war in Scotland, caused by Gillespie Ross; for he came, with a great army, against the king's authority: and after he had slain many of the king's lieges, he burnt the town of Inverness. John Comyn, Earl of Buchan, was sent to punish these deeds, with a company of chosen men; and slew the said Gillespie, with both his sons, and brought their heads to the king. This trouble being defeated, as we have said, there followed another: for the men of Caithness burned Adam, their bishop, after he had excommunicated them for non-payment of their tithes. King Alexander, when he learned of such terrible cruelty done to this noble prelate, ceased not until 400 of the principal doers thereof were hanged. Also, so that no succession should come of this wicked seed, he castrated their sons. The place where they were castrated, is yet called, The Stoney Hill. Also, because the Earl of Caithness gave no support to Bishop Adam, nor yet punished these scoundrels that committed this cruelty, he was deprived of all his lands. King Alexander, for this punishment, was greatly loved by the Pope. Such things done, King Alexander went to Aberdeen, and endowed it with many privileges, although it had been endowed before with several advantages, by other kings. The bulls which were granted by several Popes, concerning the liberties of the churches of Scotland, were given in keeping to Saint Gilbert, Archdean of Moray; who succeeded immediately to the see of Caithness, after the murder of Bishop Adam. In the third year after, the Earl of Caithness came to King Alexander, when he was sitting with his mother, on the Epiphany Day, after Christmas; and desired grace. King Alexander was so merciful and full of pity, that he restored him to his honours, lands, and possessions, for a moderate composition of money. Nonetheless, the offence that was unpunished by man, was soon after punished by the great justice of God: for he was slain by his own servants, sleeping in his bed; and the house where he was slain, burned; that no man should have suspicion of his slaughter, but as it were coming by sudden accident: and so he perished in the same manner as Bishop Adam did, in whose death he was a participant.

At this time, several black friars were sent to Scotland by Saint Dominic. It is said, when King Alexander went to France, to renew the treaty of Scotland with King Philip, he prayed Saint Dominic to send some of his friars to Scotland, to instruct the Scots: and, therefore, these friars were welcomed, and churches erected for their use. And though these men who were sent by Saint Dominic, lived, as they were instituted by him, in a celibate life: yet, as often happens, all things, from a good beginning, fall into a worse state; all their successors declined from good religion into the greatest insolence and lust, and continued in vicious life, 300 years; until at last they were reformed, in our days, by Friar John Adamson, a man of singular erudition and devout life, who was professed in theology with us at Aberdeen. In the same manner, there were sent to Scotland, friars minor, of Saint Francis' order. Many of them, in the same manner, were, several years after the death of Saint Francis, not so religious as he was. Nonetheless, they are now men of the best life, especially those among us in Scotland.

Chap. Fifteenth.

How King Alexander punished several Conspirators, and reconciled King Henry of England and his nobles. Of his new marriage; and of the birth of his son Alexander. How many nobles of Scotland were slain in Judea.

After this there was a long peace in Scotland; until at last, Alan, Lord of Galloway, and Constable of Scotland, died. And because he divided all his lands, before his death, among his three daughters, his bastard son gathered an army of 10,000 men, hoping to recover the lordship of Galloway. At last, when he had attacked the country with great trouble, he was slain, with 5,000 supporters, by the Earl of March and Walter Stuart, and the remainder of his host defeated. The eldest daughter of this Alan of Galloway was married to Roger Quincy, who was made Constable of Scotland; and his descendants held it continually, until the time of King Robert the Second: in whose time, the descendant of Roger Quincy was disinherited and forfeited, for certain crimes committed against the king's majesty. And after his forfeiture, the constabulary was given to the Hays of Erroll.

Such things done in Scotland, King Alexander was informed of great disutes arising between King Henry of England and his nobles. And therefore, to calm them, he went to London, with Jane his Queen, and Isobel his sister. And when he had reconciled King Henry and his nobles of all disagreements, he married Isobel, his sister, to the Earl of Norfolk. And in the meantime, Jane, his Queen, died without any succession; which thing caused King Alexander to return with great lament to Scotland. In the next year, which was from our redemption a 1236 years; King Alexander, because he had no succession of his body, married, at Roxburgh, the daughter of Enguerrand, Earl of Coucy; a virgin of incredible beauty, named Mary: on whom he got a son named Alexander, who succeeded immediately after him to the crown. In this year, King Henry conquered Wales, and slew the principal movers of rebellion against him. During this time, there was a knightly tournament at Haddington, where King Alexander, with all his nobles, were assembled for the time, and many valiant men, by great deeds of arms, won high honours. Nonetheless, the end of all their pleasure was anguish and sorrow: for Patrick Comyn, Earl of Atholl, was slain during the night by John Bissart; and the place where he was slain, burned, so that no man should have suspicion of his slaughter, but as it were coming only by sudden misadventure of fire. And for this crime the Bissarts were banished out of Scotland, and sent to the Holy Land, there to fight against the Turks, and never to return to Scotland.

About this time, Somerled, Thane of Argyll, son to the Somerled described above, raised great trouble in all parts where he came: until at last he was brought by the Earl of March, with a cord about his neck, before the king; and got remission, in that way, of his offence. At this time, there were many seditious persons in the court of England, expecting great advantages would fall to them by wars. And though this was contrary to the common welfare, yet they trusted the oppression they had done to the people would be unpunished during the wars; for laws and justice have no place in time of battle. These men, in hope of their particular advantages, inflamed King Henry, contrary his word, to attack the Scots with battle; and began to build a castle against Berwick, although it was cast down before by King William, with a condition of the peace, never to be rebuilt in times coming. The building of this castle had been

sufficient occasion of war between English and Scots, had not the nobles of England prevented the same, as contrary to their treaty and promise: and thus all occasion of battle ceased.

In the next year following, there came ambassadors from Louis, King of France, saying he was ready to go to Judea; and therefore desired support from Scotland in his journey. King Alexander, under the terms of his confederation with France, sent Patrick, Earl of March; David Lindsay of Glenesk, and Walter Stuart of Dundonald, with a number of chosen men, to support King Louis in that expedition. All these Scots were slain by plague and sword in Egypt, and none of them returned. King Alexander lived not long after that time; and died in an isle of Argyll, after great infirmity, the 35th year of his reign, the 8th day of July; from our redemption, 1249. His body was buried in Melrose.

In the time of King Alexander there were many noble clerics; as Hugo, cardinal of the Dominican order of preaching friars, who wrote the *Commentaries of the Bible*. Also, Saint Gilbert, Bishop of Caithness, lived at that time. It is said, the holy bishop, Saint Dutho, was in those days, preceptor to Saint Gilbert; others say, he was long years before this time. Nonetheless, in whatsoever time he was, the truth is, he was a man of singular and holy life, very acceptable to God and man. His body lies in Ross, greatly venerated by the people.

Chap. Sixteenth.

How the relics of Saint Margaret were translated. How King Alexander was held in captivity by Comyns. Of his marriage alliance with King Henry the Third; and of the building of Saint Mungo's church.

Alexander the Second having been buried in this way, his son, Alexander the Third, being but 9 years of age, was made king. In the time of his coronation, there stood before him a Highlandman, and saluted him King of Scots, in eloquent meter of his language; showing all the kings of who he was descended, back to Gathelus, the first beginner of the Scots: and was generously rewarded for his labour. King Alexander, in the second year of his reign, convened all the prelates and barons of his realm; and took up the bones of his grandmother Saint Margaret, and put them in a precious shrine of silver, the 21st day of July. And when her blessed relics were brought forward with great veneration, they stood still at the sepulchre of Malcolm, her husband, and could in no way be parted from the same. The people were stunned by this unheard-of miracle, not knowing the cause thereof; until, at last, an aged man, moved by the Holy Spirit, exhorted them to hear him, and said, "Saint Margaret holds her husband in no less reverence, now when he is dead, than when he was alive; and, therefore, she will not pass to the place where you intend her blessed bones to rest, until the bones of her husband are translated with her, in the same way." And when this was done, she was brought easily to the same place where she lies to this day, greatly venerated by the people; and are both buried in the same place.

King Alexander was but 9 years of age when he was crowned. The nobles, fearing that, from disrespect of his authority, great trouble should arise, sent ambassadors to England, to renew peace, and to desire King Henry's daughter for him in marriage. In the same year, both these kings convened, with many noblemen, spiritual and temporal, of both the realms, at York; where King Alexander married Margaret, daughter to King Henry the Third, with the greatest solemnity and reverence that could be devised, on Saint Stephen's Day, in Yule: and within a few days after, King Alexander returned to Scotland. During the tender age of King Alexander, the realm of Scotland was governed in great happiness by his nobles: and after his coming of age, he punished several extortions done by certain of his nobles; and summoned the Earls of Menteith, Atholl, and Buchan, and the Lord of Strathbogie, who were all Comyns, and outlawed them, because they would not be subject to his justice. These lords, moved by this, set themselves to revenge; and finally, took the king at Kinross, with a great force of men, and brought him to Stirling, where they held him, long time, in captivity: through which, each day, there arose more trouble in the realm than was seen before; because the king was held in captivity, who should have enforced justice. The house of Comyns were in those days full of riches, lands, and number of supporters: in addition to these three earls and lords aforesaid, there were 30 knights and landed men, all of one surname. But, as oft occurs in this realm, men of great dominion and rents are so suspected by the king, that it is the occasion of their ruin. Within a few days after King Alexander was taken in this manner, Walter, Earl of Menteith, the chief of all Comyns, was poisoned by his wife: through which the remaining Comyns were so daunted, that they set the king at liberty, and took a pardon for all crimes that could be imputed to them. This woman that slew her husband the Earl of Menteith, with her new lover, John Russell, fled to England; where she died in misery.

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About this time, Pope Urban, the fourth of that name, instituted the feast of Corpus Christi, to be the Thursday after Trinity Sunday. The Carmelite friars came at this time into Scotland, and erected a chapel of our Lady, outside the walls of Perth, to be their church. It is said that a monk of Melrose was admonished, at the same time, by a vision in his sleep; and found a part of the holy cross, not far from Peebles in Lothian, within a chest: and not far from the same, they found a jar skilfully carved, in which was found certain bones wound in silk, but it was not known whose bones they were. As soon as the chest was opened where the holy cross was inside, many miracles occurred. King Alexander, moved by devotion thereof, built an abbey in the honour of the Holy Cross; in which are now monks of the order of the Trinity.

Not long after, there was a convention between the two Kings, of England and Scotland, at Wark, accompanied by their nobles of both realms. There were so good redress made on each side, so that both the realms were in greater tranquillity than ever was seen in any king's time before. At this time, the church of Glasgow was completed to the same perfection as it stands this day, built with great magnificence; the most part by the liberality of William, Bishop thereof; who lived not long after its completion.

Chap. Seventeenth.

Of great Dearth in Albion. How Haakon, King of Norway, attacked Scotland with great cruelties. Of the Speech made to him by ambassadors of King Alexander.

In the year of God 1263, there was a great dearth in Albion; for the harvest was so poor in the year before, that the crops, for the most part, were corrupted, and made a miserable dearth through all lands of Albion. Haakon, King of Norway and Denmark, hearing how Scotland was troubled in this manner, thought it his chance to subdue it to his dominion; and arrived with a fleet of ships in the Isles, on Lammas Day, called *Advincula Petri*.^{<101>} The Isles were continually held under the rule of the Danes, from King Edgar's time to those days. After this, King Haakon came to Arran and Bute; and when King Haakon had subjected them to his rule, in hope of more success, he arrived in Albion; and took the castle of Ayr by a long siege, and began to waste all the lands lying thereabouts. King Alexander, daunted by this news, for he was of young and tender age, and not able to resist the cruelty of the Danes, after such frequent victories falling to them; thought nothing so good as to break his enemies by long delay: and so that he might prolong the battle, he sent ambassadors to King Haakon; the principal of whom said to him: "Our king and nobles, by ancient custom, observed since their first beginning, seek redress of all injuries done to them, before they attack their enemies with battle. Were this not so, you should not see ambassadors sent to you, but rather an army coming to attack, with most awful and warlike ordinance. We never get such huge spoils, nor yet such triumphant victories over our enemies, as when they attack us with greatest wrongs, and will hear no reason nor redress. We think nothing so good as to avoid battle, and take restitution of our goods, which are taken from us by injury of battle. How may there be any greater madness or fury, than to do the thing by sword or fire, that may be agreed by pleasing words? Nonetheless, when our honorable and just desires are refused by enemies, when we find them more desirous of war than peace, we rise quickly, with the greatest hatred, to revenge their contempt. Wherefore, we are sent from our sovereign, to inquire what occasion you have to attack his realm and subjects, in violation of peace, which has been observed between him and Danes these hundred years past; and coming not only to rob from him Bute and Arran, with other lands which he has ruled in peace, but also ceasing from no manner of cruelty that may be devised on his people. What offence, what cruelties have his people done against you, to attack his realm with such awful force; slaying wives, children, and feeble persons, without any mercy or ransom, although the most cruel tyrants have mercy on such persons? What furious ire has moved you to burn the churches of God and his Saints, to the great harm of his people? Why have you put all the places where you came, to plundering and ruin? Also, if you do not fear God, who governs all things that we see by his providence; if you fear not the Saints, nor vengeance to come on you by the punishment of God; yet you should dread the two most powerful Kings of Albion, allied together with the most tender love, who shall come on you with such strength, that you may not resist. Wherefore, since you may depart with honour, it will best for you, to redress all harms in good time, or else you will be brought to such extreme desperation, your army defeated, so that you shall be utterly destroyed, and find nothing but repulse, though you would implore mercy."

Their words were said by the ambassadors, to put some terror into this hardy King Haakon. Nonetheless, he answered to them: "You expect, wise ambassadors, to

frighten us by your fierce and awful words; believing us so full of fear, that we will desist from our purpose just because of your threats. You are void of all reason and prudence, if you so imagine. And where you aggravate our injuries, by claiming we have taken certain Isles from your dominion, we believe you are no lawful judges, to give decision of any injuries or rights pertaining to us or our lieges. Further, if you desire the cause, why we have attacked Arran and Bute; we say, not only these Isles of Arran and Bute, but all the Isles of Albion, pertain to us and our people, by old heritage: and we are coming to take as much profit of our lands presently, as you have taken of them in bygone times. Therefore, say to your king, we fear not his threats, nor any other violence that he may do against us. Notwithstanding, if you be more desirous of peace than battle, and wish to avoid the direption and burning of his towns, and the slaughter of his people; or if he desires not to see the utter extermination of his realm before his eyes; command him to send to us 1,000 marks sterling, for the fruits of our lands taken up by him and his elders in bygone times: discharging himself thereof in future, so that the said Isles may pass under our perpetual dominion. If he refuse this charge, he must take the chance of battle against us; who are prepared, with great warlike ordinance, to attack his realm and people."

Chap.Eighteenth.

How King Alexander came with an army against King Haakon. Of the speeches made by the two Kings to their armies; and how King Haakon was defeated at Largs.

Alexander, perturbed by this answer, and seeing no way to avoid battle, thought nothing so good as to take the chance of fortune; and gathered 40,000 men to meet his enemies: who were divided into three forces. In the first wing was a valiant knight, Alexander Stuart, grandson to that Alexander that endowed the Abbey of Paisley. He had with him all the men of Argyll, Lennox, Atholl, and Galloway. In the left wing was Patrick Dunbar, having with him the men of Lothian, Fife, Merse, Berwick, and Stirling. In the centre was King Alexander, with the remaining people of Scotland, to support the wings when danger occurred. These forces were arrayed in such manner, that every clan had a captain assigned to them, of their own language, to exhort them to win praise and honour by their courage. King Alexander, seeing his enemies in sight, caused Mass to be said for his army; and said to them: "We have made now, beloved friends, our speech to God, by whose providence and wisdom everything is governed on earth, to send victory to them who have most right and justest cause of battle. Now would I exhort you to have such faith and confidence in Him that is enemy to thieves and robbers, that you may with invincible courage destroy your enemies. Believe well, you are not fighting against them that attack your lands by just claim; but against them that trust, by scarcity of victuals now reigning among you, to find sufficient opportunity to seize your lands. These scoundrels rejoice so much in theft and robbery, that they are not content only with the lands taken from us these many years past, but are coming, with new tyranny, to dwell in your most inland parts. Remember, therefore, not only the heavy and insupportable injuries done by them, but as how necessary it is now to fight against them, for defence of our wives, children, liberties, and lands; having no security of life, but in your hands. There remains nothing then, but either to defeat your enemies with courage, or else to live miserably under their servitude, and suffer your wives and daughters to be defiled by their lust. Remember that you are not to fight now only for your native country, but for the lives of them that are most dear and tender friends. Consider that not only I, but all Scotland, see you fight this day, and note both your courage and cowardice. Belt you, therefore, valiant champions, with the more courage and valour, because your cause is just, and moved only in your own defence. Consider how your enemies attack you only for prey and spoils of goods; and shall therefore be soon vanquished, when they see you with persevering constancy to defend the same. And first, I pray you, refresh your bodies with meat; then clothe the same with armour, so that you may, by the grace of God, have victory."

Scarcely were these words said, when King Haakon began to exhort his army, as follows: "It would be vain to risk my body this day with you if your courage was not proven to me for a long time, wise friends, with certain victory in your hands, or to have attacked such things that be uncertain, for them that are certain. It had been better, if you were a feeble and cowardly people, to have lived a hard and sober life at home, with misery and great labour, than to risk yourselves in battle against your strong enemies. Nonetheless, since you, with firm intent, have decided to follow good fortune and me, you may see what virtue and reward shall follow to each man for his labours. You see now, what you desired most; your enemies full of riches and goods, which are to be got now by nothing so much, as force and blow of the sword: and if

you happen to have the glory of victory, not only the rich treasure of this army shall fall to you, but the whole realm of Scotland shall be the reward of your labours. Defeat, therefore, your enemies, and everything in Scotland shall be offered to you, with the most magnificence; and when your enemies are vanquished, every one of you shall be rewarded with lands at your pleasure; and you shall be as rich in times coming, as your enemies are at this time. Further, since great deeds cannot be done without great risk, I beseech you, consider how easily this battle shall be won against our enemies; for the dearth that now appears among them, has made them more feeble than any other people. Thus they are so destitute of bodily strength, that they shall turn tail to us, before they come to blows; for they are but a shadow of people, and may therefore be slain like miserable beasts. And because they are in more number of people than you, their spoils shall be to you the richer. By contrary, if you are defeated, which God forbid, nothing shall follow but death and looting, where you come. And though I expect nothing less than such adversities, I beseech you, if any such misadventure falls, revenge your death, so that you are not slain like beasts which are offered in sacrifice; for we are surrounded, as you see, with enemies on each side, and our ships distant so far from us, that we may have no refuge there. Thus there will be no help coming to us, if we are defeated. Also, what folly and what extreme misery it is, for any creature to leave the weapons which may defend his life, and have his confidence only in the swiftness of his feet! Now, since you have such good experience of what advantages may fall by your courage, and what suffering and sorrow may fall by your cowardice; do not allow your hands to hang idly; so that you may, by propitious fortune, have certain victory, which is now in your hands; whereby, incredible riches and happiness may thereafter be yours."

Scarcely had these words ended, when both the armies began to form up against the other. In the meantime, Haakon came, with all his force, in the centre, where King Alexander was arrayed; trusting, if that were broken, the remaining forces would soon be vanquished. This battle was fought with great cruelty on either side, especially where the two kings fought; for they rushed always to those parts where they saw their people weakest, exhorting them to show their courage and valour. King Haakon immediately set out, with a band of forceful champions, to rush through the same place where King Alexander fought. Nonetheless he was stoutly resisted; for King Alexander had such a great number of people with him, so that he reinforced the battle with fresh men in all parts where it failed; until, at last, both the wings of Danes were put to flight. Immediately, Alexander Stuart of Paisley came, with a force of fresh men to the centre, where King Alexander was fighting against King Haakon, with long struggle, and uncertain victory. The Danes seeing this Alexander came, with new and recent victory, on them, turned tail; on whom followed the Scots, with great cruelty, through all Cunninghame, and made continual slaughter on them, until the night put an end to all their labour.

On the following day, King Haakon fled, with a few men, to the castle of Ayr, which was taken lately by him; and, in the meantime, he got tidings, that his fleet, which contained 50 ships, was destroyed by an unmercifull tempest, and none of them saved except four; also, the mariners who escaped after the wrecking of their ships, were all slain by the inhabitants of the country. King Haakon broken in this manner, got these 4 ships, and fled to Orkney.

In this battle 24,000 Danes were slain; and of the Scots, 5,000. This battle was fought at Largs, on the third day of August; from our redemption, 1263 years.

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King Haakon, when he came to Orkney, sent for a new army out of Norway and Denmark, to attack the Scots again the next summer; nonetheless, because he died in the year next following, all his army dispersed, and the wars ceased.

Chap Nineteenth.

Of the nativity of Alexander the Fourth. Of the message sent by Magnus, King of Norway, to King Alexander the Third; and of his answer. And how the said Alexander recovered the Isles of Scotland from the Danes.

There followed great happiness in Scotland after the death of King Haakon: for the same day that he died in Orkney, that is to say, the 21st day of January, Alexander, Prince of Scotland was born, got on Margaret, sister to King Henry. Thus was double joy and gladness in all parts of Scotland; the enemy dead, and a new prince born.

After the death of King Haakon, his son Magnus succeeded, a very Catholic prince. This Magnus sent his chancellor, the year following, to King Alexander at Perth, and offered to give over all right and claim that the said Magnus, King of Norway, had to Arran and Bute, provided that the remaining isles could be peaceably enjoyed by him in times coming. To this King Alexander answered, that the Isles pertained, by old heritage, to him and his ancestors, Kings of Scotland; and that he could have no friendship with the Danes, until the said Isles were restored to him.

In the next year, this chancellor of Norway, with many other noblemen, returned from King Magnus to Scotland; and, by letters under his great seal, renounced and gave over all right and claim that he had, or might have, to the Isles of Scotland; and that King Alexander should pay to the said King of Norway, for the said renunciation, 4,000 marks sterling, together with a yearly pension of 100 marks. And, for the greater confirmation of continuing friendship and kinship between Scots and Danes in times coming, Margaret, King Alexander's daughter, having but a year in age, should be given in marriage to Hannigo, the son of King Magnus, when she had coming of age; and the place where there was the greatest slaughter of Danes, should be made a hospital for poor people.

At the same time, King Henry, and his son Edward, were at war against Simon Montfort, and several other nobles of England, and requested King Alexander of Scotland for support against them. King Alexander sent, soon after, Alexander Comyn, with 5,000 chosen men to England; and supported King Henry in such a way, that the most part of his enemies were destroyed, and the remaining constrained to seek his mercy. This trouble being defeated, as we have said, there followed another by Roger Mortimer: although it was soon pacified; for the said Roger was taken, with many others of his faction, in the castle of Rowland, and put to death.

About this time lived the outlaw, Robin Hood, with his fellow, Little John; of whom there are many fables and merry songs sung among the vulgar people.

Chap. Twentieth.

***Of the answer made to the Pope's Legate by King Alexander.
Of the nativity of Robert Bruce, the valiant conqueror. Of the
death of King Alexander's wife, and her children.***

In the year following, a legate was sent from Pope Clement the Third, to gather money in Scotland, for raising, as he said, of armies against the Turks. This legate was not received in the realm, but commanded to show his message on the Borders. He desired, by a brief of the said Pope, to have 4 marks sterling for each parish church, and 80 marks sterling for each bishopric and abbacy that was in Scotland; and, to cause him to be the more pleasantly answered of his desires, he added certain laws, made by him in his voyage, which would be very profitable for the governance of the Scots. To these petitions King Alexander answered, that it was not necessary to send such great sums of money as he desired; nonetheless he would send, if it were necessary, certain armed men, provided at his expense, to go with the Pope's army against the Turks. To his other points he answered, that Scotland would receive no laws, except those that were commanded by the Pope, or his general council; for always the more laws are instuted, the more transgressors are found.

In the year from the Incarnation 1271 years, Thomas, Earl of Carrick, went with many noblemen to the Holy Land; all vowed together to fight against Christ's enemies to the death. Few of them returned; for they were all slain by plague and the insufferable heat of that country. This Earl of Carrick left no heir to succeed after him to his heritage, save only a daughter, named Martha, of 15 years. This lady, for her solace, happened to go to the hunts, where she, by chance, met a nobleman, Robert Bruce, son and heir to Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale in Scotland, and Cleveland in England. This lady finally was so enamoured with this man, that she took his horse by the reins, and forcibly led him with her to Carrick; where she, without long delay, or consultation with her friends, took him as her husband and lord. As soon as King Alexander was informed whereof, he took her castle of Turnbrery, and confiscated all her lands and goods in his hands; for she married without his consent. Nonetheless the king, within few days after, had such compassion for her, that he took an easy composition of money for her marriage, and suffered her to keep her husband as she desired. This Martha bore, the third year after, the noble and invincible champion Robert Bruce, who was afterwards King of Scotland. And in this year, which was from the Incarnation 1274, died David, the second son of King Alexander.

In the 3rd year after, Alexander went with his lady Queen Margaret, accompanied by many nobles and barons of Scotland, to London, to the coronation of King Edward Longshanks; for he was brother to King Alexander's wife: and on the Assumption Day of our Lady,<102> in that same year, the coronation of the said King Edward was held at London, with great triumph. At this time there was a Norman in King Edward's house of marvellous strength, and had such craft in wrestling, that he threw all men that attacked him; nonetheless he was finally vanquished by Ferquhart Ross, Scotsman. King Alexander, for this notable honour, gave to him the earldom of Ross. Of this Ferquhart 5 earls were descended, all of his surname; but the 6th earl was named Walter Ross, otherwise Leslie, and, after his son, the earldom failed for want of an heir.

Soon after the return of King Alexander to Scotland, his lady, Queen Margaret, died, and was buried in Dunfermline, after she had borne to him 2 sons,

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Alexander and David, and one daughter, named Margaret. This Margaret was married, the 3rd year after, to Erik, King of Norway, and died the second year after her marriage, and left behind her a daughter, named Margaret. The next year, which was from the Incarnation 1279, Alexander, son to King Alexander the 3rd, was married at Roxburgh, on the Sunday after Martinmas, <103> in winter, to the Earl of Flanders' daughter; where many of the nobles of England and Scotland were present; with all hospitality, sports, and pleasure, that could be devised, continuing 15 days together without any interruption. Nonetheless, this joy was not permanent; for this noble prince died at Lindores, the 3rd year after, in the 20th year of his age, to the great sorrow and lamentable unhappiness of all Scotland; for with him ended all the succession of King Alexander, save only the Maiden of Norway, who was got on his daughter Margaret, as described above.

Chap. Twenty-First.

Of several deeds done by King Alexander, and of his death. Of Thomas the Rhymer. Of several marvels seen in Albion. And of many noble Clerics.

In the same year, a general council was held at Lyons, in the presence of the Pope, and many of the prelates of Christianity. And to this counsel were summoned all the provincials, wardens, and ministers of all begging friars: and, because there were so many different orders of them, everyone having devised to set up a new order. All these orders were reduced to the 4 which are still approved; and a general edict made, that no man should attempt to begin any new guise of such vain superstitious people; who are set to avoid labour, so that they may live, in lust and idleness, upon the fruits of other men's hands.

While such things were done in Scotland, there were many sorrowful battles between the Christian Princes and Turks in Africa; until, at last, a truce was made with the said Turk: and, in the meantime, all the Christian Princes returned home. As soon as they had departed, the Great Turk, notwithstanding the said truce, attacked all Christian people, that were left behind in Africa, with the greatest cruelty. The Christian Princes angered by this cruelty, prepared a new force to go to the Holy Land. The Scots gave the tenth penny of all the lands of their realm to support this expedition; nonetheless, such envy and contentions arose among the said Princes, that the journey failed, to the great damage of our faith.

King Alexander, after the death of Margaret, his wife, was in great difficulty; for both his sons had died without any heirs; and his daughter Margaret, who was married in Norway, also died, and left behind her a maiden who was only two years of age: through which not only the king, but all Scotland, was brought into great melancholy; each man judging that many misfortunes would follow; as we shall afterwards describe. King Alexander, by the advice of his nobles, married the Earl of Champagne's daughter, named Jolande, with great ceremony, at Jedburgh. Although, this triumph endured but a short time afterwards; for, the 18th day of April, when he was riding a fierce horse at Kinghorn, he fell over the West Crag towards the sea, and broke his neck, the 35th year of his reign, and was buried in Dunfermline, from the Incarnation 1285 years.

It is said, the day before the king's death, the Earl of March asked a soothsayer, named Thomas the Rhymer, otherwise named Ercildoun, what the weather would be on the following day. To whom this Thomas answered, That on the following day, before noon, would blow the greatest wind that ever was heard before in Scotland. On the following day, when it was near noon, the sky appearing calm, without any din or tempest; the earl sent for this prophet, and reproved him, that he predicted such a wind, and there was no appearance thereof. This Thomas made little answer, but said. "Noon is not yet gone:" and, immediately, a man came to the gate, saying that the king was slain. Then said the prophet, "There is the wind that shall blow, to the great calamity and trouble of all Scotland." This Thomas was a man held in great admiration by the people; and said several things which befell, although they were always hidden under obscure words.

A few years before King Alexander's death, all Wales was subjected to the King of England, and the prince thereof slain. His brother was torn apart by wild

horses, and his quarters set up in different great towns of England, to be an example to all people what fruit follows of rebellion against their prince.

Many marvels were seen in the time of Alexander the Third. The 17th year of his reign, there was such infinite number of worms through all parts of Albion, that not only the leaves and fruits of the trees, but flowers and herbs in gardens, were consumed by them: and, in the same year, the waters of Forth and Tay arose with such inundation of flood, that many towns were drowned, to the great damage of men and beasts. In the 20th year of his reign, there appeared a comet of marvellous size, shining each day, with terrible beams, towards the South. On the Epiphany day, next after, arose such great winds, with hail of such enormous size that many towns were cast down by it. In the meantime there arose, through the force of winds, a sudden fire in several parts of Scotland, and burned the steeples and bells to nothing. Aberdeen and Perth were both burned that same time. Many people and cattle were burned at night, with many other towns; which would be too lengthy to describe. In the 31st year of his reign, the plague first came to Scotland, to the great mortality of the people thereof. In the triumph and second marriage of King Alexander, when every man was dancing with his wife, with all gladness that could be devised; there appeared in their sight an image of a dead man, naked of flesh and hair, with bare bones; through which the king and remaining people were so frightened, that they left their sport with great fear.

In the time of King Alexander there were many noble clerics; as, Thomas Aquinas, a man of singular life and erudition in theology. Bonaventure, of the order of Friars Minors, Michael Scotus, very excellent in medicine; who, for his singular erudition, was held in great favour by Edward, King of England, and no less by Alexander, King of Scots.

And so ends here, the thirteenth book of these Chronicles.

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Book XIV.

*Here Begins the Fourteenth Book of the Chronicles of
Scotland.*

Chap. First.

How Scotland was ruled by 6 Governours. How the marriage between the Maiden of Norway and King Edward of England, followed. How Bruce and Balliol contended for the crown. How the decision of this was committed to King Edward; and how he made Balliol King.

Alexander the Third, who died miserably, as we have said, left no heirs by testament, nor yet of his body, to succeed to the crown; save only the Maiden of Norway, as we have said. Thus was the realm in great trouble, and was without any king, 6 years and 9 months. There followed many terrible cruelties in all parts of the realm; for such persons as were deterred before by fear of justice, had free rein, to attack the people with sundry oppressions: and yet the realm was governed, all the said time, by 6 regents; whose names were William Fraser, Bishop of Saint Andrew's; Duncan, Earl of Fife; and John Comyn, Earl of Buchan. Those were the regents in the North: Robert, Bishop of Glasgow; Sir John Comyn; and James, Stuart of Scotland, were regents in the South.

In the meantime, Edward, King of England, called Longshanks, decided to conquer the realm of Scotland; for it was destitute, without any head. And because he knew the Maiden of Norway just heir to the crown of Scotland, he sent ambassadors to Scotland, desiring this Maiden of Norway to be given to him in marriage. The lords, after long consultation, assented to his desires, under these conditions: "That the realm of Scotland should be as free, in peace and quiet, without any subjection of servitude, in his time, as it was before in the time of King Alexander: and if no succession followed between him and this Maiden of Norway, the crown to return to the nearest heirs of King Alexander, without any claim by King Edward or his successors in times coming." Immediately, 2 noble knights, Sir Michel Scot and Sir Michel Wemys, were directed, as ambassadors, to bring this Maiden out of Norway, to the effect foresaid. Nonetheless, before their coming, this Maiden had died. Thus these ambassadors returned, without any success in their errand; and, by her death, all friendship and kinship between Englishmen and Scots deteriorated.

There followed great trouble in Scotland, by friends of King Alexander contending for the crown, to the great damage and violation both of the laws of God and man; especially between John Balliol and Robert Bruce. This Robert was grandson of that Robert Bruce that married Isabel, youngest daughter to Earl David of Huntingdon; on whom he got a son, named Robert, who married the heir of Carrick, as we have said, and was father of this Robert that now claimed the crown. John Balliol was got on Margaret, eldest daughter to the said Earl David of Huntingdon: for Alan, Lord of Galloway, who married the said Margaret, had by her, 2 daughters, of whom the eldest, named Dorvidilla, was married to Sir John Balliol, father of this John Balliol that claimed the crown, because he was descended from the eldest daughter of Earl David, and was, by that reason, nearest heir to King William; for no one else was so near in blood to him. On the other side, Robert Bruce, although he was descended from the youngest daughter of Earl David, was descended of the first male, for his father was first born; and claimed that the crown, for that reason, pertained to him. This claim was so favoured, with the support of several great princes in this realm, that it could in no way be decided, although it was often brought before those governors and regents described above. And because they feared, if they

declared one of them king, the other should usurp the crown by force; they remitted the decision of the right thereof to King Edward of England, with power to force the said parties to agree to his decision. King Edward welcomed the ambassadors who were sent to this effect, and promised to come to Berwick, again a certain day. At last, when he had come to the place and day assigned by him, he began to examine the rights of the 2 parties described above: and when he had considered them at length, he made answer, saying, He might not decide in so difficult matter, until he had several wise and prudent assessors concurring with him; and, therefore, desired to have 12 Scots, of the most knowledge and erudition that was in Scotland; and promised to take 12 of the most resolute and wise clerics in England, to sit upon the decision of that matter; so that, that all difficulties and doubts should be so plainly sought, that the just truth would triumph. And when he had written the reasons and legal arguments of both the parties, he returned to London. But, as daily occurs, the talent of mortal people are so fragile, that none who bears any commission or office where any profit arises, will part from it, until their hands are well greased. In the same manner, King Edward could not keep his hands clean in the commission given to him upon the decision of this debate: for after his returning to London, he brought certain resolute men out of France, to decide upon this matter; and commanded them to be ambiguous and contradictory in their judgement: so that, that when they were found to differ, and not of one mind, in deciding this case, he could make whoever of the two he wanted, king. The most part of their men of law judged with Robert Bruce; for he was descended from the first male, and John Balliol from the second. Others, who were suborned by King Edward, declared John Balliol to have most right, as coming of the eldest sister. King Edward, believing it an appropriate time to acquire the realm of Scotland, because it was divided into different parties, returned to Berwick, where he gathered the 26 men of great erudition, as he devised before, to give final sentence in this matter. And when he had come, with both the parties and his assessors, into a quiet chamber, where it was intended to sit on this matter; he caused the same to be kept secure with great diligence, without any going out or coming in: and concluded to make him king, that would be sworn to hold the crown from him, as his superior. And, because he knew Robert Bruce to be of singular courage and wisdom above Balliol, he thought it best to approach him first; and if he were refused his desires, to give the crown to Balliol. At last, when King Edward had proposed this matter, as described above, to Robert Bruce, this Robert, having no respect for his personal profit or honour, but only for the common good and liberty of Scotland, answered, That he would not surrender his native country to servitude to Englishmen, since it had been free until his day. King Edward then inquired the mind of John Balliol; who had such blind desire to the crown, that he cared not, provided he might enjoy the same, whether he held it in liberty or servitude. Finally, when Balliol had given his pledge to King Edward to give him homage, he got the verdict given for him. It is said, the Earl of Gloucester, a man of great prudence and authority in England, seeing Balliol made king, and Robert Bruce so unreasonably rejected; said, "Remember, O King Edward! what is done by you this day, not giving just sentence in this matter; for though this is now hidden, it shall be very manifest when the Great Judge, that knows the conscience and secrets of every man's mind, shall cause you to answer for it in the final judgement. You have given now sentence on a king; then judgement shall be given on you."

A short time after, John Balliol went, with great triumph, to Scone, and was crowned on Saint Andrew's Day; from the Incarnation, 1292 years.

Chap. Second.

How great trouble came to Balliol, for making homage to King Edward. Of his alliance with King Philip of France. How King Edward won Berwick by treachery, and slew all Scots there.

King Balliol, on Saint Stephen's Day of Yule^{<104>}, in the next year, came to Newcastle, and made homage to King Edward for the realm of Scotland, against the will of all his nobles; giving himself and his realm, which was free until his days, in servitude to Englishmen. However, little good succeeded from it; for within a short time thereafter, King Edward commanded him, by the terms of his treaty of homage, to come, with all the force he might, to make war on the King of France. Immediately, King John regretted making of the said homage, and sent his ambassadors to London, to renounce the said homage; and said, because it was made without the approval of the 3 estates of Scotland, it was invalid in itself, and not to be kept. King Edward answered to the ambassadors of King Balliol, "Since he will not come to us, we shall come to him." And to defeat the Scots more easily, he sent his ambassadors to the King of France, with whom he was allied by long peace: and to keep this peace with more security, the King of France's daughter was given in marriage to Edward, his son. However, he intended, when the Scots were utterly destroyed, to attack France, as he did before, notwithstanding any marriage or treaty contracted by him.

In the meantime, King Edward was reconciled with Robert Bruce, so familiarly, that he promised to make him King of Scots; and in hope thereof, he gave him the keeping of several great castles of Scotland, which were for that time in Englishmen's hands. King John Balliol, fearing, extreme danger would come to his realm by these deceits of the English, sent William, Bishop of Saint Andrew's, with Sir John Sowles and Sir Ingram Umfra, to France, to renew the treaty with Philip the 4th, King thereof; which was finally done, under these new conditions: "The daughter of Charles, Earl of Valence and Anjou, brother to King Philip of France, should be married to Edward Balliol's soon, and should have all the lands which Balliol possessed in France, named Dampart, Harcourt, and Horne; for which King John should receive 60,000 crowns as a dowry."

Then Balliol was informed, that King Edward was coming, with a great force, to besiege Berwick: and, therefore, he convened his nobles to a council, and, by their advice, sent many of the barons and gentlemen of Fife and Lothian to the defence thereof. The Englishmen came not only with a strong army by land, but also came with a great navy, to besiege the said town by sea. The Scots who were sent by Balliol for defence of the town, took 18 of their ships, and chased the remainder from the siege. King Edward, more provoked than broken by this setback, came with an army twice the size as before, to take the town. And because he could not get it by force, for the great defence that the Scots made within it, he thought to capture it by the most treacherous deceit: and pretended to raise his army from the siege of the town; then went around to another part, and returned with false ensigns and banners of Scotland, having Saint Andrew's cross above their harness, in the Scots manner; and sent certain scoundrels of Scotland before to the town, saying, John Balliol was coming with his army in defence thereof, commanding them to have the gates open for his coming. The foolish people of the town, rejoicing in the coming of the king, as they believed, opened the gates, and came forth from the town to all parts; trusting not only to be delivered of fear of enemies, but also to be strong enough to meet them in open battle,

if their enemies would attack them any further. Yet, when they saw them near the gates, they knew well, by their language and habit, they were Englishmen; and immediately, started hastily to return to town: and, in the meantime, the Englishmen ran with swift horses between them and the town. Immediately, King Edward entered, with all his army; and slew not only the soldiers and warriors, but children, women, and aged persons, without any pity, mercy, or ransom: and left no creature of the Scots blood alive within the town. This town was taken on Good Friday, the 29th day of March; from our redemption, 1295 years.

O Edward, most furious tyrant! how might you rage with such cruelty on the people, without any exception of age; where no provocation had been given; and where the people were not subjected by force of arms? These cruel tigers rushed through all the town, and spared none, in church nor market, where they could be taken. Such lamentable slaughter was there in all the parts of the town, that a mill might have been driven for two days continually, by the streams of blood. In this town were slain 7,000 men, with most part of all the nobles and gentlemen of Fife and Lothian.

Chap. Third.

How King Balliol was defeated at Dunbar, and lost all the strongholds of Scotland. How he gave over the crown to King Edward, and fled to France.

King Balliol, learning of the miserable slaughter of his people at Berwick, gathered an army, with great hatred, to revenge the same, and fought with King Edward at Dunbar; where he was defeated, and many of his army taken and slain. After this defeat, the Earls of March and Menteith, with 70 knights, fled to the castle of Dunbar; and were beseiged so long, until they were forced, for lack of victuals, to surrender to King Edward, on condition that their lives were to be spared: nonetheless, they were all slain by this cruel tyrant King Edward, without any respect to his faith or promise. It was said, by them that supported Balliol, that Robert Bruce solicited all his friends, at the beginning of the battle, to leave Balliol, and was, in that way, the cause of this defeat. But their words were false; and said by the friends of Balliol only for malice; so that Bruce should be hated by the Scots.

Robert Bruce, after this victory, went to King Edward, and desired him to fulfil the promise, made by him before under his great oath: nonetheless, he got but a wicked answer; for King Edward had no less desire to be King of Scotland than Bruce had. His answer was, "Do you believe that we have no other business to do but to conquer realms and kingdoms for you?" Robert Bruce, perceiving such deceit and treachery in the words of King Edward, returned very sorrowful to his lands in England, having great indignation in his mind, that he had obeyed the King of England further than reason required; and determined to revenge the injuries done by King Edward, in the most cruel manner, when the opportunity arose.

After this victory, King Edward took both the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, and chased Balliol to the castle of Forfar; and there, John Comyn, Lord of Strathbogie, came to King Edward, and was sworn as his liege man. And, soon after, this John Comyn brought Balliol, with his son Edward, to Montrose; where the said John Balliol, void of all kingly clothes, came, with a white staff in his hand, to King Edward, for fear of his life, and resigned all right and title, that he had or might have, to the crown of Scotland, by staff and burdoun, <105> into King Edward's hands, and made a charter for this, in the 4th year of his reign. After this. King Edward convened all the nobles of Scotland at Berwick, where they were sworn to be loyal and true subjects to him in times coming; and, for more security, he constrained them to surrender all the strongholds and fortifications of Scotland, both by sea and land, into his hands. Such things done, he sent John Balliol, with his son Edward, to London, where they were kept in close captivity for a long time; until, at last, he allowed John Balliol to return to Scotland, leaving his son as hostage, so that he should attempt no rebellion against him.

John Balliol, after his returning, seeing himself neither loved by commoners nor nobles of Scotland, fled to Normandy to his father's heritage; where he, by long age, became blind: after whose death, his son Edward succeeded to his heritage in France, and attacked Scotland with great trouble, as we shall describe below.

Chap. Fourth.

How King Edward came with an army against France. How the Earl of Buchan made great raids in England. Of William Wallace, and his feats of arms against the English.

King Edward, not forgetting the war against France that he had postponed, garrisoned all the strongholds of Scotland, to resist the rebellion of the Scots; then went with an army to France, leaving behind him Hugh Cressingham, to be Regent of Scotland until his return; and expected little harm to be attempted by the Scots, because of the great affliction done to them by his wars described above. But tyranny is of such nature, that it may never have sufficient munition, nor certain shield, notwithstanding whatsoever forces be laid in defence thereof: for all peoples, that are oppressed by tyranny, will labour to free themselves from it, whenever they may find any sufficient opportunity.

The lords of Scotland, soon after the departing of King Edward, renounced all treaty and promise made to him, and convened together, all of one mind, at Stirling, to recover their realm and liberty. In this council 12 noblemen were chosen, to be governors of Scotland, each man within their own lands, that they might the more easily resist the tyranny of King Edward: among whom John Comyn, Earl of Buchan, was principal, a man of singular prudence, both in war and peace. This Earl of Buchan came with an army to Northumberland, where he ceased from no manner of cruelty that could be devised, and wasted all the lands thereof with fire and sword. At last he besieged Carlisle; but it was so strongly defended, it could not be taken.

In this time there was a young man, named William Wallace, son to Sir Andrew Wallace of Cragy, Knight. He was of stature and bodily strength above all other men seen in his days, with such prudence and craft of warfare, that none was found equal to him. This Wallace, from his first youth, pursued Englishmen with extreme hatred, and, in several exploits, did many valiant deeds in support of the Scots; and was of such incredible strength, at his coming of age, that he often vanquished 3 or 4 Englishmen at once in single combat. When the fame of his illustrious honour was known throughout the realm, many noblemen, to deliver themselves from servitude to the Englishmen, supported him: through which he was so strong, that he might in no way be defeated by treachery of the Englishmen: and, finally, comported himself so manly at all combats, that he was chosen by general voice, when the most trouble appeared, Governor of Scotland, in place of John Balioll, to deliver the land from servitude and tyranny of the Englishmen.

At this time, many of the abbotcies and prelaties of Scotland were in Englishmen's hands; nonetheless, William Wallace, by commission of Wilham Fraser, Bishop of Saint Andrew's, expelled them from all parts of Scotland; and left neither temporal, spiritual, nor religious man of their blood in Scotland. And, soon after, he received the army that John Comyn, Earl of Buchan, had before; and constrained the Scots to obey him, either by force or favour: then came, with proud banner, through several parts of Scotland, attacking Englishmen, and all others who supported them. After several great battles, he won the castles of Forfar, Dundee, Brechin, and Montrose, and slew all the soldiers found in them. Wallace, proud of these successes, took Dunnottar, after the principal captains thereof were away, and slew all persons found in it; then garrisoned it in his strongest manner. After this he went to Aberdeen, which was left waste for his coming; and, because the castle was garrisoned with such

provision that it could not be taken without great slaughter of people, he left it, and returned to Angus.

King Edward, who was in France, on hearing of these events, sent Hugh Cressingham with an army to attack Wallace. As soon as Wallace was informed of the coming of this army, he left the siege of Cupar, and went to the bridge of Stirling, to stop the arrival of Hugh Cressingham; and finally slew him by singular courage, and put his army to flight. After this victory, he returned to the siege of Cupar, which was surrendered to him soon after his return.

Many Scots sent their ambassadors to Wallace after this victory, promising to support him with money and victuals if he would receive them in favour. Several other castles were surrendered to him, which were garrisoned by him with all provision. After this he dispersed his army, and came to Stirling, with some of his most dear friends: and, because he saw a miserable dearth rising in all parts of Scotland, to the great mortality of the people thereof, he gave his business to relieve the people, and to sustain them on the fruits of England. Immediately, he commanded all Scots to be ready on a prefixed day, to go against their old enemies; and, in the meantime, he made such punishment on them who refused to obey his proclamation, that the remaining people, for fear thereof, supported him. Soon after, Wallace, with 3 forces arrayed with most awful ordinance, burned and plundered all Northumberland as far as Newcastle; and, by the fame of his forceful warfare, became such a terror to his foes, that he returned with rich spoils, and great triumph, to Scotland, without any battle.

Chap. Fifth.

Of King Edward's message sent to Wallace. Of Wallace's answer; and of his great prudence in warfare. How the Scots were defeated at Falkirk. And how the King of France obtained a truce for the Scots.

Edward Longshanks, hearing of these great raids and slaughter done to his people, returned with great displeasure to England; and sent his ambassadors to Wallace, saying, Had he been in England, Wallace dared not have done such cruelties to his people. To these words answered Wallace, He took not but his time on England, when King Edward was out of it, as King Edward took on Scotland, when he found the same destitute of a head; setting out to conquer the realm, after the nobles had chosen him, as an amiable and friendly arbiter, to give a decision upon the law and rights of two parties contending for the crown. Also, to make his singular manliness and prudence more known to Englishmen, and so that King Edward would understand his labours given in perpetual defence of Scotland, with determined mind both to deliver the realm out of servitude, and to revenge the cruelties done by Englishmen in bygone times; he commanded a herald to go to King Edward, to tell him, that he should hold his Easter in England, if God fortun'd him to be alive, in despite of King Edward, and all people that will bear armour in his name.

At last, when King Edward and Wallace were both coming to the place assigned, the day of battle was set on all sides. Although Englishmen were more than double the number of Scots, yet Wallace, with sharp courage, not afraid of their multitude, came first to the field and, when the armies were ready to join, the Englishmen left their standards, and fled. In the meantime, the Scots, proud after many victories, and seeing their enemies turn tail, could scarcely be prevented from the chase. Wallace, who knew nothing better than the deceit of Englishmen, ran on a swift horse, before the Scots, exhorting them not to run wilfully to their own perdition, devised against them by the deceit of their enemies; because the hasty flight of the Englishmen was nothing but fraud; and, therefore, it was sufficient to them to have victory without any blows. The Scots being tamed thus of their wild fury, by the prudence of this worthy champion, were saved with their honour and lives; and returned to Scotland with infinite spoils and riches. Further, as the people supported Wallace always the more that he grew in courage and strength against Englishmen; on the same manner, they began to envy him, when he was coming, by his valiant deeds, to the greatest success and honour; specially the great lords and princes of the realm; having great indignation, that a man of small lineage should rise, by his virtue, into such great estimation and reverence above them. Through which arose great sedition in Scotland; especially by the Comyns, and Robert Bruce, who envied him most.

King Edward, knowing this new sedition, sent his ambassadors to the principal men who envied Wallace most; and, when he had got them bound to his support, he came with an army to Scotland. Wallace, knowing nothing of this treachery devised against him, raised his army, and met him at Falkirk. After his coming, there arose an odious quarrel between Stuart, Comyn, and Wallace, which of them three should have the vangard. The first two thought it shameful, that a man of low lineage, and small beginning, should be preferred to them in dignity and honours of warfare: the third thought, the charge was given to him by the three estates of Scotland; and, for that reason, he would not give place to them. In the meantime, the Englishmen came so

awfully against them, that they were constrained to come forward against their enemies, with breasts swollen more to their own than to their enemies' displeasure. King Edward, knowing this sedition, came with greater diligence to battle; and, when the forces were ready to join, the Comyns fled out of the field, with all their supporters. Robert Bruce was this time with the army of England; and might, therefore, make no support to the Scots: and so they were miserably slain on all sides. And, though the Scots were slaughtered in this manner, yet Wallace left nothing undone, that might pertain to the duty of a valiant champion; exhorting his people sometimes to be not afraid of them who were before defeated solely by fear of their visage; sometimes rushing through his enemies, to their great slaughter; and instructing his people what was to be done: but, at last, all the Scots that fought that day with him, overcome by the multitude of Englishmen, and the companies of Robert Bruce coming on their backs, were slain. Wallace, seeing himself surrounded on all parts, rushed fiercely through his enemies, and escaped in that manner. In the meantime, a strong captain of England, named Friar Briange, followed Wallace with great ferocity; but Wallace, not daunted by his coming, met him, notwithstanding the defeat of the Scots, with such courage and valour, that he slew this captain before the face of all the army of England. Then the rest of the Englishmen, for fear thereof, ceased from any further chase of the Scots.

In this dreadful battle John Stuart of Bute was slain, with all his people; who were left by Wallace in extreme danger, after he might have delivered them. Macduff was slain in this battle; with Sir John Grahame, whose death was very painful to Wallace. Many other noble and valiant men were slain in the same manner; which would be too lengthy to say.

It is said, that Robert Bruce, after he had come on the backs of the Scots, said to Wallace: "O, Wallace, what presumptuous folly is in you, knowing yourself abandoned, and left by the nobles and commoners of Scotland, to fight with such vain audacity against the strength of the rich King of England. Do you not see yourself running to utter confusion. Do you not consider the irrecoverable damage approaching, and your defeat?" To this answered Wallace: "O, Robert, it is your feeble cowardice and sloth, that moves me to risk so many perilous dangers in defence of your right, and the delivery of the realm of Scotland from the tyranny of Englishmen."

These words were so deep imprinted in Bruce's heart, that he determined to support England no longer. The truth is, that seldom or never are the Scots vanquished by Englishmen without some division among themselves. For though the Scots at this time stood in such array, that they were invincible, and could not be broken from the front; yet Robert Bruce came with a force of Englishmen on their backs, by which they were miserably defeated and slain. This battle was fought on the Magdalen Day; <106> from our redemption, 1298 years: therefore, the Englishmen held it always after for a happy day to fight against Scots. Further, though Robert Bruce, who was afterwards King of Scots, was both at the battle of Dunbar and the battle of Falkirk, on the side of England, against the Scots; no crime should be imputed to him because of that: first, Because he had no refuge in Scotland; for Balliol pursued him to kill him, because he was contending with him for the crown: Secondly, He held the lordship of Cleveland of the King of England, and was an Englishman born, although he was nearest heir, by proximity of blood, to the crown of Scotland; and, for these reasons, he had to give service. Also, King Edward promised, to withdraw the judgement he gave for Balliol, and to make the said Robert, King. Also, Saint Paul, as

we find, was a great scourge of Christian people, and pursued them with most cruel enmity; and yet, from the time he came to be of their opinion, he was the greatest pillar of our faith. In the same manner, although Robert Bruce pursued the Scots with great cruelty for denying him his just heritage and crown: yet, from the time he was made king, he was the best prince that ever reigned above the Scots; for, though he found Scotland in great misery, and near conquered by tyranny of Englishmen; yet he recovered it by his singular courage, and left it free, without any claim, in good tranquillity.

Wallace, after this defeat, came to Perth; and, because he could not suffer the envy of the nobles rising each day against him, he surrendered all authority, and discharged himself from the governance of the realm.

At the same time, Philip, the fourth of that name, King of France, having great compassion on the calamity fallen to his allied friends of Scotland for the good of France, sent his ambassadors to Edward, Prince of England, who was contracted in marriage before with his daughter, and obtained a truce for Scots, from the feast of All Saints<107> to the Whitsunday next following.

Chap. Sixth.

How the English were defeated at Roslin. How King Edward obtained great realms in Scotland. And how the Forbeses took their first beginning.

The Scots, broken by continual wars, sent their ambassadors to Pope Boniface, to complain of the great affliction done to them by King Edward; who was set to conquer their realm, to the destruction of their liberty: and desired the Pope, since he had more rule above Englishmen than any other realm, to interpose his authority, and constrain King Edward to desist from attacking the Scots: for the Scots were content that all pleas concerning the liberty and crown of Scotland, should be decided by his Holiness; since otherwise it could not be decided, because of the blind desire of nobles contending for the crown, to the insufferable damage of the people. The Pope, after he had carefully considered this matter, decided that the Scots had just cause of warfare, in defence of their liberties, against King Edward.

Soon after, the Scots choose John Comyn to be governor of their realm. As soon as King Edward was informed of their rebellion, he sent an army through all the lands of Scotland; and came to Perth, attacking the country with great trouble. Many of the nobles, because they could not suffer his injuries, surrendered: others, who had more sight to their liberty than servitude, fled to the woods; and choose Simon Fraser to be an ally in their wars, to John Comyn: then gathered a force of 8 thousand chosen men, to revenge the injuries done by Englishmen; and finally slew every one of them that was overtaken, and the remainder chased out of the country.

King Edward, perturbed by this event, sent a valiant captain, named Rudolph Confrey, to Scotland, with 30 thousand men. This Rudolph, after his coming to Scotland, had little respect for the Scots, and behaved as if he were coming to take all Scotland at his pleasure; and, therefore, he intended to pass through three different parts of the lands of Scotland with three armies, each army having 10 thousand men in number: and commanded them to meet all together at Roslin, after they had come through the country by three separate ways.

As soon as John Comyn and Simon Fraser were informed thereof, they raised their people, believing nothing so good as to take the chance of battle with one of these three armies; for they trusted, if they happened to have victory over one of them, they would be the more able to vanquish the remaining two. Immediately, they exhorted their people to fight for defence of their wives, liberties, and goods. The Scots, raised in hope of victory by these words, fought with such invincible courage, that they put the first army of Englishmen to flight. Scarcely had they gathered the spoils thereof, when the second army came on them with more cruelty than the first: nonetheless, through courage of their recent victory, they joined with incredible manliness. And scarcely was this second army vanquished, when the third army came on them with fresh forces; and though the Scots were wounded and slain in great number, yet, by exhortation of their captain, they rushed smartly, with new spirit and courage, on their enemies; and after lengthy combat, they put all their enemies to flight. Few of them would have been spared, had not the Scots been worn out by long fighting. This victory succeeded to the Scots on Saint Matthias' Day, <108> from our redemption 1302 years. It is in doubt if ever any victory was obtained before that day with more courage and honour: 30 thousand Englishmen, with long provision and set battle, vanquished and defeated with scarce 8 thousand Scots; and therefore each man

believed this victory came only from the singular favour and grace of God. And yet the Scots kept this victory for only a short time; for King Edward, when he learned of this defeat at Rosling, raised his army to attack the Scots, both by sea and land. The Scots, seeing his force of greater strength than they could resist, fled to their strongholds: through which, King Edward's army went, without any obstacle, through all Scotland, from North to South parts thereof; and no man was found to resist them, except Wallace, and so many as assisted him; who lived in the mountains and woods, to avoid the fury of the Englishmen. King Edward, hearing that Wallace lurked in dens, and lay in wait, waiting for a chance to attack Englishmen; desired him, by several message, to be sworn Englishman, and to have therefore great earldoms and lordships within England. Wallace refused, saying, his liberty was more to him, with small rents, in Scotland, than possession of great lands in England, under servitude.

The castle of Stirling was kept, in those days, by a valiant knight, Sir William Oliver. And when he had been continually besieged three months, for lack of supplies, he surrendered the house to King Edward, under these conditions: "All persons that are in the said castle shall have free passport to depart, with their baggage and goods, at their pleasure." Nonetheless, King Edward, as a false tyrant, broke his oath and promise; for after the castle was surrendered, he took Sir William Oliver, and sent him as prisoner to London, where he remained many years afterwards in captivity. Many other castles were taken by King Edward in the same manner, and all the soldiers thereof slain, without any mercy or ransom. The castle of Urquhart was taken, and none left alive in it, except a woman great with child, of whom the surnames of Boece and Forbes are descended. This woman that was saved in this manner, was wife to Alexander Boece, lord of the said castle. Although, this was not known at the time; for she was in poor clothing. After the taking of this castle, she fled to Ireland, where she bore her son Alexander. This Alexander, when Scotland was recovered out of Englishmen's hands, came to King Robert Bruce, and desired to be restored to his father's heritage, which was occupied for the time by other possessors. King Robert was unsure what was to be done in this matter; for he thought it not appropriate that a prince should take the lands from noblemen, which were given to them as a reward of their courage; and also, it was not just to despoil the man of his family heritage, who had lost his father, his friends, and all his goods, in defence of the realm. Thus a middle way was devised, by which certain lands in Mar, of little less profit than the lands of Urquhart, were given to the said Alexander Boece. This man that had been called Boece, was now called Forbes; for he slew a bear by singular courage: from him the surname of Forbes is descended.

Chap. Seventh

Of sundry great cruelties done by King Edward against the Scots. How Bruce and Comyn were allied; and how Comyn was slain.

Scotland having being subjected in this manner, King Edward did away with all the old laws and constitutions of Scotland; trusting, thereby, to cause the Scots and Englishmen to increase together in blood, friendship, and faith. He burned all the Chronicles of Scotland, with all manner of books, as well of divine service as of other matters; so that the memory of the Scots should perish. Great punishment was made on them who resisted these commands. He made the Scots write books after the Use of Sarum,<109> and constrained them to say Mass in that way. Also, he banished all Scots who had any singular erudition, and put them in Oxford; fearing that the nobles of Scotland, by their erudition, would increase in virtue, and deliver their realm from servitude. Also, this tyrant had such vain arrogance, that he destroyed all the antiquities of Scotland: and after he had gone through several parts thereof, he commanded the round temple beside Camelon to be cast down, which was built, as we have said, in the honour of Emperor Claudius and the goddess Victory; not suffering, in his envy, so much of the antiquities of our elders to remain in memory. Yet the inhabitants saved them from utter destruction, and took the Roman standard and superstitions out of the walls thereof; and engraved the arms of King Arthur, and commanded it to be called Arthur's Hoif. Also, King Edward, before his return to England, so that no memory should remain of Scotland, their books being universally burned; sent the chair of marble out of Scotland to London, and put it in Westminster, where it remains yet;<110> then called all the lords of Scotland to a convention at Saint Andrew's, and took a new oath from them, to be loyal and true subjects to him, without any rebellion, in times coming. All the lords of Scotland were bound to him that day, except Wallace, whom no lands nor riches might break from defence of the liberty of Scotland. King Edward, to keep the Scots in his support, left behind him a valiant knight, Odomer Vallance, to be Governor of Scotland; then returned, with great triumph, to London.

In the meantime, Robert Bruce and John Comyn convened together; and first Comyn said to Bruce: "You see how King Edward slays our people without any occasion, and occupies our kingdom without reason. Be of good courage, therefore, and take your armour and weapons. Suffer me to have your lands, and I shall make you king. If you will not do that, suffer me to be king, and you shall not only have all my lands and heritage, but you shall always be next to me in honour and dignity." Thus Bruce and Comyn were allied together, with indentures subscribed with each one's hand, and interchanged by their seals. Such things done, Bruce returned to England. This rebellion of Robert Bruce proceeded, because he was held always in suspicion by King Edward, because of the right that he had to the crown of the Scots; and therefore he dared not remain long in Scotland: for King Edward might have slain him before, if he could have got him and all his brothers together.

After this confederation, Comyn thought his power and authority would be of little effect in Scotland if Bruce were king; and, therefore, he sent a confidential servant to King Edward, and told him about the writings lately made between him and Robert Bruce; desiring King Edward, if he intended to rule Scotland without trouble, to put Bruce quickly to death. King Edward gave little faith to these writings at the

first sight; for he believed that they came only by envy of Comyn, who feared that he should be of little strength in Scotland, if Robert Bruce got any authority. At last, King Edward asked Bruce about these indentures, and demanded of him if he recognised his own words. Bruce denied the letters with great constancy, saying that it only came from Comyn's envy: and therefore desired to be allowed keep the letters for one night; and if he could not prove not the letters false and forged, he should lose all his lands within England. King Edward gave little faith to these letters; for it was the will of God that Bruce should be saved, to recover the realm of Scotland out of servitude and tyranny of Englishmen. The Earl of Gloucester, soon after the departure of Robert Bruce from the king's presence, sent to him 12 sterling pennies, with 9 sharp spurs: through which, Bruce conjectured that nothing would help him but to spur his horse. And because the season was then winter, and the earth covered over with snow, he had a smith shoe his horse backwards, so that no-one could follow him by his footprints; and departed out of London, with two trusty servants, with all the diligence that he could; and came, the 7th day after, to Lochmaben: where he met his brother Edward, who marvelled greatly at his hasty coming; and immediately he said how he came into great trouble by Comyn, and narrowly escaped with his life. In the meantime, as they went forward, they met a footman by the way; and because he avoided the road, they took him, and found new writings with him, directed from Comyn to King Edward; which said, if Bruce were not slain, nothing but conspiracy and trouble would follow in all parts of Scotland against King Edward. As soon as Bruce had read their writings, he inquired diligently where Comyn was. This servant, suspecting no evil, said that he was in the friary of Dumfries. Bruce immediately slew this man for bearing of these writings, and came quickly to the friary of Dumfries, where he found Comyn; and after he had accused him, and showed his own indentures, he struck him with a sword in the belly; then fled quickly out of the church, and met James Lindsay and Roger Kirkpatrick, his dear friends; and said to them, "I think Comyn is slain." To whom they answered, "Have you attempted so great a matter, and left it uncertain?" Immediately, they went to Comyn, and inquired of him if he had any deadly wounds; or if he hoped to recover, if he had a good surgeon. And because he said he might recover, they struck him 3 or 4 other strokes, more cruelly; and soon after he gave up the ghost, the year of God, 1305 years.

Chap. Eighth.

How Wallace was betrayed by Sir John Menteith. Of King Robert Bruce's coronation; and of his great misery. How he conquered Scotland; and how the Douglasses took their beginning.

At this time, Wallace was taken treacherously by Sir John Menteith at Glasgow, and delivered to King Edward; for King Edward promised, by general edict, sundry lands, with great sums of money, to them that would deliver the said Wallace to his hands. Finally, this Wallace was brought to London, where he was cruelly martyred, by the tyranny of King Edward; and his quarters sent to several great towns of Scotland, to be hung up to his shame. This end made the noble Wallace, most forceful champion that was in his days; for though all other Scots surrendered both themselves and their country to servitude to Englishmen, he would never be subdued, but always supported the old liberty of Scotland. Nonetheless, such envy has always been, and is yet, in Scotland, that no nobleman may live in it, but, either by one treachery or another, he is finally destroyed. It is written, that a holy hermit, in England, transported in spirit by heavenly contemplation, saw this Wallace flying with inestimable glory unto heaven; as he that fought, for defence of his country, to the death.

Robert Bruce, after the slaughter of Comyn, sent to the Pope for absolution. And, to attempt a thing of more audacity against King Edward, by which he might the better resist his tyranny in times coming, he came with his friends to Scone; where he was crowned, on the 27th day of March. Yet, when he had gathered all the people that he could, to attack King Edward, he had but a small number; for the most part of Scotland was against him. King Edward, informed of the rebellion made against him by King Robert, sent an army to Scotland, with Odomer Vallance, his Lieutenant; and fought with King Robert at Methven, the 19th day of June: where the said King Robert was put to flight. And though few of his army was slain at this time, yet the people went from him, believing it an evil omen, to begin with such a defeat. Odomer Vallance, after this victory, banished all the wives of them that supported King Robert: through which, many noble women and ladies were constrained to pass to the waste lands and woods, to avoid the cruelty of Englishmen.

King Robert, defeated in this way, came to Atholl; where he fought against Comyns and Englishmen, and was put to flight, in the same manner as before; few of his men slain: yet, by their frequent defeats, he was so desolate of friends, that he went solitary, with few persons in his company, among the mountains and woods, sustaining his miserable life on roots and herbs: and in this mischance he had 2 most faithful servants to him, the Earl of Lennox and Gilbert Hay. And though once, from fierce persecution of their enemies, they went from his presence, yet they always supported him. At last, all his friends, for fear of their lives, left him, and fled here and there, to wherever they thought they would be safe. His queen fled to Saint Dutho, and was taken by William Comyn, Earl of Ross, and delivered to the King of England; where she stayed continually, until the battle of Bannockburn. His brothers Nigel, Thomas, and Alexander, were taken; and some of them beheaded at Carlisle, and some at Berwick. Finally all they that left him were either slain within the year, or else taken as prisoners to England. Thus was King Robert brought to such misery, that he was once naked and hungry, without meat or drink, save only water and roots of

herbs: and though he knew well the slaughter of his brothers, with all other afflictions done in the downfall of him and his friends; yet he had such excellent fortitude in all adversity, that nothing could break his invincible courage: for he was so accustomed with every trouble and war in his youth, that he cared not to sleep on the cold earth, nor to drink water instead of ale or wine. Also, there was a thing, that appeared to have coming by a miracle and the grace of God: Although his friends were nearly all utterly destroyed, he ceased never to have a firm hope some time to recover his realm, and liberty of his people. At last, when he had been vagabond and astray in sundry places, to avoid the treachery of them who were waiting to put him to death; he came to a friend in the Isles; where he got such support of men and weapons, that he took new courage to attack his enemies: and thus he took the castle of Carrick, and slew all the Englishmen who were found in it; and then dealt the spoils thereof, with great liberality, among his warriors. His friends, who were lurking in hiding, hearing of his doings, began to return to him out of all parts. Soon after, by their assistance, he won the castle of Inverness, and slew all the soldiers thereof; and, with similar success happiness, won many strongholds in the North. And because he had no strength to keep them, he cast them down in all parts where he went. At last, when he was coming to Glenesk, he got news that John Comyn, with many Englishmen and Scots, were gathered against him. And because the ground was favourable, he decided to await their attack. Nonetheless, John Comyn, with the Englishmen and Scots who were gathered to give him battle, seeing him unafraid of their coming, sent ambassadors, to have a truce; to avoid the present danger, until they were gathered more strongly against him. Yet, when their desires were granted, they followed him with new strength, in their most cruel manner. King Robert bore him so valiantly, that often, by his singular virtue, he put them to flight; and made always slaughter on them, although noy many were killed, as occurs often at frequent skirmishing and affrays.

The fame of these honourable deeds drew him into such favour, that several great barons of Scotland supported him; among whom was James Douglas, a man of great spirit and courage, who was tender and familiar cousin to William Lamberton, Bishop of Saint Andrew's. This James Douglas, to support King Robert at his power, took all the bishop's gold and horses, with several other valiant young men of his opinion; and went to King Robert, as if Bishop Lamberton had known nothing thereof. Although, he assisted them well; but he dared not do so openly, in case, if failure had followed, it might have come to his disadvantage. This James Douglas was tenderly received by King Robert, and continued in his service, both in war and peace, to the end of his life. Of this James, descended the illustrious surname of Douglas, who were ever the certain shield and bulwark of Scotland against Englishmen, and won many lands by their singular courage and honour. For it is said in the Bruce's book,

So many as good as the Douglas have been.
Of any surname, was never in Scotland seen.

For they decorated this realm with many noble deeds, and, by glory of martial deeds, grew in great estimation. Nonetheless, their height and great strength, both in supporters and lands, was so suspect to the kings who succeeded after them, that it was the cause of their downfall: and yet, since that surname was put down, Scotland has done few valiant deeds in England. But we will return to our History.

Chap. Ninth.

Of the death of the tyrant, King Edward Longshanks. And how Edward of Caernarvon, his son, was made King of England. How King Robert got several victories on his enemies. And of great dearth in Scotland.

Edward of England, dreading the Scots, because of their successes, would increase each day in more insolence, came with a more formidable force than ever he did before in Scotland, intending to subdue it all utterly, beyond any recovery; and, on his coming to the Borders, he fell into a serious illness, and died suddenly, without any confession or sacrament of Holy Church.

The truth is, that a knight of England, named Sir William Bannister, in the hour of King Edward's death, fell into an ecstasy; and saw this odious tyrant cruelly scourged, for the murder of so many innocent people: and, finally, saw him carried, by an infinite number of devils, to hell. As soon as this knight had seen this vision, he fell in a serious illness, and could never get rest, until he was brought to an open place, before all the people, to tell his vision; and when he had said the same to the people, with all circumstance described above, he recovered, and persevered in virtuous life and penance to his death. This appears to be true; because this bloody tyrant raged, with unnatural cruelty, on Christian people, above the rigour of arms; for when he was in his last extremis, he commanded 50 young children, who were taken in the castle of Kildrummy, after it was captured by Englishmen, to be all slain, without any compassion on their tender years and innocence.

After his death, the nobles of England took his son Edward of Caernarvon, and made him king. This Edward, following the footsteps of his father, summoned all the lords of Scotland to Dumfries, where many of them were sworn to make homage and faith to him, as to their superior and king. Others rebelled against him; expecting, by the death of King Edward, great dissension and trouble would follow in England; for his son was young, and took no counsel of his lords, but only of Piers Gaveston, who was hated both by Englishmen and Scots. King Edward, soon after, returned to England, and sent ambassadors to France, desiring support for his wars.

In the meantime, John Comyn, Earl of Buchan, gathered an army of Englishmen and Scots against King Robert. And though King Robert was in great infirmity, he came on a horse litter to the camp against his enemies. Comyn, with other Scots, and Englishmen in great number, stayed at a fortress; trusting by their only multitude, to put King Robert to flight; but, at last, Comyn was defeated, and many of his army slain, or else taken. This victory was got at Inverurie, 10 miles from Aberdeen; and was so pleasing to King Robert, that he got his health back thereby.

In the same year, Donald of the Isles came with a great force against King Robert, and was defeated by Edward Bruce, at the Water of Dee. King Robert, after several battles succeeding to him with great success, came with an army to Argyll; and not only subjected the country, but took Alexander, lord of Argyll, out of a strong castle thereof, and banished him, with all his friends, to England, where he soon after died.

In the same year. King Edward came with an army to Renfrew, and returned to England, after few deeds worthy to have memory. And, in this year, through continual wars, there arose such dearth in Scotland, that neither victuals nor cattle could be got

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in any parts thereof; through which the dearth was so great, that the people ate horse, and other forbidden flesh, to sustain their lives.

Chap. Tenth

Of the condition of truce, made between Edward Bruce and the Captain of Stirling. How King Edward came, with 300 thousand men, to relieve Stirling. Of the victory of Earl Thomas Randolph.

King Robert, in the following year, which was from the Incarnation, 1311 years, chased Englishmen out of all parts of Scotland: then entered two separate times in England; and, after he had put many lands and people thereof to raids and slaughter, he returned to Scotland with innumerable riches, spoils, and plunder of cattle; through which England was put to no less affliction and trouble, than Scotland was, in the years described above, by King Edward. And in the year following, on the 8th day of January, King Robert took the town of Perth by storm, and slew all the people found in it, and cast down all the walls thereof to the ground. And in the same year, the castles of Dumfries, Ayr, Lanark, with many other strongholds and castles in Scotland, were surrendered to him, and cast down to the ground.

The castle of Roxburgh was taken by Sir James Douglas on Shrove Tuesday, from our redemption, 1313 years. And in the same year, Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, took the castle of Edinburgh. And in this year, Edward Bruce besieged the castle of Stirling; and, though he attacked it with as much skill and force as might take any house, yet his labour was in vain: for the castle was not only strong by its walls, but very powerful by nature of the cliffs, standing on a high hill, where there was no passage but in one place. In this castle there was a valiant knight, Sir Philip Mowbray, Scotsman, although he supported the Englishmen at that time; having sufficient supplies to defend it a long time. Edward, very sorrowful in his mind, and not knowing whether he should leave the siege, or continue still, to his insupportable expense; though it was very degrading to his honour, since he had taken such a great task in hand, to desist cowardly from there. At last, he decided to win the mind of the captain; and said, if he would surrender the castle freely, he should be as familiar to King Robert, as he was before with King Edward. Finally, because the captain refused to surrender the house in this way, he approached him with a new proposal: although it succeeded more by luck than strategy: if the captain got no relief from King Edward within the year next following, he should surrender the said castle to Scots.

This condition of peace was made by Edward Bruce very foolishly. For any prudent man might expect that the rich and powerful King of England would come in support of this matter, having such a long time to arrange it. Also, it was against the art of warfare, to give such a long truce, until their enemies could be sufficiently prepared to attack them with battle. Although these conditions of truce taken by Edward Bruce, were found very displeasing to King Robert, yet he would not be repugnant thereto, in case some sedition or trouble might follow thereafter between him and his brother; and yet he understood, the battle was to be fought always against the King of England.

In the meantime. King Edward sent to all kings and princes that were allied with him, to have support against the Scots; promising, after his victory, to divide Scotland among them: and, therefore, not only the people that stood under his rule, but great numbers of several other people came with him, on this adventure; especially they that had but small estate at home; expecting to obtain, by his conquest and victory, lands and riches sufficient to sustain their estate in times coming: and, in

hope thereof, they brought with them their wives and children, with all the goods which they might bring with them, both on foot and horse. The lands where King Edward got support for this campaign, were these that follow: Holland, Zeeland, Brabant, Flanders, Picardy, Boulogne, Gascony, Normandy, with many other regions, which were all that time either allied with England, or else under their dominion; and, as well, many Scotsmen, which because of the success of the Englishmen, took part at this time with King Edward, against their native prince. The number that came at this time in Scotland with King Edward, extended to an hundred and fifty thousand footmen, with as many horsemen. And, as well, there was an infinite number of porters and carriage-men, with their wives, children, maidens, and servants; as if they were certain to sit down perpetually in Scotland: through which, the number was so great, that no order nor craft of warfare could be observed among them: for men, wives, and children were all mixed together; through which arose a huge confusion and clamour in all parts where they came, through diversity of tongue.

King Edward, by this incredible number of people, very proud and insolent, took little solicitude or thought of battle; for, when he was approaching near the borders of Scotland, he took counsel with his nobles, with what cruel and shameful torment he might best punish King Robert and his nobles; presuming, by vain arrogance, to punish them, as if they were certain in his hands. Also, he brought with him a Carmelite monk, to describe his conquest and victory over Scotland. And not only the king, but every man in his company, despised the Scots.

On the other side, King Robert did everything with great prudence and industry; and, with 30,000 men, fierce, and well exercised in warfare, he came swiftly against his enemies, and set down his camp with good array on a plain above Bannockburn: it is uncertain whether he did this because of the great confidence he had in his people, or if he did it to cause his foes to respect him. And as he expected, so it followed: for, when the Englishmen began to wonder how he dared come with such a small army against their huge forces, it was said, by an aged and wise captain of England, "We will get no victory this day, without hard fighting, and great slaughter of people:" for he knew well the great wisdom and courage of King Robert, and his forceful champions, so long practiced in warfare.

Further, to strengthen his courage with more skilful deceit, he made deep ditches in the place where the battle was set, and drove in stakes, with sharp points rising up, covered with sods with such talent, that foot-men might pass them without any danger; but when any force of horse-men came above the said ditches, the covering would break, and, immediately, the horse-men should either be impaled on the stakes, or else confined without any out-passage. Such things done, he stayed still in the same place, waiting with great courage for the coming of the Englishmen.

And when both the armies were approaching to other, within a mile, King Edward sent 800 horsemen by a secret way to the castle of Stirling, to tell the captain of his coming. As soon as King Robert saw them proceeding forward, he sent Earl Thomas Randolph, with 500 men, to protect the country from their invasion; who met these Englishmen with incredible courage: through which it was fought cruelly, with uncertain victory, a long time, in the sight of both the armies. In the meantime, Sir James Douglas feared, that Earl Thomas, his special and dear friend, should be overcome by the multitude of Englishmen; and, immediately, he fell on his knees before King Robert, desiring licence to support his friend: and, because the king would not agree to his purpose so quickly as he desired, he rushed out of the army,

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without any permission, with a company of chosen men, to the to do what he intended. At last, when he was coming near the place where the earl fought, and saw the victory inclining to him, with great slaughter of Englishmen, he stood still, that he should not, by his coming, rob from his dear friend the glory of victory, which he had obtained with such success and courage.

This victory was so pleasing to all the army of the Scots, that every man was inspired with new courage; believing, with certain hope, greater success was approaching.

Chap. Eleventh.

How the two Kings exhorted their Armies to Battle. How the Englishmen were defeated at Bannockburn; and King Edward chased by Douglas to Dunbar. Of great riches that fell to the Scots by this victory. How the town of Antwerp and the Flemings had their beginning.

The Englishmen were little daunted by this defeat; although they saw the Scots do this honour more by courage, than number of people: and so that the Scots should not be insolent through this victory, they prepared to fight with them on the following day.

King Robert made his people, though they were few in number, ready for battle in the same manner; thinking of ways to bring his enemies into the ditches before devised. First, he commanded the army to make their confessions, and to be ready, on the following day, to receive the blessed sacrament after mass: through which they might have better hope of victory. On the other side, the Englishmen, by high courage, expected huge plunder of lands and goods to fall to them for small labour of one day.

All the night before the battle, King Robert was very weary, having great solicitude for the welfare of his army, and could take no rest, but rolling all risks and chance of fortune in his mind: and once he went to his devout prayer, making his speech to God and Saint Fillan, whose arm, as he believed, set in silver, was closed in a case within his tent; trusting the better fortune to follow from it. In the meantime, the case made a clacking noise suddenly, without any motion or work of mortal creatures. The priest, amazed by this wonder, went to the altar where the case lay; and, when he found the arm in the case, he cried, "Here is a great miracle:" and immediately he confessed, that he brought the empty case on the campaign, fearing that the relic would be lost in the field, where there were such great risks. The king, rejoicing in this miracle, passed the remaining night in his prayers, with good hope of victory.

On the following day, he gathered all his army at Mass, to receive the body of God, to make them have the more courage against their enemies. In this army was a devout man, named Maritius, abbot of Inchaffray, who said Mass on a high mound, and administered the Eucharist to the king and his nobles; and caused his priests to administer it to the remainder of the army. After this, King Robert called the people to his standard, and said: "I believe, most forceful champions, there is no-one among you who does not know how necessary it is for us to fight this day against our enemies. You see an army gathered against you, not only of Englishmen, but of several other nations lying about them, and coming against us, with their wives and children, not only to dwell in our lands, but also to banish us out of the same; and they intend to till our lands, to frequent our houses and temples, and, finally, to bring us to such utter ruin, that our fame and memory shall perish in Albion. Our enemies have long considered, although foolishly, with what cruel and horrible torment they shall make us suffer, if ever we are vanquished, or come into their hands; not knowing your invincible courage and valour, so long exercised in warfare, which is very patent in me by long experience. Nonetheless, if want to know what valiant men are now attacking you with such empty threats, most forceful and invincible champions; they

are the refuse of all realms; without any practice or experience of warfare; and continually, since their first years, drowned in lusts among dissipated whores. And because these feeble and cowardly persons have wasted their patrimony, lands, and goods, in vile and corrupt deeds, they intend to drive you from your native lands, heritage, and realms. Nonetheless, you shall soon experience, that it shall be no more difficult to slay them than sheep. Further, even if you suppose they were endowed with great virtue, you should neither be afraid, nor yet foolhardy; for, in so far as we have a juster cause to defend than they have to pursue, so far should we believe that God shall be more favorable to us than to them. God has now shown to us his favour by a miracle of Saint Fillan, which is coming, as I believe, to your ears. Therefore, I pray you, be of good comfort, as you are. Set on that confused multitude of people; and trust well, where God is on our side, no multitude of enemies may prevail: and the more people came against you, the prey and riches shall be more profitable for you."

On the other side, King Edward prayed his people to remember, if they fought valiantly for an hour or two, they should have infinite riches, and the realm of Scotland, in reward of their labour, of which he desired nothing but the superiority. Also, he prayed them to remember what irrecoverable shame should follow, since they were departed out of their countries, to return home without profit or victory.

At last, when they were passing forward to battle, they might scarcely be severed from embracing of their wives and children: nonetheless, by exhortation of their captains, they came to good array. The archers stood arrayed among the horsemen, about each wing; and the main force in the midst of them; believing their enemies were not strong enough to resist their great forces.

King Robert, that his people could have no hope of running away, commanded them to leave their horses behind them, and to come on foot to battle. Maritius, the abbot foresaid, took the cross, in which the crucifix was hanging, and erected it before the army in manner of a banner. Immediately all the army of the Scots fell on their knees, devoutly commending themselves to God. The Englishmen, seeing the Scots fall on their knees, believed they had surrendered without a blow struck; but when they saw them rise and come forward, they began to be afraid. Immediately, both the armies rushed together. At the first joining, many people were driven to the earth, on all sides. The archers, who were arrayed in the outer skirts of the wings, were very troublesome to the Scots; until, at last, Edward Bruce came on their backs with 1,000 spearmen, and broke them in such a way, that they did little more injury. Immediately, a force of horsemen, to the number of 30,000 men, came all rushing forward at once, to have overridden the Scots; and, when they were coming forward with the greatest violence, they fell all together in the ditches, where they were miserably slain without any resistance. And yet the Scots, through multitude of enemies, were near vanquished. Then the carriage-men and women, seeing their masters in such extreme danger, put on their shirts above their clothes, with towels and napkins bound to their spears, and came down the hill, opposite their enemies, with most awful and terrible noise. The Englishmen, fighting the with most fury against the Scots with uncertain victory, and seeing this new force coming down the hill on their face, were sore afraid; and because they could scarcely sustain the violent force of the Scots then present, they expected to be utterly destroyed if they persevered any further in battle, and turned tail: on whom followed the Scots with insatiable ire, and made slaughter in all parts where they came; specially where King Edward fled.

Sir James Douglas, with 400 chosen men, not sated by the continual slaughter of his enemies, followed King Edward, in a long chase, to Dunbar; where he was received by Patrick Dunbar, Earl of March, with 15 earls; and brought to England in a fishing boat: to be an example of the uncertain state and glory of princes: for, though this Edward was, this day at morning, very proud; with many dukes, earls, and barons, under his rule; not unlike the great army of King Xerxes; yet he was forced, before evening, to save his life in a poor fishing boat, fleeing by the sea to England.

In this battle were slain 50,000 Englishmen, the Duke of Gloucester, with 200 knights. Among others was slain Sir Giles D'Argentan; who lies in Saint Cuthbert's church, beside Edinburgh. The death of Sir Giles was so displeasing to King Robert, for the familiarity that he had with him in England, that he enjoyed nothing of the present victory; and was, therefore, heavily reproved by his nobles, because he appeared sorrowful after such great success falling to his people. Of the Scots were slain scarcely 4,000 men, with 2 knights; Sir William Wepont, and Sir Walter Ross. The spoils were so great, of gold, silver, and other jewels, got in the said field, that all the Scots were enriched by the same, notwithstanding their great poverty falling to them before by continual wars; for they got at this time little less money and riches by ransom of English prisoners taken by them, than of spoils in the field.

King Robert's wife, who was held 8 years before in England, was interchanged with a duke of England. The golden and silken cloths, of which King Edward's tents were made, were distributed among the abbeys of Scotland, to be vestments and altar-cloths; of which many yet remain to our day. Also, the Carmelite friar, who was brought, as we have written, by King Edward, to put his victory into verse, was taken in this field; and commanded by King Robert, in place of his ransom, to write as he saw. This Carmelite friar made these rotten verses, which begin thus:

De plantu cudo metrum cum carmine nudo.

["To thresh pout a poem with a leafless branch"]

It is said, on the night before this battle, 2 men, in foreign clothes, came to the abbot of Glastonbury in England, for it was an abbey of hospitality, and desired lodging. The abbot received them pleasantly; and, when he had asked them who they were, and where they were going, they said, that they were servants of God, and sent by him to help the Scots at Bannockburn. On the following day, the abbot found them gone before the gates were opened, and their beds standing in the same array as they were left. It was believed, therefore, that they were angels, sent, by provision of God, to defend the Scots, in their just cause, against the tyranny of Englishmen.

On the same day that this battle was fought, a knight, with shining armour, said to the people at Aberdeen, that the Scots had got a glorious victory over Englishmen. Soon after, he went across Pentland Firth: and was held by the people to be Saint Magnus, once Prince of Orkney; and, for that reason, King Robert endowed the church of Orkney with 5 pounds sterling of the customs of Aberdeen, to furnish bread, wine, and wax, to that church.

King Robert, after this glorious victory, rewarded many noblemen of his realm with lands and goods, for their proven courage and virtue in the said battle. Robert Fleming, for his faithful service, got the lands of Cumbernauld; of whom are descended a noble house, persevering yet in great honour to their days.

It is said, that 2 knights of Brabant came, by request of King Edward, to this battle. At last, when they had heard most injurious words and detraction spoken by

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Englishmen, in the night before the battle, against King Robert, they prayed God to send him victory; and, for these words, they were so hated by the Englishmen, that they narrowly escaped with their life, and proclamations were made, that he who would bring their heads would have 100 marks sterling to his reward. King Robert, hearing in what trouble they had come for his sake, rewarded them with rich spoils of the said battle; with which they returned to Brabant, and built the town of Antwerp; and engraved the arms of Bruce most skilfully in all parts of the said town, to be a memorial of the benevolence that these 2 knights had towards King Robert for his liberality.

This glorious victory succeeded to Scots on the nativity of Saint John the Baptist; <111> from our redemption, 1314 years.

Chap Twelfth.

How the crown of Scotland was assigned to King Robert and his heirs. How Edward, his brother, was made King of Ireland, and slain by Englishmen. How King Robert suffered great distress in Ireland.

Having defeated the English at Bannockburn, King Robert convened a parliament at Ayr; in which, by consent of the three estates, he got the crown of Scotland assigned to him and the heirs-male got of his body; and failing thereof, the crown to come to Edward Bruce, his brother; and failing the heirs-male of them both, the crown to come to Marjory, his daughter, and the heirs got on her body whatsoever. Also, if King Robert and his brother happened to die, before the heirs of Marjory were of age, it was commanded that Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, and sister-son to King Robert, should be Governor of Scotland, until the heirs foresaid were come of age. This Marjory was got by King Robert on the Earl of Mar's sister, his first wife; and was married, with the approval of of the nobles, to Walter, Great Steward of Scotland. King Robert soon after married Elizabeth, daughter to the Earl of Ulster; on whom he got a son, named David, and 2daughters, Margaret and Maud. The first was married to the Earl of Sutherland, and bore him a son, named John. The second, Maud, died in her infancy.

King Robert, after the marriage of Marjory, his first daughter, went through all the lands of his realm, and not only confirmed their old privileges, but endowed several towns and barronies of his realm with new prerogatives; especially the towns of Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen; as appears yet in his charters.

In the year following, which was from our redemption 1315, the princes of Ireland, oppressed by long tyranny of Englishmen, and hoping, because so huge a victory was got by the Scots, to recover their liberty; sent their ambassadors to King Robert, desiring him to send his brother Edward, to receive the crown of Ireland. Edward, not refusing their desires, went with a small number of men in Ireland; where he, by assistance of the people thereof, won a great town, named Ulcony,<112> and slew all the Englishmen that he found in it. The princes of Ireland, after they had chosen Edward Bruce to be king, sent ambassadors to the Pope, desiring him to ratify the thing that they had done for their common good; for they would live no longer under servitude to Englishmen. Their ambassadors obtained many terrible decrees of the Pope against Englishmen, to cause them to depart out of Ireland; yet they would not obey them but oppressed the people there each day with more tyranny.

King Robert, hearing in what danger his brother was, by the coming of new armies of Englishmen against him, left Sir James Douglas Governor of Scotland, and went with an army to support his brother in Ireland; where he sustained such miserable distress, that a great part of his army died of hunger, and the remainder constrained to eat horses. And when he was within a day's journey of his brother King Edward, to have supported him sufficiently with the remainder of his army; the said Edward, not waiting for his coming, fought imprudently with Englishmen: it is uncertain whether he knew not of the coming of King Robert his brother, or if he, through burning desire of battle, feared that his brother should rob him the glory of victory. At last, seeing the courage of his men fail, that he should not lose the honour of his nation, he fought with no less courage than persevering obstinacy, to the death, and was slain; from the Incarnation, 1318 years.

Chap. Thirteenth.

How King Edward was defeated by Sir James Douglas. Of great deeds done by William Sinclair, Bishop of Dunkeld, against Englishmen; and how Berwick was recovered.

Edward, King of England, hearing that King Robert had gone to Ireland, thought the time expedient to conquer Scotland; and came with a greater force than ever he did before. Nonetheless, Sir James Douglas, Governor, gave him battle on the Borders, and put him and all his army to flight. Although, the victory succeeded not without infinite slaughter on either side. In this battle, Sir James Douglas slew three of the most valiant champions of England, with his own hands.

King Edward, despairing, because of the sovereign courage and wisdom of Sir James Douglas, to gain any honour in Scotland by land; decided to attack it by sea; and sent a fleet of ships to the Forth, which burned and plundered the land on every side about them. Duncan, Earl of Fife, learning of these cruelties done by Englishmen, came, with 500 armed men, to resist their invasion. Nonetheless, when he saw they had more force than he could resist, he fled back. In the meantime, William Sinclair, Bishop of Dunkeld met him, with 60 well-armed men; and finally, brought him again to the same place where the Englishmen were rampaging, with awful incursions, through the country. At the first joining, 500 Englishmen were slain, and the remaining chased to their boats; which they boarded in such great number, that the boats sank down with them, before they could come to their ships. Bishop Sinclair, for this honourable honour, was always called afterwards, King Robert's Bishop.

In the same year, Robert Stuart, son to Walter Stuart and Marjory Bruce, was born; who succeeded, after the death of King David Bruce, to the crown. And in this year, which was from our redemption 1318 years, Earl Thomas Randolph invaded the North parts of England; and returned, with great plunder of men and goods, without any trouble to his army; and recovered Berwick, with the help of an Englishman named Spalden, by whom the said town was recovered, after it had been in Englishmen's hands 20 years. His posterity yet owns certain lands in Angus, for the same reason. In the year following, King Edward besieged Berwick: but it was so valiantly defended, that he returned home with small honour.

At this time, Marjory Bruce, King Robert's daughter, died: and soon after, a long peace was made between Englishmen and Scots.

Chap. Fourteenth.

Of the Black Parliament. How King Edward complained to the Pope about injuries done by the Scots. Of the Speech made by the Pope's Legate to King Robert; and of his answer.

King Robert having his realm without any trouble from enemies, held a parliament at Perth; and desired his lords to show their holdings and charters of their lands. The lords, after long discussion, pulled out all their swords at once, and said, They had no other evidence nor charters to show for their lands. King Robert was very frightened by this sight; and although he took great indignation and hatred in his mind, he dissimulated for a time, and said, They showed that they were noblemen, since they won and defended their lands by the sword. Nonetheless, he bore great hatred against them in his mind, and determined to revenge their proud contempt, whenever he found sufficient opportunity.

Several of the nobles, informed that the king was moved with great hatred against them, thought it best to attempt a thing more cruel against him, before his purpose came to effect; and made an agreement among themselves, to put him, by some deceit, into King Edward's hands. This treachery was not long hidden to King Robert. Nonetheless, that the truth thereof should be the more patent, King Robert secretly placed certain persons on the road, to search all persons going towards the Borders; to see if they might find any letters with them, whereby he could be the more surely informed of their treachery. It is said a palmer was sent by their lords, to go to the King of England with their treaty, and had it enclosed within a staff: nonetheless, he was taken, and finally brought the treaty of letters, containing the whole treachery devised against King Robert. As soon as King Robert had seen the letters, he sent for these nobles to come to him, with all diligence; as a great matter was occurring, which might not be addressed without their consultation. After their coming, he demanded them if they knew their handwriting and seals: and because they could not deny it, they were sent to several castles, to remain in captivity, until he was further advised. Such things done, he went to Berwick, and commanded a mace-bearer^{<113>} to arrest Sir William Soulis, captain thereof, to his justice. And because the mace-bearer, for fear of this great man, was afraid; he pulled the mace from him, and said to the captain, "Traitor, I arrest you!" Thus Sir William was taken, and brought to Perth.

Not long after, there was a convention of the lords at Perth, called the Black Parliament; from the Incarnation, 1320 years. At first, King Robert accused his sister's son, David Abernethy; for he knew about this treachery, although he had not assisted it, but he would not reveal it in time. The king would prefer that he had been saved: nonetheless, he was so rigorous on the rest, that it could not be easily done. And because no man laboured for him, he was beheaded with great lament by the people; for he was held the flower of warfare, and had fought many years before, with great honour and victory, against the Turks. On the following day, all the remaining conspirators were beheaded, in the same manner, without any mercy.

At this time, King Edward sent writings to the Pope, complaining of the injuries done by Scots, saying, He was so cruelly attacked by them, that he might not go with his army against the Turks, as his elders did before; nor yet come out of his realm, to support or attack any other people: and, therefore, desired the Pope's Holiness, if he desired peace among Christian princes, to stop the wild fury of the Scots, raging with greatest cruelty against him. With these and similar words, he

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moved the Pope to great hatred against the Scots; although he was the whole occasion of all wars between England and Scotland.

Soon after, a legate was sent by the Pope to King Robert, complaining of the injuries and trouble done by his people against Englishmen; saying, "The Christian faith might never be safe, so long as Christian princes were at continual war among themselves; as was obvious: for the Great Turk, cruel and unmerciful enemy to Christian people, had obtained, lately, great lands of Christendom, and was daily extending his rule with new conquests." The legate, after these words, was removed, until the king had consulted with his nobles, what was to be answered in this matter. The whole nobility of Scotland being present at this convention, with long and careful deliberation, decided, to show more clearly their contempt for these arguments, to attack the Englishmen with a new army; and said, "The words of this legate were not worthy to have an answer; for each man might clearly understand the Pope was not so wicked, but he knew well the motive of these wars, since their cause been so oft stated before him; and Englishmen continually set to overcome their realm, although they had no just title nor claim thereto; for the crown of Scotland had been enjoyed with Scots in such liberty, that 46 kings, in a long progression, have lineally succeeded to these days, always of one blood, without any interruption; until lately, Englishmen, when they saw the succession of King Alexander fail, set out to to seize the crown of Scotland. And for that cause, they would first defeat the invasion of Englishmen, and, after that, they would accept the pope's correction."

The legate, dispatched in this manner, returned home, without any expedition of his desires.

Chap. Fifteenth.

How King Edward, after great cruelties done by his army in Scotland, was defeated by King Robert at Byland. How the Hamiltons began; and of King Edward's death.

A short time after, King Robert entered England with an army, and wasted all the lands thereof with fire and sword, until he came to the Rey Cross, in Stainmore. King Edward, reacting to these injuries, came to Scotland, with a hundred thousand armed men, on foot and horse. King Robert, informed of his coming, had all the crops and cattle brought into strongholds, where they might not be got to support the army of England. At last, the Englishmen came to Edinburgh; but they were forced, within 15 days, to depart, for lack of victuals: and yet, within few days after, they returned to Scotland, and ceased from no manner of cruelty on the people thereof. They plundered the abbey of Melrose, and slew several aged monks; they plundered the Eucharist out of the case of silver where it hung, and threw it into a wooden chest; compared justly to children of Lucifer, who intended to spoil God out of his own house. Also, they burned Dryburgh, with many other religious abbeys and places.

King Robert, to revenge these injuries, came soon after to England, and wasted all lands and towns thereof, until he came to York; and fought with King Edward at Byland, and put his army to flight, with great slaughter both of Englishmen and Normans: of which many were taken, and ransomed with great sums of money. This battle was fought, from our redemption, 1323 years.

Not long after, King Robert sent an ambassador, to renew the treaty between France and Scotland; and added these conditions to the said treaty. "If the succession failed to any of these two kings, and it was uncertain who should be the heir; the claim and right of the crown to be decided by the nobles of both the realms. And they shall not only exclude tyrants, if any of them would usurp the crown, but defend the just heir thereof." This treaty was ratified by comunion of the Blessed Sacrament, and intervention of the Pope's authority.

About this time, an Englishman of noble blood, named Hanton, to avoid the hatred of King Edward, fled to King Robert in Scotland. This Hanton, after the battle of Bannockburn, was in the King of England's house at London, and had a singular favour to King Robert, often praising his great courage and virtue; until at last, John Spenser, a very familiar and tender servant to King Edward, although he was of vile and obscure lineage, took such displeasure at this praise of King Edward's enemy, that he quickly pulled his sword and hurt Hanton, although he was little the worse. Hanton, refusing to tolerate this outrage, as man of high spirit and anger; continually waited for his chance, until, at last, he slew this Spenser. And because he was advised by his friends to avoid the king's hatred, he fled with great diligence to Scotland, and was tenderly received by King Robert, and got the lands of Cadzow; whose posterity live yet among us, increased to a great number of people, called Hamiltons, slightly changed from the name of their first beginner.

While such things were done in Scotland, King Edward governed the realm of England, both in war and peace, by the counsel of Hugh Despenser, a man of low birth; who had mounted to high honour in such a manner, that the king was governed only by him, and held his queen and nobles in no estimation. The nobles, refusing to tolerate a man of such vile lineage above them; with the support of the Queen, and her son, the Prince of England, took King Edward, by force of arms, into captivity; and

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slew this Despenser, with many other of the king's treacherous counsellors. A short time afterwards, King Edward was slain miserably in prison; for the jailers who kept the prison where he was, to put him quickly to death, by the advice of his son, pressed down a heavy board on his belly: and because he did not die as quickly as they desired by this punishment, they put a hot iron, through an horn, into his anus, and burned all the inward parts of his body therewith, until he was dead; that the people might see he died of no outward wounds, but only of natural infirmity. After whose death, his son, Edward Windsor, succeeded, and was crowned the 26th day of January; from the Incarnation, 1326 years.

Chap. Sixteenth.

How John Balliol transferred all right that he had to the crown of Scotland to King Robert. How the crown was entailed to David Bruce. How Sir James Douglas and Earl Thomas Randolph did great deeds in Scotland.

Robert, the recoverer of Scotland, after many illustrious deeds for the public welfare and liberty of Scotland; although he had right enough to the crown thereof; and knowing Balliol unable to take the crown, because he had renounced it, and put the realm in his enemies' hands: yet, so that the heirs of Balliol should have no just claim to the crown after his death, he sent Sir James Douglas to France, to solicit John Balliol to transfer his right to King Robert and his heirs, and to give Balliol both money and lands in Scotland for his right.

It is said, Balliol, at the coming of Sir James, was fallen blind, by long age; and said, that he was always unable to have governed the realm of Scotland; and there was none so able as King Robert, his cousin, who had so valiantly defended it from the most cruel enemies. Immediately, Balliol called his friends before him, and transferred all right and claim that he had, or might have, in and to the crown of Scotland, to the said King Robert and his heirs whatsoever; desiring nothing so much, as for him and his heirs to reign in perpetual happiness.

King Robert, learning of the return of Sir James Douglas, with good success in his matters, convened all his nobles to a council at Cambuskenneth, and made a new entail to his son David, in this manner: "If his son David died without heirs of his body, his nephew, Robert Stuart, got on Marjory Bruce, his daughter, should succeed to the crown." All the nobles were sworn to defend this new entail.

In the meantime. King Edward sent his ambassadors to Scotland, desiring peace. Although, it was a deceit; for, notwithstanding the peace contracted by him, he attacked Scotland with continual wars.

Not long after, King Robert fell into great infirmity; and gave over the governance of the realm to Earl Thomas Randolph and Sir James Douglas: for they were 2 of the most noble knights in the world.

These two chieftains entered Northumberland with 25,000 men; against whom came King Edward, with 100,000 men: nonetheless, these two champions commanded their army with such courage and wisdom, that they wasted all the country where they came, and returned without any damage to Scotland.

King Edward, to revenge these incursions, came with 100,000 men to Scotland, and wrought great cruelties where they came; so that the Scots should come in defence of their lands and goods. At last, when they had lain three days at the Water of Tyne, and could not come over, for it was risen above the banks; news came, that all Northumberland was burned and plundered by the Scots, and the foray passing so fast through the country, without stopping in any place, so that no man knew where to find them. In the meantime, scouts were sent out, on swift horses, to see where the Scots were; and found them within three miles of the camp of Englishmen, arrayed on a hill, ready to fight. Edward raised his camp immediately, and came against the Scots. On the following day, both the armies were arrayed in the sight of each other. The Scots, being of small number compared to the Englishmen, stood arrayed at a

great fortification on the hill. At last, when Englishmen had stood all day, and dared not break their array, they returned to their tents: and sent a herald to Scots, desiring them, if they dared fight, to come to the plains, where they might have battle; as if it were not the duty of prudent captains, to keep their army in the best order that could be devised. And when the armies had stood three nights in each other's sight, and dared not attack the other, they returned to their camp.

After both the armies had stood a long time arrayed in each other's sight in this manner, Sir James Douglas decided to attack as a matter of great honour; and, immediately, he chose 200 very valiant and active men, with swift geldings, and slipped quietly by the watchmen of the English; who were at that time all asleep, except a few, who were awakened by the din of horses' feet. Thus came Douglas, without any noise, to King Edward's tent: and had not the army of England arisen quickly, he would have slain the king; for he cut 2 ropes of his tent, and returned to the army of the Scots without any damage to him or his people. The Englishmen, after this sortie, were more vigilant in times coming; for they had been all utterly defeated, if the array of the Scots had attacked them the said night. The Scots, trusting this honour sufficient for this time, returned home without any displeasure.

As soon as the Englishmen were informed that the Scots had departed, they came quickly to the place where their camp lay, in hope of some rich spoils; and found 10,000 pairs of Highland shoes, scattered through all places where the army of Scotland lay, which were left behind the carriage, as an impediment to their going. The Englishmen believed such things left in mockery; and returned home, without any profit or honour falling to them by this expedition.

In this year, Walter Stuart died; whose son, Robert, was, afterwards, King of Scotland. And, in the year following, Queen Elizabeth, mother to the Prince David Bruce, died, and was buried in Dunfermline; from our redemption, 1328 years.

In the same year, King Robert won the castle of Norham; and, soon after, he besieged the castle of Alnwick, where many noblemen of Scotland were slain. And in the end of this year. King Edward sent his ambassadors to Scotland, to treat peace; and renounced all right and claim that he had, or might have, to the realm of Scotland; and declared it as free as it was in time of King Alexander the Third, under these conditions: "Northumberland should be the frontier of Scotland, on the East parts; and Cumbria to be frontier, on the West Borders thereof. Also, for the said renunciation made by King Edward, and for the harms done by Scots to Englishmen, King Robert should pay to the said King Edward, 30,000 marks sterling." And, so that peace should be more certain, King Edward married his sister Jane to David Bruce, Prince of Scotland, at Berwick, the 17th day of July, in presence of many nobles, both of Scotland and England.

Chap. Seventeenth.

Of the death and popularity of King Robert Bruce; and of his testament and legacy. How Sir James Douglas was chosen, to go with his heart to the Holy Land.

King Robert did not live long after this marriage; for he died at Cardros, of leprosy, which fell on him in the latter end of his age, on the 7th day of June, in the 24th year of his reign; from our redemption, 1329 years: one of the most valiant princes that was in any part of the world in his days, having experience of both good and evil fortune. His realm being lost, and all his brothers slain, except his brother Edward, he persevered with such manliness and invincible spirit, that he recovered his realm and liberty, when many of the great barons of Scotland were against him.

Also, he was in no less honour and esteem among his enemies, than among his friends. For King Edward happened to be discussing, at a solemn banquet of several valiant princes, concerning the glory of arms and warfare; and, when the nobles were arguing about that in different ways, they raised the question, Who were the three most valiant and forceful champions living in their days. After long contention, they postponed this question to be discussed by a herald, who was King of Arms. The King of Arms, with the remainder of the heralds was very reluctant; for not only the king, but many of the nobles that were with him, expected, for their singular courage, to be numbered among the three. Although, it happened far from their intent: for this herald knew not only all the nobles of England, but all other nobles and valiant princes of the world, where he had travelled; having all their deeds in recent memory. "The first most valiant champion," said the herald, "was Henry, the Emperor; for he subjected three kings, and three realms, and upheld his imperial dignity with great success to the end of his life. The second was Sir Gilles of Argentan; because he was victorious in three separate battles against the Saracens, and slew three of their principal captains with his own hands. The third, if it were not displeasing to his prince to say the truth, was Robert Bruce, King of Scotland."

Immediately a huge noise and clamour arose among all the people their present, because the herald so pertly spoke the truth, without any fear, in presence of his prince.

Then the herald said, "I beseech your Highness, if I have spoken truth, to take no displeasure at my declaration; for, if any man must be vanquished, it is less dishonour to be vanquished by him that is most valiant, than by him that is most cowardly. Also, to show you how far I advance the great valour of King Robert, whom you resent being numbered with the two first champions; although, if the truth were said, we might prefer him above the two most valiant champions described above. For the great acts and valiant deeds done by Henry, Emperor, were not done by his own courage and prudence, but rather by the counsel of his nobles. By contrast, Robert was exiled from his realm; and recovered it only by his courage, against the great strength of your noble father, and many of the great barons of Scotland: and, finally, seured it with such tranquillity, that he appeared more terrible to his English enemies, and others who attacked him, than ever his enemies were before to his subjects. Also, there is no-one that will reproach his honour, or will deny his rights, but he will prove the same, with his hands, in single combat against them; and the honour to be awarded to him that is victorious. Also, he had such incredible courage

and strength, that there was no-one in his realm, that dared move any rebellion against him."

King Robert, a short time before his death, gathered all his nobles to a council, and commended to them the governance of his son, David; for he was at that time but seven years of age: and gave his counsel, before his death, to them, of several high matters concerning the governance of Scotland. First, he advised them, never to make a lord of the Isles; for the people thereof are always unsettled in their minds, and soon brought to rebellion against the king: and, if they do, it is an extreme labour to defeat them, because of the difficulty of passage of both land and seas. Secondly, never to fight a set battle with Englishmen, nor to risk the realm upon the chance of one battle; but to resist Englishmen rather by frequent skirmishing, than any set battle: so that, if the Scots bedefeated, they may have some strength to resist their enemies. Thirdly, he recommended that the Scots do not make any long peace with the Englishmen; for the talent of man grows dull and feeble by long sloth; and, for lack of use and experience, they would not sustain great charges of battle, especially when they are weakened by a long peace. And since it is so, that the Englishmen keep never peace with the Scots, when they see any advantage, he thought it best never to have peace with the English above three or four years; and, when the Englishmen have the least pretext for war, then to be most vigilant, in case their enemies come on them without any warning. And, because he made his solemn vow, to go with an army, in defence of the Christian faith, against the Turks, and was prevented by untimely death, he left his heart to Christ: and choose his true knight, Sir James Douglas, to go with it to the Holy Sepulchre; because his presence had been most necessary for defence of this realm. And, for this cause, the Douglasses bear the bloody heart in their coat of arms.

And so here ends, the Fourteenth book of these Chronicles.

Hector Boece

Book XV.

Here Begins the Fifteenth Book of the Chronicles of Scotland.

Chap. First.

How Sir James Douglas went, with King Robert's heart, to the Holy Sepulchre. Of the Coronation of King David Bruce; and how Earl Thomas Randolph was made Governor; and of his death.

When Sir James Douglas was chosen as most worthy of all Scotland to go with King Robert's heart to the Holy Land, he put it in a case of gold, with aromatic and precious ointments; and took with him Sir William Sinclair and Sir Robert Logan, with many other noblemen, to the Holy Sepulchre: where he buried the said heart, with the greatest reverence and solemnity that could be devised. Such things done, he went to other Christian princes, who were gathered with great armies, from several parts of Christendom, to war against the Turks: and by his singular deeds, he defeated not only the enemies of Christ, but, by his frequent victories, won great honour to all Christian people. At last, when he had completed all the tasks commanded by his sovereign, with no less honour than magnificence, he raised sail, to return to Scotland. And in the meantime, by contrary winds, he was driven to a harbour in Spain; where he found the King of Aragon ready to fight against the Saracens, who were coming with great navies to attack his realm. Douglas, to make his courage and singular virtue patent in all parts where he came; went to the King of Aragon, and fought in his support, in several battles, with great success: until, at last, having over-great confidence in fortune, which brings many noblemen to death, he become negligent, and kept not his warriors about him, as he was accustomed to before. And in the meantime, a force of Turks, who were lying in wait, came on him, with banners displayed. And though he had but a small force, he did not shrink, but fought obstinately, with persevering courage, to the death; and was slain, the 26th day of August, from our redemption, 1330 years. This was the end of the noble Douglas, most valiant knight that was in his days; who would have been very necessary for defence of the common good of Scotland, if he had been fortunate enough to return. He was 57 times victorious against the Englishmen, and 13 times against the Turks; as is written at length in the *Scoticronicon*. But we will return to our history.

After the death of King Robert, his son David, being but 8 years of age, was crowned at Scone, the 25th day of November; from the Incarnation, 1331 years. And because he was unable to govern the realm by reason of his tender age, Earl Thomas Randolph was made Governor. Earl Thomas, seeing the people broken by long wars, thought it most expedient, until they were somewhat enriched in their goods, to have peace with England. Immediately, ambassadors were directed by him to England, and agreed peace for three years. In the meantime, Earl Thomas gave his talent to govern the realm in justice and peace. And, so that the people might live without any fear of enemies or thieves, to attack them in their lands or goods; he commanded that saddles, bridles, and all other instruments pertaining to the work of husbandry, should lie outside, both day and night. If any of them were stolen or taken away, the sheriff of the shire should cause them either to be restored to the owners, or else to pay it from his own purse. Finally, such extreme punishment was made on thieves, that both robbery and pilfering were prevented in all parts, and the realm brought to more tranquillity than ever it was in any king's time before. Many insolent and wild men were put down by his severity and justice. Also, so that virtue should be authorised in this realm, he commanded no vagabond nor idle people to be received in any town, unless they had some craft to earn their living. By this way, he purged the realm of

many idle scoundrels. It is said, there was such severity and justice in his time, that a peasant, because he could not steal other men's goods, stole his own plough-irons, so that he would have the value thereof recompensed to him by the sheriff. Nonetheless, such extreme diligence was made in searching for his plough-irons by the sheriff, that they were finally found with himself; and, for that cause, he was afterwards hanged. Earl Thomas, seeing how difficult it was to bring them from the robbery that they had always been accustomed to do, had always with him a guard of armed men: with whose aid, he punished the rebellious scoundrels in all parts of the realm. All persons that submitted to his justice were punished with mercy; others that were found rebelling thereto, were either slain, or taken captive by his guard: as happened, not long afterwards, at Halidon; where three score of men were gathered together, attacking the people with raids and injuries. And because they despised his officers, after they were summoned to submit to his justice; they were all taken by his guard, and hanged on gibbets. Through this justice, no rebellion was seen in this realm for many years afterwards; and such tranquillity, that not only thieves and scoundrels were put down, but the realm increased in riches, to the great terror of their foes.

King Edward, seeing this great happiness succeeding to Scots, and fearing that they might revenge old injuries, through the singular courage and prowess of this Earl Thomas; thought nothing so good as to attempt by deceit, what he could not do by force: so that, after death of Earl Thomas, the realm of Scotland could be vulnerable to his injuries; for King David was young, and many of his nobles had great hatred against his house, for the slaughter of their fathers in the Black Parliament; and, therefore, he took consultation, by what talent and deceit he might best destroy Earl Thomas. At last, he decided to slay him by poison. And because it was dangerous to attempt this matter by a Scotsman, in case it might perhaps be revealed; he thought it necessary to have a man of great spirit, who could dissimulate, saying a thing with his mouth, while he never thought it in his heart. And when he had searched long, he found no-one so able to bring his purpose to effect as a monk; for often men of that order have no respect for shame nor justice, but cloak their wicked lives under the false shadow of a cowl. In short, he instructed this monk, to pretend to be a physician, having special remedies against the gravel; for by that infirmity, Earl Thomas was heavily tortured. King Edward commanded this monk to use venomous potions among his other medicines; and promised, if Earl Thomas was slain by his industry, to reward him most richly. This monk, instructed in this way, when he came to Scotland, feigned himself to have knowledge of many nobles, both in England and France; and not only cured them of several stones, but, by his skilful potions, broke up confirmed stones, and had cured many and divers people of their infirmities. Further, he was informed that Earl Thomas, one of the most valiant princes of the world, was heavily afflicted by that malady: nonetheless, if the Earl would take his advice, he would be delivered, within a short time, from all his illness. This monk had another scoundrel instructed with him, in the same manner, to be his colleague; who said, in all parts where he went, that his companion passed all men in experience and knowledge. This monk was finally so commended, that he was brought to Earl Thomas, and asked by him, if he could cure his malady, or relieve him of his insufferable affliction. The monk gladly took him in hand; and, as he was instructed, he commanded the Earl to observe a diet: soon after, he gave him soft syrups; and when he was admitted to more familiarity, he gave him a venomous potion; however, the poison was not quickly fatal, but would consume a man slowly. This monk, after Earl Thomas had drunk the poison, to find a pretext to get away, said, he had a singular medicine in England,

which was never used by him but when all other medicines failed. Thus he found occasion to depart to England, and promised to return to Scotland with all diligence.

Not long after, this monk returned to King Edward, and said, "Now, since I have done all your charges as you devised, it would be best is to raise your army quickly, so that you may be in Scotland at the time of his death, and conquer the realm as you wish." In the meantime, Earl Thomas found certain pains each day more increasing in his belly; and because he heard tell that King Edward was coming with an army against him, and no returning of the monk at his set day, he took a vehement suspicion of his treachery; and found, soon after, by the physicians, that the poison was so sunk into his bowels, that it was not curable. And, although he could not ride nor go to meet King Edward, he he had himself carried in a chariot. The motive that King Edward had to raise war at this time, as he said, was because he had not received compensation for damage on the Borders. King Edward, informed that Earl Thomas was coming to battle array to meet him, sent a herald to Scotland, to treat peace: although, he was sent rather to espy how all matters stood, than for any other purpose. Earl Thomas, learning of the coming of this herald, arrayed himself in his best clothes, and sat in a chair, dissimulating his great infirmity, as if nothing had ailed him. Immediately, the herald was brought to his presence, and said his message. At last, when the herald had desired certain unreasonable things, Earl Thomas answered, "I shall soon show what right Englishmen have to such wicked and unjust petitions." And when he had dispatched the herald with his answer, he gave all the precious clothes, that he was arrayed in at the time, to the herald. Soon after, this herald returned to King Edward, and said, he saw never a more lusty nor valiant prince, than was the said Earl Thomas. King Edward, hearing that Earl Thomas was in good health, withdrew his army; and believing that the monk had not done such charges as he promised, he had him burned, which he well deserved.

In the meantime, Earl Thomas returned home, and died at Musselburgh, and was buried in Dunfermline; from the Incarnation, 1331 years.

Chap. Second.

How the Earls of March and Mar were made Governors of Scotland. How Edward Balliol came to Scotland, to seize the crown; and of the Battle of Dupplin.

After Earl Thomas had died, a council was held by the nobles; in which, by general vows of the three estates, Patrick, Earl of March, and David, Earl of Mar, were chosen Governors: the first, to govern the realm on the South side of Forth; and the other, to govern the North side.

Such things done, there arose great trouble in Scotland, by Edward Balliol described above, as follows. There was a wicked scoundrel, named Twiname Lorison, who was often accused of adultery, and held by the Provost of Glasgow, many years, under censure of the church. At last, he took the provost, going to the town of Ayr, and held him in captivity, until he paid two hundred pounds sterling. But this oppression was not unpunished: for he was so sharply pursued by Sir James Douglas, before his passage to the Holy Land, that he fled to England; where he met David Comyn, Earl of Atholl, with many other Scots who were banished by King Robert, for their assistance to the King of England. These scoundrels, allied all together under a treaty, stayed a long time in England; and, when they were informed of the death of Earl Thomas Randolph and Sir James Douglas, they went to France, to Edward Balliol; and persuaded him, with many arguments, to come to Scotland, to recover his father's heritage and crown. Balliol, persuaded by these words, although he had no previous ambition to the crown of Scotland, came to England, to seek support from King Edward; for he knew Englishmen were always enemies to Scots: and promised to King Edward, if all matters succeeded, to hold the realm of Scotland of him, as superior thereof. King Edward, glad of this condition, notwithstanding the peace before contracted, and the marriage of his sister with King David of Scotland; sent 6,000 men, well provided with ships, to go with him to Scotland; expecting, after his coming, to find many other friends that would assist him: and, as we said before, there were many Scots in England with Balliol, who informed him, if he arrived in Scotland, many of the lords thereof would support him. Balliol, persuaded by these arguments, arrived at Kinghorn, where he landed all his people; and, soon after, slew Alexander Seton, and put his people to flight. Balliol, proud of this victory, came with his people to Perth.

The Earls of Mar and March, informed of his coming, raised two great armies, and came against him; not as if they had been to fight against warriors, but as if they were to punish certain thieves or scoundrels of England. At last they concluded, to convene together in Strathearn, that they might attack their enemies at once. Balliol, although he knew his enemies coming with more power than he could resist, was not afraid; for the matter had proceeded so far, that no fear of death nor fleeing might avail: nonetheless he hoped, if his army fought with persevering constancy, to have victory by some chance of fortune. He set down his camp at Dupplin, not far from the Water of Earn. In the same night, the Earl of Mar came, with a great multitude of people, and parked them in the sight of Balliol's army; but the Earl of March lay at Auchterarder. The Scots, seeing their enemies so few, held them in contempt, and neglected their watch; passing the night with singing, dancing, revelling, and drinking. The result of these doings was even worse, because they were done, with such manifest contempt, in the face of their enemies. By contrast, the Englishmen, very circumspect

and vigilant, had such spies, that everything done or said in the army of the Scots was known to them.

Balliol, rejoicing in this vain and insolent folly among the Scots, commanded his army to be ready to attack their foes. In the night following, he came, without any noise, to the Water of Earn, and found the ford there by a long stake, which was affixed in the middle of it by Andrew Murray of Tullibardine. By this treachery, he led all his army over the Water of Earn; and came so quietly to the Earl of Mar's camp, that he slew him sleeping in his bed. Immediately, with huge clamour, he came upon the remaining army of the Scots, and slew them in their sleep, without any defence. There followed such cruel slaughter, that not was heard but screaming and groans of dying people; and had not Edward Balliol made each man in his army bind a white cloth on his arm, no man might have known, in the darkness of night, who was friend or foe. The Englishmen were inflamed with such ire, that they could not be satiated with blood and murder of the Scots, and spared none that could be taken. Many of the nobles were slain, to the number of 3,000, with a great number of commoners. Some of them who escaped from this battle, returned again to revenge the murder of their friends, and were all slain.

The principal nobles who were slain in this battle, were, the Earl of Mar; Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick; Alexander Fraser, knight; William Hay, constable; with all his kin so completely, that, had not his wife been delivered of a son, all his surname had been all utterly destroyed: Robert Keith, Marshal, with many of his surname; David Lindsay of Glenesk, Alexander Seton, George Dunbar, Robert Strathawhen, Thomas Haliburton, and John Scrimgeour, knights; with many others, too many to say. The Earl of Fife was taken prisoner.

This battle was fought on the third day of August; from our redemption, 1332 years.

Chap. Third.

How Edward Balliol was crowned at Scone. How King David fled to France. How Perth was recovered; and Balliol defeated by Douglas. And how King Edward besieged Berwick.

After the victory at Dupplin, Balliol went to Perth, and took it with little difficulty. It is said, that several Englishmen, because of their old hatred against the Scots, went, after their victory, to Dupplin, to see if any Scots were lying in the field, able to recover if they had good surgeons, that they might extinguish their lives; nonetheless, seeing the miserable slaughter that was made on them the night before, they fell in great lamentation, saying, they had not believed such an infinite number of Scots had been slain.

The Earl of March, learning that the Scots were defeated so miserably at Dupplin, came, with four great companies, to besiege the town of Perth. At last, when he had lain a certain time at the siege thereof, the ditches being filled, and the town ready to be surrendered into his hands, he went away from the siege; although, he might have had the town, and the battle both, at his pleasure.

Balliol, because the people came fast to his support, immediately came, with the Bishop of Dunkeld, and the Earl of Fife, to Scone, and was crowned, the 24th day of September, in the year described above.

By this last defeat there arose such great trouble in Scotland, that King David, who was but 9 years in age, by the advice of his friends, fled to France, with his Queen, Jane, sister to King Edward; and was tenderly received by Philip the 6th, King of France, where he remained 9 years.

In the next year, Robert Keith, Alexander Lindsay, with other several nobles, to revenge the slaughter of their fathers at Dupplin, won the town of Perth, in the fourth month after their siege. The Earl of Fife, and Andrew Murray of Tullibardine, were taken, with other accomplices, who kept the said town in name of Balliol. The Earl was sent to confinement in Kildrummy; but Andrew Murray, for his treachery before committed, was beheaded. The town, after it was taken in this manner, was given in keeping to John Lindsay.

The winning of this town by such courage and virtue, put the Scots in hope of better fortune; and, therefore, John Randolph, Earl of Moray, son to Earl Thomas described above, and Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway, and brother to James Douglas, slain lately in Spain, came, with a great company, against Balliol. Balliol, well informed thereof, met them in Annandale, where it was cruelly fought; but, at last, Balliol was defeated, and himself pursued, on an unbridled horse, to Roxburgh. In this battle were slain, Sir Henry Balliol, Sir John Mowbray, Walter Comyn, and Richard Kirklie: Alexander Bruce, Earl of Carrick, and Lord of Galloway, were taken prisoners; and spared by the Earl of Moray, for they were not long before supporters of Balliol.

After this victory, Andrew Murray, a man of great strength and riches, was made governor, to be colleague to the Earl of March. These two governors, knowing King Edward would come against them with all the power of England, sent Sir Alexander Seton, with many other gentlemen, to keep Berwick. Such things done, Andrew Murray came with an army to besiege Roxburgh; and fought so valiantly, that he put Balliol to flight: nonetheless, he followed so fiercely, that he was taken, and

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brought prisoner within the castle. At this time, William Douglas of Liddesdale, called, for his singular courage, the Flower of Warfare, fought unsuccessfully against the English in Annandale; where he was taken prisoner, and his people defeated. This William was son to good Sir James Douglas described above. Both these noblemen were ransomed with great sums of money, after they had been held half a year in England.

The realm standing thus in jeopardy, the people were divided into two parts; the one supported to Balliol, and the other King David. King Edward of England, seeing such great trouble in Scotland, thought the time appropriate to seize the crown; for he believed nothing was so difficult, but it may be done either completely or partly, if it is often attempted. And, notwithstanding his treaty of peace, and marriage of his sister, Jane, with King David of Scotland; he gathered an army, of England, Normandy, Anjou, and Flanders, paid with his money, and came to Scotland; especially where most rebellion was against Balliol. He said, that he was coming in support of Balliol; nonetheless, if all things had succeeded as he desired, he would no more have kept faith and promise to Balliol, than to others.

The Scots, seeing themselves surrounded on all sides with enemies, sent John Randolph, Earl of Moray, to France to King David, to get some support from King Philip of France, to defend his realm.

At this time King Edward besieged Berwick, both by sea and land: nonetheless, the Scots defended it as valiantly as he attacked; and not only sallied several times against the Englishmen, but slew several of their watchmen, and once burned their ships with great courage. In the meantime, William Seton, son to Sir Alexander described above, followed so fiercely at a skirmish against Englishmen, that he was taken. His bastard brother, a man of singular courage, over-fiercely attacking the English ships, under cover of night, fell in the sea, where he perished. The siege continued four months continually about the town, and made great shortage of victuals. At last, Sir Alexander Seton sent his son to King Edward, promising, if he would cease the siege, to surrender the town to him within 6 days, if no support came to him within the said time; and, for the certain observation of his promise, he left his son and heir in pledge.

Chap. Fourth.

Of the speech made by Alexander Seton's wife; and how his son was slain by the tyranny of King Edward.

After these things were done at Berwick, the nobles of Scotland, convened together and made Archibald Douglas governor, in Andrew Murray's place. Douglas, to raise the siege of Berwick, came with an army to England. King Edward, informed thereof, sent a herald to Sir Alexander Seton, telling him, if the town were not surrendered quickly, both his sons should be quickly hanged before his eyes. Alexander answered, that the days were not out-run of truce; and desired the king, either to keep his faith, or else to deliver his hostages, that he could be at his advantage. King Edward, having no concern for his faith nor treaty, had a gallows quickly erected before the town, and brought both the sons of Alexander there. One of them was taken prisoner; and the other delivered as a pledge, as we have said.

Alexander, seeing his sons led in this manner to the gallows, was moved by great commiseration; thinking, it was a thing very detestable and odious that his sons should be so innocently slain, considering he might save them, if he were obedient to the pleasure of the tyrant: and so, by commiseration of his sons, on one side, and faith promised to the king and his realm, on the other side, he was oft dragged in different ways, and could scarcely restrain himself from surrendering the town. Yet it is uncertain whether, by compassion for his sons, or natural affection, he had been obedient to the desire of King Edward, had not his wife, and mother to his sons, a wise woman, above the spirit of man, exhorted him often, rather to suffer the immolation and murder of his sons, than to commit such manifest treachery against his prince. "My dear husband," said she, "consider carefully what you do. If you fulfill the desire of this tyrant, and violate the love that you have to your country; if you break the faith promised to your sovereign, for any fear of death coming to your sons; you shall not fail to do no less shame to yourself and your friends, than damage to your country. And though our sons die, with great courage, in defence of their country, it shall succeed no less to their admiration and fame, than to your great honour and welfare. Consider, first, how abominable you shall be perpetually to your nation, if you commit such manifest treason as to betray this town. Yon tyrant threatens our sons with death; intending to bring us to so open shame, that, if we fulfil his mind, we shall never, while the world endures, recover our honour. Therefore never let the town, committed to our faith and credit, be shamefully lost by our deceit. Do not expect that yon tyrant will observe his promise any better after the town is surrendered to him, than before. Have we not truce of him for several days yet to run, and yet he keeps no faith to us. Further, if yon false and perjured king will not keep such things to us as he has promised, but behaves as he has done in bygone times; what mischief and sorrow shall come on us, if we fulfill his desire! Our town shall be put to sack; our houses burned; our temples looted; our goods robbed; our virgins and matrons raped; and all the innocent people of our town slain, without mercy or ransom. Is the life of our sons so dear to us, that we shall redeem them with the vengeance and murder of so many people. Are they well saved from their death, when we have ransomed them with such manifest treachery? What pleasure or honour shall we have for the remainder of our life, when it is filled with such shameful cowardice? It is, therefore, of more honour to us, to follow the constancy and firm purpose of such noble people as are remembered in holy writ, than to save the lives of our sons with such irrecoverable dishonour. Was not Daniel cast before the lions by cruel tyrants,

because he would not offend God? Were not the three children cast in a burning furnace, because they would not adore false idols? Were not the seven sons of Maccabee, with their mother, put to great torment, when they so constantly refused to eat swine flesh, which was prohibited to them by their laws? Consider and revolve, my dear husband, in your mind, with what constancy and pleasant expression your sons despise the torments of yon tyrant. And, would God, that I might die in this way, for defence of my country, as they do! For certainly, if I might, with my death, deliver this town, as now my sons may, you should not see me go with any fear or mourning, but with great spirit and courage to my death: for their slaughter is no death, but a changing of their fragile lives for eternal glory. Now I think, the pain, solicitude, and labour, that I suffered for them, ten months bearing them in my womb, well rewarded. Now I have good fruit of my labour. Now I see the affection of all my mind, so often desiring them to be noblemen, brought to a good end. Now think I not my sons lost, but rather won, to remain with interminable honour: for we are yet able to recover them with new children; but we may never recover our honour when it is lost."

When this virtuous and noble woman had exhorted her husband with these and similar words, she brought him, with a sorrowful and troubled face, to her chamber; so that, he should commit nothing either against his honour or welfare of the town, from commiseration of his sons: and yet he was ever wavering in his mind, by the love that he had for his sons on one part, and the faith that he had for his country on the other part.

In the meantime, both his sons were put to death on the gallows, dying with the greatest honour in defence of their country.

Chap. Fifth.

How the Scots were defeated at Halidon Hill, and Berwick was surrendered to the English, with many other strongholds and fortifications of Scotland.

Archibald Douglas, governor of Scotland, hearing about this shameful cruelty done by King Edward, came, on the third day after, with his army, from Northumberland, to revenge it; and set down his camp not far from King Edward's army.

Several prudent men were in Douglas army, who persuaded him, with many arguments, to abstain from battle: for King Edward had an army full of people daily exercised in warfare, and very insolent after their frequent victories, with great fortifications and warlike instruments: by contrast, the Scots were broken from the wars before passed; their aged and wise captains, slain in their many defeats; and the people then making up his army, young, and without any experience of arms: and, therefore, they argued, nothing would be so good as to desist, until they had some practice or experience in arms. To this the governor answered, that his people, although they were fewer in number than their enemies, lacked no courage; and were all moved with extreme hatred against the Englishmen, for the cruelty lately committed against the sons of Sir Alexander Seton. It was, therefore, not profitable to wait; for by long delay their anger would perish: furthermore, no exercise could increase their strength so much as anger raging in their breasts. Douglas ignored this wholesome counsel; and commanded his army to refresh themselves with meat and sleep, and to be ready to fight against their enemies on the following day.

At the break of the day, he arrayed his people in their best manner. The vanguard was given to Hugh, Lord of Ross; having with him, Kenneth, Earl of Sutherland, Simon and John Fraser, and John Murray, lieutenant to the Earl of Moray, who was then troubled with great infirmity. The second group was given to Alexander Lindsay; with Alexander Gordon, Reginald Grahame, and Robert Kenneth. In the third group was Douglas, governor; having with him, James, John, and Alan, sons of Walter, Great Steward of Scotland.

On the other side, the Englishmen, not afraid of this force, came smartly with displayed banners: and, because they knew the ground where the field was set, by long residence at the siege, they feigned to fly, at their first joining, to a somewhat steep hill; the place was very difficult for them that attacked, and very suitable for them that defended it. As soon as the Englishmen came to this hill, they stopped fleeing, and, by sound of trumpet, went quickly to their places; and, immediately, they set on the Scots, who were scattered in the vale, following them so fiercely, that many of them were miserably slain. The remainder were so daunted, that few of them fought, save only those that had more respect for their honour than their lives, or expected victory; and, though they slew a great number of Englishmen, yet they were put to flight. Finally, more slaughter was made in the chase than in the battle beforehand; for a wing of Englishmen lay in front of them, and stopped their passage: thus were they miserably slain on each side. No prisoners were taken except a few, who were saved only because their enemies were weary with slaughter.

In this lamentable battle were slain many of the nobles and gentlemen of Scotland, that escaped before from the battle of Dupplin; and they were estimated to the number of 14,000 men. These are the principal men that were slain: Archibald

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Douglas, governor; John Stuart, James Stuart, and Alan Stuart, sons of Walter Stuart; the Earl of Ross; the Earl of Sutherland; the Earl of Carrick. So many as were taken were all beheaded on the day after, by command of King Edward; except a few persons, who were hidden by Englishmen for profit of their ransom: among whom was Sir William Douglas of Liddesdale. This wicked and dreadful battle was fought on Magdalen's Day<114>; from our redemption, 1333 years.

After this defeat, Alexander Seton and Patrick Dunbar, captains of Berwick, despairing of support, gave over the town to King Edward; their lives and goods, by the conditions of peace, to be spared. And, when they had given their oaths of fidelity, King Edward commanded Patrick Dunbar to build the castle of Dunbar, at his own expense; because he cast it down before, when he was despairing of relief: and commanded him to keep it, in times coming, under his name. King Edward, after this sorrowful victory over the Scots, returned to England; and left behind him many great nobles of England, with Edward Balliol, to govern Scotland at they pleased.

Balliol went than through all the lands of Scotland, and garrisoned all the strongholds thereof with Englishmen, except 5 castles only, which were in Scotsmen's hands; that is to say, the castle of Dumbarton, which was kept by Malcolm Fleming of Cumberland; the castle of Lochleven, by Alan Vypont; the castle of Kildrummy, by Christian Bruce; the castle of Urquhart, by Robert Lauder; and the tower of Louden, by John Thorason. All these castles supported King David.

Chap. Sixth.

Of the contention between Alexander Mowbray and Henry Beaumont; and how the Englishmen perished at the Siege of Lochleven.

At the same time, Philip, King of France, sent his ambassadors to the Pope, desiring him to exert his authority, and command the Englishmen to desist from their cruel attack on the Scots. The Englishmen held the Pope's ambassadors in such contempt, that they would not allow them to come in their presence: through which, they were constrained to depart, without any success of their mission.

Soon after, a convention was made by Edward Balliol at Perth; where the nobles of Scotland ratified him king, and promised, by their oaths, never to rebel against him in times coming. In the meantime, there arose a sharp contention between Henry Beaumont and Alexander Mowbray, over certain lands in Buchan. Henry Beaumont claimed their lands to pertain to him; for he married Alexander's daughter, who was heir, as he said, to the said lands. On the other side, Alexander Mowbray claimed the lands by reason of succession, as heir to his brother. After long contention, Alexander Mowbray got the lands assigned to him, by judgement of Balliol. David Comyn, Earl of Atholl, and Richard Talbot, saying that this sentence was wrongfully given against Henry Beaumont, made a conspiracy against Balliol; and garrisoned the castle of Dundarg, in Buchan, with many other houses of Scotland, against his authority. Balliol, seeing great trouble coming to him in this way, withdrew the judgement that he gave for Alexander Mowbray, and, in a new judgement, declared the lands to pertain to the said Henry Beaumont, because he married the heir thereof. The parties that claimed these lands were so great, that the just truth of their ownership could never be decided by impartial justice. Thus Balliol was constrained to have one party his enemy, when the other become his friend.

Not long after, Balliol came to Renfrew, and received all the people and strongholds thereof for his support. Then the keys of the castles of Rothesay and Dunoon were brought to him, by Sir Alan Lyle, sheriff of Bute. Thus Balliol grew daily in strength, by confluence of people; for he enriched them that supported him with lands and goods. Robert Stuart, hearing Balliol set each day for his slaughter, came out of Bute to the castle of Dumbarton; where he was welcomed by Malcolm Fleming, keeper thereof.

In the meantime, Balliol raised an army, to take all the strongholds of Scotland, because they were occasion of resistance against him. In the next year, he laid siege to the castle of Lochleven; and when he had considered that this castle could not be taken without a long siege, he left Sir John Stirling to besiege it, with a great force, until the castle was won. And to do this business more easily, they made bastions and trenchess of turfs and clay, in the churchyard of Saint Serf, beside Kinross. This castle was kept by Alan Vypont and James Lamby, citizens of Saint Andrew's. At last, when the Englishmen had fought a long time to get this castle, after many great assaults with different siege engines, although they were in vain; they devised, by a subtle deceit, to take the castle without any blow struck. First, they enclosed the water that ran out of the loch with a high dike, and built it so narrow with turfs, clay and trees, that the Water of Leven should have no passage; but dammed until it had risen above the castle, and all the people in it perished. And to cause the dam to fill more quickly, they brought streams from several parts to the said loch.

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Sir John Stirling, captain of the siege, seeing all things, as he believed, done in this manner, thinking nothing was needed but time to take the house; went to Dunfermline, to his devotion, because it was Saint Margaret's Day, the holy Queen of Scotland: and left behind him as many as he thought sufficient to keep the siege. Alan Vypont, captain, knowing the great danger threatening him, sent 4 men out of the castle, during the night, in a boat, with spears and weapons, to break the dike foresaid: and when they had laboured all night, boring the dike, they decided, because their labour seemed vain, to return to the castle, without any success. Nonetheless, one of them exhorted the rest to continue for an hour, to see what result might come of their labour. As soon as they perceived a hole made through the dike, they returned to the castle. Immediately, the stream followed so fast, where the water got passage, that it broke down the bastions, and not only drowned the people that lay under the dam, but brought them, with horses, carriages, and all their provisions and equipment, to the sea. Alan Vypont, when the water had fallen to its old level, issued out of the castle, and slew a part of them that had escaped at this time, and the remainder put to flight. John Stirling learning of this calamity falling on his people, returned to the siege; and made a vow, never to depart from there until it was taken, and every person found in it slain. At last, when he had lain long at the siege thereof, and seeing the castle not able to be taken, he was constrained to raise the siege, with great slaughter of his people.

This siege of Lochleven was in Lent<114>; from our redemption, 1335 years.

Chap Seventh.

How Robert Stuart and John Randolph recovered several strongholds of Scotland. How David Comyn was brought to great trouble, for his rebellion against the Scots; and how he was taken in favour.

King Edward, in the year following, came to Scotland with fifty thousand men, and sent 70 ships by the sea: of which many were broken between Inchkeith and the Northland. And because he saw no rebellion against him, he returned to England with Balliol, and left David Comyn, Earl of Atholl, to be Governor, to take the remaining strongholds of Scotland, and to hold the people as his subjects. Earl David, in his insolence of this new authority, took possession of all the lands of Moray and Buchan, which pertained to Robert Stuart; and not only got the inhabitants thereof sworn to his support, but confiscated all the goods of them that were found to oppose him. Robert Stuart immediately assembled his friends and, by advice of Donald Campbell of Loch Awe, took the castle of Dunoon, and slew all persons found in it. The commoners of Bute and Arran, pleased with this successful beginning, gathered to the number of 4 hundred men, to reinforce the said Robert. In the mean time, Sir Alan Lyle, Sheriff of Bute, came on them, with a company of armed men. There followed a sharp battle: until at last the Sheriff was slain, and his people defeated. Several of his people were brought prisoners to Robert Stuart. These and similar successes moved several Scots to leave the support of England, and come to Robert Stuart.

Not long after, the Earl of Moray returned from King David in France, and arrived at Dumbarton; where he was welcomed by Robert Stuart: for he was a nobleman of no less courage and wisdom than his father, Earl Thomas, described above. Soon after, Robert Stuart and the Earl of Moray came with a great force to Clydesdale, Renfrew, Kyle, Cunninghame, and Ayr; and brought the same, with Ross and Moray, to King David's support. The Earl of Moray, hearing great injuries done by Earl David of Atholl, went to Aberdeen. Earl David, seeing the people gathered, each day, with new forces, to recover their liberty; fled to the mountains and waste lands; where he was brought to great misery, and forced, for a long time, to sustain his life on roots and herbs. At last, when he saw no way to avoid it, he came, in wretched clothing, piteously desiring grace. The nobles of Scotland received him to their favour; for he was a man of noble blood, of great wealth and lands: and had him swear to be as true to King David, as he was before to King Edward.

At this time, Sir William Douglas of Liddesdale, and Andrew Murray, were redeemed with a great ransom, after they were held three years prisoners in England. At their coming to Edinburgh, there was a convention of the lords. The Earl of Moray and Robert Stuart, by general election, were chosen governors.

Many Scots, at this time, left the support of the Englishmen: as Laurence Preston, John Herring, and John Haliburton, knights, with many others; who remained in support of King David, perpetually afterwards. Not long after, a convention was made by the governors at D'Arcy, to consider several great matters concerning the common welfare. Nonetheless, David Comyn, Earl of Atholl, came with so strong a force, that they dared attempt nothing against the Englishmen.

Chap. Eighth.

How King Edward came to Scotland with great armies, both by sea and land. How the Duke of Guelder was defeated; and how Earl David Comyn was slain.

King Edward, when he learned of this rebellion of the Scots, came with fifty thousand men to Perth, and brought 80 ships to the Forth. These ships, soon after their coming to Forth, burned and wasted the sea-coasts on each side, and plundered the abbey of Saint Colm. But their sacrilege was not long unpunished; for when they were returning to England, their navy was brought to great distress by violent weather: some of them perished, and others broken on rocks. The remainder of their navy, knowing that they incurred the hatred of God and Saint Colm for their sacrilege, returned to the said abbey, and made great offerings in recompense of their offence; and returned home without mishap.

At this time, the Duke of Guelder came with great force through England, in support of King Edward; and was defeated at Boroughmuir, beside Edinburgh, and chased to the castle thereof, which was that time in Englishmen's hands. At last, he was forced, by a long siege, to surrender; his goods lost, and his life only to be saved. The Earl of Moray returned to him, courteously, all his goods; and allowed him to depart, after he had sworn never to assist the Englishmen. Among the spoils of this battle, was found a woman of marvellous stature, who showed great honour in this battle, and slew many valiant men with her own hands. Further, because this Duke of Guelder was friend to Philip, King of France, he was conveyed by the Earl of Moray to the Borders. In the meantime, a force of Englishmen and Scots lay in wait, and delivered him into King Edward's hands. The Earl of Atholl, believing more success would fall to Englishmen by the taking of the Earl of Moray; came to Perth, and gave his faith to Baliol, and was made Governor of Scotland.

Soon after, King Edward returned to England, and took Balliol with him; for he believed, as soon as he had obtained Scotland, that Balliol would rebel against him, in the same manner as John Balliol, his father, did before. Earl David, very insolent in his authority, began to exercise new tyranny on all the Scots that were opposed to King Edward; some of them plundered of their lands and goods, others put to death. The nobles, having great indignation that this Earl of Atholl should exercise such tyranny on their people, considering he was saved only in the year before, by their commiseration; came with great force against him. David Comyn, hearing the lords gathered thus against him, left the siege of Kildrummy, where he was at that time, and gave them battle. At last, when the victory was inclining to Earl David, by the multitude of people that supported him; John Crag, captain of Kildrummy, came out of the castle, with three hundred fresh men: by whose coming, the victory succeeded to Scots. Earl David, despairing of his life; so that he would not come alive into his enemies' hands, rushed, with a company of his dear friends, among the great press of his enemies; where he was slain by Alexander Gordon.

In this battle were slain Walter Bride, Robert Comyn, with many other gentlemen and commoners. Sir Thomas Comyn was taken prisoner, and beheaded on the following day. Robert Menzies escaped, by fleeing to the castle of Canmore. And because a great number of people entered with him, without any provision of victuals; the castle could not be defended; but was surrendered on the following day, after the people thereof were sworn to King David's support.

Chap. Ninth.

How Andrew Murray was made Governor of Scotland. How King Edward returned to Scotland with a new army; and how the English were defeated at Panmore.

After David, Earl of Atholl, was slain, a convention was made by the nobles, and Andrew Murray made Governor, in the place of the Earl of Moray, who was taken unhappily, as we have said, by the Englishmen. This Andrew, after he had lain a long time at the siege of Cupar, was informed that the Comyns made great trouble in the North parts of Scotland: and, therefore, he thought it more necessary to support the country, than to besiege any castles. The Comyns, knowing he was coming, met him in set battle; but they were vanquished. In this battle was slain Robert Comyn, William Comyn, and Thomas Calder, valiant knights, although they were enemies to King David at the time. This victory, got, as we have said, by Andrew Murray, brought all the North of Scotland under good obedience to King David. Few Englishmen stayed, after this victory, in Scotland, except so many as were within the castle of Dongard. At last, the said castle was taken, and no man left living in it, except Henry Beaumont, the captain; who was made to swear that he would depart to England, without any returning.

Such things done, the Governor laid siege to the castle of Lochindorb, where Earl David Comyn's wife was at the time. This woman, knowing many days before that her house would be besieged, sent to King Edward, and asked for rescue. King Edward, dreading to lose all the strongholds of Scotland, if the same were not quickly recovered; came with 11,000 men to the said castle of Lochindorb: and after he had garrisoned it with new provision, he came with bloody sword through Moray; and in his returning to Mar, he burned the town of Aberdeen. His navy, which had arrived in Forth, began, in the same manner as the other did before, to spoils the abbey of Saint Colm; and in the same manner, their sacrilege was not long unpunished: for one of the ships that was laden with Saint Colm's goods, sank, without any tempest, to the bottom of the sea. King Edward, at his returning to Perth, because it had been cast down before, commanded it to be repaired, with new walls and bastions, at the expense of these 6 abbeys: Arbroath, Cupar, Lindorb, Balmerino, Dunfermline, and Saint Andrew's. He made Henry Beaumont captain of the castle of Saint Andrew's; who returned with him out of England, against the promise made previously at the siege of Dongard. Also, he made Henry Farrar captain of the castle of Lucre; Wilham Montague, captain of Stirling; William Felton, captain of Roxburgh; and Thomas Urthred, captain of Perth.

While such things were done in Scotland by King Edward, came to him his brother Eltham, who exercised great cruelty on the Scots, notwithstanding their perseverance in support of King Edward, his brother: some of them he slew, and others burned, in their churches and temples. At last, King Edward took such displeasure against this Eltham, his brother, because he burned the church of Lesmahagow Priory, with a thousand persons in it, that he ran him through the body with a sword, before the altar of Saint John; and said, "This holy place shall be no more refuge to you, than other houses of God have been from your tyranny, when you destroyed so many innocent people, without sight to right or wrong." Such things done, King Edward returned to England, and left behind him Balliol, with a great

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force, at Perth. At this time, Henry Beaumont slew all Scots whom he might apprehend; specially them that were at the murder of his cousin, David Comyn.

As soon as Andrew Murray was told of King Edward's departing, he came from the mountains, where he lay before, avoiding the fury of the English. At last, by assistance of several noblemen, he took the castle of Kinlevin, and cast it down to the ground. Soon after, he came to Mearns, where he won the castle of Kilnesse, and cast it down in the same manner. Passing forward in this way, he burned Dunnottar. On the other side, the Englishmen made no less slaughter and plundering in all parts where they came: through which, the Mearns, Angus, Stirling, and Gowrie, for continual raids, murder, and wars done in them, were left waste. At last, this Andrew, to resist the Englishmen, gathered all people of Moray, Mar, and Buchan, and fought at Panmore, in Angus; where he was victorious, with huge slaughter made on his enemies. In this battle were slain Henry Montford, who was sent lately by King Edward in support of Balliol, with 4,000 nobles and gentlemen of England: through whose death, arose great dolour in several parts of England, seeing their strength greatly broken, by the loss of so many nobles. After this victory, Andrew Murray went through Fife and Angus, and cast down the castle of Lucre, with all other castles of Fife, except only the castle of Cupar.

Chap. Tenth.

How William Talbot and Richard Montague were vanquished by the Scots. Of the death of Andrew Murray. Of several deeds done by William Douglas; and of great dearth in Albion.

King Edward, learning of the victory falling in this manner to his enemies, sent a valiant knight, named William Talbot, to Scotland, with two armies in support of Balliol: against whom came William Keith, Laurence Preston, and Robert Gordon, with a great army of Scots, and put these Englishmen to flight; the principal captain, William Talbot, was taken prisoner, and paid two hundred marks sterling for his ransom. Sir William Montague, Earl of Salisbury, came with a new force to besiege the castle of Dunbar, and lay 22 weeks at the siege thereof; nonetheless, it was so valiantly defended by the Countess of March, called Black Anna, that he was forced to depart from the siege.

In the year following, there was a miserable dearth in all the lands of Scotland, with great mortality of people; for the land lay waste, without any store or crops, because of the continual wars. All the soldiers, that were in the castle of Cupar, for lack of victuals, left the castle deserted, and fled to Kinghorn, where they hired a ship go to England; nonetheless, by a bad mariner, they came on a sand-bank, and perished at the next flood-tide.

At this time, many of the strongholds of Lothian was inhabited by Englishmen. The town of Edinburgh was garrisoned with many soldiers, both of English and Scots; among whom was a Scot of great spirit, named Robert Pendergast: and, because he favored Scotsmen, the Marshal, called Thomas Knaton, struck him so violently with a club, that the blood sprang out of his head. Robert, angered by this injury, lay each day in wait, until at last he slew the Marshal; and came to William Douglas by the shortest way, persuading him to go with diligence to Edinburgh, where he would find his enemies given to nothing but lust and indolence. William Douglas came immediately to the said town, and slew 400 Englishmen in their beds, buried in wine and sleep. Thus the Englishmen were constrained to be more vigilant in times coming.

Not long after, Andrew Murray, governor of Scotland, died, to the great damage of the welfare thereof; and was buried in Rosemarkie; from our redemption, 1338 years.

At this time arose a sharp war between the Kings of England and France, to the great advantage of Scotland; for, seemingly, Scotland was so weak at that time, that if the King of England had continued in his wars, it should have come, without any hope of releif, to utter ruin. After death of Andrew Murray, governor, Robert Stuart took on himself all the care of the realm, until the return of King David from France.

At this time, William Douglas, with many battles and great labour, recovered Teviotdale from the Englishmen's hands; and, therefore, he enjoyed the said lands, as a heritage obtained by his courage and prowess. King Edward, moved by these defeats, sent a valiant knight, named Sir Thomas Barclay, with a great force, to Scotland; against whom came William Douglas and Robert Stuart, governor, and fought with him at Blackburn; where the Scots were defeated; few of them escaped untaken or slain.

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Not long after this, William Douglas fought with the Englishmen at the Craignish, having with him but 40 men in his company; and defeated Sir John Stirling, with 500 men, supporters of England. And, in the year following, he won Hermitage Castle, and slew all persons found in it. In the next year, this William Douglas fought against Sir Laurence Abernethy, principal captain to Balliol, with great forces of men on either side, and was five times defeated: nonetheless, he renewed always battle; and, at last, he took the said Laurence prisoner, and brought him to Dumbarton. By these feats William Douglas was greatly esteemed: and was sent as ambassador to King David, in France, relating to certain high matters concerning the realm.

In the meantime, Robert Stuart came with a great force to besiege the town of Perth; and lay at the siege thereof ten weeks: at last, when he was desperate to take the said town, and ready to depart from there, William Douglas came out of France from King David, and arrived with great forces in the Tay; and, soon after his coming, the town was surrendered to the governor; from our redemption, 1341 years.

In this year, there was such dearth in Scotland and England, that the people was constrained to eat horses, hounds, and other similarly forbidden flesh.

Chap. Eleventh.

How Balliol fled to England. Of great deeds done by Robert Stuart and William Douglas. How King David returned to Scotland. And how William Douglas was banished.

Having received Perth in this way, and garrisoned it with strong forces, the governor went with his army to Stirling; and took it, the 8th day after the siege was laid to it, under these conditions: that Thomas Fulky, captain thereof, might go, with his wife, children, and goods, without any hindrance, to England. Edward Balliol, seeing these successes of the Scots, fled to England.

In the meantime, the castle of Edinburgh was won by subtle means of William Douglas, William Bullock, Walter Fraser, Walter Towers, and John Sandylands, knights, in the following manner: Douglas had a servant, named Towers, who came out of his ship, by command of Douglas, in Forth, pretending to be a merchant, with sundry wines to sell. And, by a devised deceit, he brought two puncheons of wine out of the ship; and, on the following day, he drew some gallons of this wine, and went with it to the castle of Edinburgh, and desired the Stuart to come forth to taste his wines. The Stuart found his wines delicious; and said, You shall do us great pleasure if you provide us some vessels of this wine; for wine has been very scant to us these many years." Also, to make himself the more certain of this wine, he gave money in hand to this Towers, and prayed him to bring the wine early on the following day to the castle, and he should be ready to receive it. This Towers came, before light, with the two puncheons. Soon after his coming, the gates were opened by the porters to receive the wine. At last, when the cart was coming within the gates, this Towers pulled out a wedge, and immediately the cart fell down with the punchons in the middle of the gate, and stopped it from closing. Douglas, who was not far from there, came quickly with armed men to the gates; and, after he had slain the porters, he entered the said castle, and left no man in it alive. Thus was the realm returned out of Englishmen's hands by noblemen, notwithstanding the absence of their king in France: it appears, therefore, that noblemen are as necessary to kings, as any lands or riches. All enemies being defeated in this manner, Balliol was ejected, with all his friends, and forced to return to England.

On the second day of June, in the year described above, King David, with his wife, Jane, and several great nobles, French and Scots, came happily through the seas, and arrived at Inverbervie; and brought, with great triumph, to Perth. At his coming, Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, one of the most valiant men that was in his days, gathered a strong force, and entered in England. And, first, he laid a force of people hidden in a vale, so that they might take their enemies by surprise when they saw suitable opportunity. Such things done, he went forward with the remainder of his people. In the meantime, the borderers, with several garrisons of the country, came awfully against him. Soon after he pretended, in the cunning of war, to flee; until, at last, his enemies followed him to the same place where his forces were lying in wait. Immediately, these forces arose and attacked them on each side; and, finally, defeated them with great slaughter. Among several other prisoners, who were taken at this time, the Earl of Salisbury, and the captain of Roxburgh, were taken. The Earl was exchanged for the Earl of Moray, who was held many years before prisoner in England. This Alexander Ramsay seeing the captain of Roxburgh, with many of the soldiers thereof, taken at this fight, came quickly with ladders to Roxburgh, and

entered over the walls. King David, for his honour, gave both the capitancy of Roxburgh, and Sheriffship of Teviotdale to the said Alexander: and, for that cause, he received great hatred from William Douglas; and was finally taken by him in the Church of Hawick, and was held in captivity, in the castle of Hermitage, until he died.

King David, very perturbed that this nobleman, Alexander, was put down in this manner, thought, if such attempts were unpunished, they could be occasion to conspire against him in some higher matters; and so he had this William Douglas searched for, to be punished by death. Nonetheless, the said William stayed away from the king's presence, and stayed in the mountains and other waste lands of Scotland; until Robert Stuart, and other nobles, finally reconciled him to the king's favour, and got him restored both to his honour and lands of Teviotdale, as he was before.

Chap. Twelfth.

How King David rewarded the heirs of them that were slain at Dupplin and Halidon Hill. And how he attacked England several times with great damage.

Scotland being pacified in this manner, and Englishmen ejected out of all parts thereof, King David convened a council at Perth; and commanded all those that did any honourable deeds for the defence of the realm, or had their fathers slain at the battles of Dupplin and Halidon, to be given to him in writing, that he might consider their honourable acts, and reward them according to their merits. At last when they were all convened, he being particularly informed of every deed done by themselves and their fathers, he rewarded them richly with gold, silver, and jewels; that they might have as much pleasure at the present time, as they had sorrow in times past. There was no-one, that could show any of his friends or kinsmen slain, or did any valiant deeds with his own hands, but was rewarded with generous recompense.

Among several others that were rewarded at this time, Hugh Boece, ancestor to Master Hector Boece, compiler of these *Chronicles*, got, in recompense of his father's slaughter at Dupplin, the heir and lady of the barony of Balbride given to him in marriage; which barony is yet possessed by the heirs of the said Hugh.

When King David had rewarded the nobles of his realm in this way, he thought nothing so good as to revenge the injuries done, for so many years before, by Englishmen. Yet several prudent men gave him counsel, to delay his wars, until his people were convalesced both in their bodies and goods; for they were wasted by wars, long endured: Also, the season was then to till their lands, that they might relieve the people of great dearth, which they presently sustained. To these words answered King David, He would take the chance of fortune, to bring his people great riches, by spoils taken from the English; and to revenge the injuries done by them for so many years before.

Soon after, all men able to bear arms were commanded to be ready on a certain day. Not long after, he made the Earl of Moray lieutenant to his army; and entered Northumberland, where he remained a month, attacking the country with fire and sword: then returned to Scotland with great riches. Soon after his return, he raised a new force in Scotland, and entered England again. The Englishmen seeing themselves not strong enough to resist his army, gathered all their goods into strongholds.

In the meantime, 5 knights of Scotland, named Stuart, Eglinton, Craigie, Boyd, and Fullerton, pursuing Englishmen over-fiercely, were taken; and ransomed, afterwards, for great sums. King David, seeing himself each day wasting his time, and no prospect of battle, returned to Scotland.

Not long after, he went again to England; and was troubled with such vehement rain and hail, that he could scarcely keep himself and his army, unperished by the storm of weather. On the other side, the Englishmen were gathered against him, were battered by the tempest in the same manner. King David, that his purpose should not be in vain, cast down several strong houses on the Borders in England, and returned to Scotland without any other trouble to his army.

Chap. Thirteenth.

How King David, at the request of France, attacked England with great damage; and how he was taken at Durham. How Englishmen obtained great lands in Scotland.

King Philip of France was cruelly attacked, during this time, by King Edward of England; and sent his ambassadors to Scotland, desiring King David to attack England with battle: so that, that King Edward, to resist the injury of the Scots, should leave the siege of Calais. In the meantime, ambassadors came from King Edward, to Scotland, to treat peace with King David; and promised to surrender both Berwick and Balliol to the Scotsmen's hands: for he was, as they argued, the great occasion of injuries so long continuing between English and Scots. The lords, to answer these matters, went to their council; but they were divided in several opinions, each man after his fancy. Some, in the rage of youth, and old hatred against the English, were desirous of battle: others, irked by long wars, desired peace; and thought these offers of England not to be despised, since many advantages might follow thereby. And it was thought, if such honourable offers were rejected, more trouble than profit would follow. It appeared, that perpetual friendship and kinship would continue between Englishmen and Scots, if Balliol were taken away, that was the mover of their wars. To this answered King David and others, that supported France: "The memory of infinite pleasures done to us by King Philip, move us to show some kinship to him; for he not only received us when the greatest danger threatened, but defended us from all enemies, when we were exiled from our realm. Furthermore, the treaty formerly contracted between King Robert, our father, and France, moves us to support France. Therefore, if we be noble men, having sight to them that have advanced our common good and liberty; nothing was so good as to revenge old injuries done by our enemies." Thus was it concluded to have war with England, by solicitation of King David; for he desired to do some honourable feat, that he might, thereby, be compared to the glory of his elders. The ambassadors of England were dispatched in this way, without any advancing of their desires; and the ambassadors of France fully satisfied. Soon after, by open proclamation, all men capable of bearing arms within this realm were commanded to meet the king at a certain day and place.

In the meantime, the Earl of Ross came, with many people, to Perth, and paraded his army before the king: and in the night following, he slew the Lord of the Isles, with 7 of his kinsmen, sleeping in their beds; and returned immediately to Ross. King David, notwithstanding the great displeasure that he took for this murder and very desirous to punish the same; postponed the punishment thereof, until a more suitable time occurred. At his coming to the Borders, he made many knights, to encourage them to knightly honour. He made William Douglas, Earl. This William was son to Archibald Douglas, slain before at Halidon Hill.

Such things done. King David destroyed the most part of Northumberland with fire and sword. It is said, King David was warned by vision in his sleep, to abstain from all lands sacred to Saint Cuthbert; otherwise his wars would have a miserable end. As soon as he was awake, he thought such visions but fantasies; and commanded his army, despite the vision, to spare no lands nor towns where they came. At last, they came to Durham, where Saint Cuthbert is patron, and plundered both the abbey, and all places thereabouts. King Edward, refusing to tolerate these injuries, sent the Earl of Northumberland out of France, with a great force. This Earl,

before his coming, sent a herald to King David, desiring him to return to Scotland, and to put an end to his wars; otherwise he should have battle on the third day after. King David had little respect for this message, but commanded his people to be ready to resist their enemies. On the following day, he divided his army in three parts. In the first wing, was Robert Stuart, Prince of Scotland, and Patrick, Earl of March. In the second wing, was John, Earl of Moray, and William, Earl of Douglas. In the center of the army, was King David, with all the remaining nobles of Scotland. This Earl of Douglas, because he was Warden of the Borders, departed from the Scots, to espy the army of England; and came so unwarily, to where their army lay, that 500 of his people were slain, and himself narrowly escaped with his life. At last, when both the armies were in sight of each other, David Grahame came, with five hundred armed men, on the skirts of the English archers, to have broken them. Nonetheless, he was so attacked with arrows, that many of his people were slain, and he himself narrowly escaped. The Scots, notwithstanding both these setbacks, rushed fiercely on their enemies, and fought a long time, with great courage, to the death. At last, Robert Stuart and the Earl of March, seeing their people fail in courage, after they had fought a long time, with uncertain victory; fled out of the field. This fleeing of the Earl of March and Robert Stuart was a great displeasure to all the army of the Scots; for the same force that fought against them, came so awfully on the formation where King David fought, that it was finally vanquished and put to flight. Then King David was left, with a small company, in the field. Although, he left nothing undone, that might pertain to the duty of a forceful champion; sometimes persuading his people to return with new energy, and sometimes rushing with a force of valiant men, to where he saw most confluence and force of Englishmen, intending to drive them back; so that the remainder of his people might take new courage, to return to battle. Nonetheless, none stayed with him, but so many as had more regard for their honour than their lives, fighting with persevering courage to the death. And though King David was destitute, without any help; yet he ceased not to persevere in obstinate battle, until he was overcome by multitude of people, and two spears hanging in his body: and though he might neither fly, nor yet break the said spears, yet he would not suffer himself to be taken; thinking nothing so odious as to remain alive, after such great slaughter of his nobles: and ceased not to provoke his enemies, with the most scornful words, to slay him. The Englishmen, seeing that he could not escape, decided to take him. Then John Copland desired him to surrender; for both his sword and weapons were struck out of his hands: nonetheless, he gave this Copland such a violent blow on the cheeks, that he knocked out two of his back teeth. The left wing had no better fortune, where the Earls of Moray and Douglas fought: for that wing was vanquished, the Earl of Moray slain, and the Earl of Douglas taken.

In this sorrowful battle, the Earl of Moray, the Earl of Strathearn, the Constable, the Marshal, the Chamberlain and Chancellor of Scotland, were slain, with a great number of other nobles and commoners. The king was taken, with 5 earls; that is to say, Douglas, Fife, Sutherland, Wigtown, and Menteith. An arrowhead was shot in King David's leg, with such violence, that it could not be got forth by talent of man; yet, when he had prayed to Saint Monan, the wound opened, and the head fell out. Beside other great riches lost in this field, the holy cross of Holyrood House was lost in it; for King David had it on him, trusting, by the virtue thereof, to be invincible in battle. Nonetheless, he was plundered of it, and of all other jewels found on him at the time. This battle was fought at Durham, the 17th day of October; from our redemption, 1346 years.

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The Englishmen, after this victory, took the castle of Roxburgh, and Hermitage; and, without any resistance, subjected Annandale, Galloway, Merse, Teviotdale, Tweeddale, and Ettrick Forest: and made frontiers at Cockburnspath and Sowtray Edge.

Chap. Fourteenth.

How William Douglas recovered sundry lands out of the Englishmen's hands, and attacked England with great damage; and how King Edward wrought great trouble in Scotland.

Balliol came, in the next year, out of England, with the Earl of Northumberland, and wasted Lothian and Clydesdale; and brought the spoils thereof to Galloway, where he stayed long after. The Scots, after this sorrowful battle of Durham, made Robert Stuart governor.

At this time, Sir William Douglas, son to good Sir James Douglas, that was slain in Spain; returned out of France, and, with the support of his friends, chased the Englishmen out of Douglasdale, Teviotdale, Twydale, Etterick Forrest, and Tweedale. John Copland, captain of Roxburgh, gathered an army of Englishmen: nonetheless, he was defeated, and chased to Roxburgh.

In the next year, which was from the Incarnation 1349, there was such a great plague in all parts of Scotland, that the third part of the people died. This plague arose with such terrible virulence, that each man that took it died within two days after; and it was so contagious, that the father would not speak with the son, nor the son the father.

In the next year, John Sanctmehel slew a noble knight, Sir David Barclay, at Aberdeen, during the night, by incitement of Sir William Douglas of Liddesdale, who was, at that time, held in England with the Earl of Douglas: for this Sir David Barclay slew, before, John Douglas, brother to the said Sir William, and father to Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith. In the year following, the said Sir William Douglas of Liddesdale was slain, at the hunts in Ettrick Forrest, by his cousin and godson, William, Earl of Douglas; for the slaughter of Alexander Ramsay, and other old enmities. Thus was the house of Douglas many years divided among themselves, pursuing each other with great unkindness and slaughter.

In the next year, which was from our redemption 1355, after Easter, there came to Scotland a noble knight, Eugenius de Garanteris, with 60 well-accounted men; and delivered to the Governor, and the other lords of Scotland, to support France in their wars on England, 40,000 crowns of the sun.

Soon after, the King of England sent an army to Scotland, and burned Merse, Lothian, and Teviotdale. The Earls of March and Douglas, refusing to tolerate this injury, raised an army, to attack England. Nonetheless, when they were informed that England was gathered, they stayed on the Borders; and sent Sir William Ramsay, to run a foray through the country. At last, when he was returning home, with great booty of men and goods; the Englishmen attacked him, and followed him continually, until they came to the army of the Scots. Immediately, the Scots set on them with great noise and clamour, and put them finally to flight. Of Englishmen there were taken, Sir Thomas Gray, with his son; John Darras was taken similarly, with many other Englishmen. The Frenchmen bought several English prisoners at this time, and slew them, to revenge the death of their fathers, who were slain before by Englishmen in France.

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The Earls of March and Douglas, after this victory, came quickly, with ladders, to the walls of Berwick, and won the town: howbeit, it was not without great slaughter. Of Englishmen there were slain, Alexander Ogil, captain of Berwick; Thomas Percy, brother to the Earl of Northumberland; and Edward Gray. Of the Scots there were slain, Thomas Vans, Andrew Scot of Balwearie, John Gordon, William Sinclair, Thomas Preston, Alexander Mowbray, knights.

When the Scots had won the town of Berwick in this manner, they were informed that King Edward was coming on them, with a new force. And because they had no provision to resist his army, they burned the town, and cast down the most part of the walls thereof. Nonetheless, King Edward, after his coming, repaired it with new walls; and went to Roxburgh: and there Balliol met him; and transferred all right and claim that he had to the crown of Scotland, into the said King Edward's hands; and requested him to persevere with perpetual hatred against the Scots.

Not long after, King Edward came to Haddington, to the great damage of all people lying thereabouts. One part of his navy plundered the church of Our Lady, called the White Church; and returned with the spoils thereof to their ships. But their sacrilege was not long unpunished; for suddenly arose a North wind, and drove all their ships so violently on the sea reefs and sands, that few of them escaped, save only so many as swam to land. King Edward, in contempt of God, because his navy was troubled in this manner, pursued all abbeyes and religious places where he came, with great cruelty. It is true that, an Englishman plundered all the ornaments that was had the image of Our Lady, in the White Church; and immediately, the crucifix fell down on his head, and dashed out his brains.

Chap. Fifteenth.

Of the Battle of Poitiers. How King David was ransomed. And how he punished his Barons, for fleeing from him at Durham.

Soon after the return of King Edward to England, William Douglas of Nithsdale recovered the lands of Galloway. The lands of Drysdale were recovered by Kirkpatrick in the same manner. On the 20th day of September, in the same year, occurred the battle of Poitiers, in France, as described here:

Edward, Prince of Wales, and son to King Edward, Windsor, came with an army to France, and attacked the country so cruelly, that it appeared that sundry lands thereof would come under his rule, if he were not quickly resisted. In the mean time, William, Earl of Douglas, with his kinsmen and friends, to the number of 3,000 men, went to France; and was tenderly received by King John, the first king of that name. Not long after, King John raised an army, and came to Poitiers. Edward, Prince of Wales, and son to King Edward, Windsor, after the coming of King John, began to raise his army; and in a subtle deceit, pretended to be daunted and made as if he would depart for England; so that Frenchmen and Scotsmen should break their array, by fiercely following his army. At the first skirmish, Sir John Claremont, Marshal of France, was slain. Prince Edward, encouraged by this beginning, and seeing his people raised in new vigour, thought nothing so good as to follow his fortune; and came quickly to Poitiers, where King John was camped for the time. Not long after, both the armies joined, and fought with great courage; until, at last, the Dauphin of France fled, with great forces: through which King John was left abandoned in the field, with his youngest son, Philip; who was afterwards named Philip Hardy, because his sword was found drawn in his hands. Thus was King John taken, and brought prisoner in England.

The Earl of Douglas was rescued by his friends out of this field. But Archibald Douglas, son to Sir James Douglas that was slain in Spain, was taken: but he was redeemed with small ransom; for when he was brought before the Englishmen, in coat-armour and gilt harness, in the same manner as he fought, Sir William Ramsay of Colluthy took him by the throat, and said, "Traitor, you are the death of your master, the Earl of Douglas; for you have clothed yourself in the same armour that should have saved him." Immediately, he caused him to take off his finery; and held him in such vile labour, that he was redeemed for a small ransom.<116>

It is said, that King Edward, full of vain arrogance, sat crowned, with sceptre and diadem, between two captive kings, of Scotland and France, in his feast of Yule; that such things could be described to his glory: taking no thought to the uncertain state of man, as if no such adversity might fall on him.

King David, some years afterwards, was brought, by the Earl of Northampton to Berwick; where many of the lords of Scotland convened to make his ransom: and, because they could not agree on it, he was brought again to London. At the next Michaelmas,<117> he was redeemed for 100,000 marks sterling; after he had lain 11 years prisoner in England: and, that this money should be paid the more surely, a truce was made for 14 years. Many of the lords and barons of Scotland were held hostage in London, as surety for the payment of the said ransom.

King David was obliged, after his returning to Scotland, to cast down the castles of Morton, Dalswinton, Dumfries, and Durisdeer, because they were

troublesome to the Englishmen. After his return to Scotland, he convened a parliament, and inflicted great punishment on them that fled from him at Durham. And, first, he broke the entail, that was made to his cousin, Robert Stuart, of the crown of Scotland; for he was a great cause of the defeat at Durham, by his fleeing: and, therefore, he transferred the said entail to John Sutherland, who was got on Jane, his youngest sister; and caused all the lords to be sworn to keep the said entail. The Earl of Sutherland, expecting his son John would succeed to the crown, divided the most part of his lands among his friends; who were Hayes, Sinclairs, Ogilvys, and Gordons. Nonetheless, the said Earl was frustrated both of his lands, and the crown of Scotland; for his son John was given among the remaining hostages for King David's ransom, and died at London.

After the death of the Earl of Sutherland's soon, Robert Stuart was reconciled to King David; and made heir to the crown, under the same entail as he was before. Many other great barons were punished in the same way, for their fleeing at Durham. The Church of Scotland gave the tenth penny of all their fruits to King David, to help in the payment of his ransom.

At this time, the realm of France was in great distress; for King John was held in captivity: until, at last, he left both his sons in pledge for him, and came to Paris; where he piteously lamented his captivity, and said, It was a great los to him, that he had not such noblemen in his days as Roland and Gawaine, to labour for his redemption, as there were in King Charles' time before him. Immediately, a nobleman of great courage and wisdom, enemy to the king's sloth, stood up and said, "If we could find such a prince as Charles, we should find Roland, and Gawain, and other such peers again."

These words were deeper printed in King John's mind than any man believed; because his febleness and sloth was so openly reproached. Not long after, he returned to England to visit his sons, and died in London.

Chap. Sixteenth.

Of great trouble that happened in Scotland by King David's second marriage; and of his death. Of several great Clerks, and marvels seen in Albion.

Not long after, King David called his lords and barons to a council: for, in the time of his captivity at London, he promised to transfer the crown of Scotland to King Edward's son, if the lords of Scotland would consent thereto. The lords, when this matter was proposed before them, answered, They would never consent thereto, so long as any of them might bear weapons or armour. King David was very pleased with this answer; for he was not obliged to labour further in this matter than his lords would consent.

In the next year, which was from our redemption, 1357, Lady Jane, spouse to King David, went to pilgrimage to Saint Thomas of Canterbury, in England, and died, without any children of her body. King David, after her death, married a lusty woman, named Margaret Logy, daughter to Sir John Logy; and, within three months after, he repented: and was so sorrowful that he had degraded his blood-royal with such obscure lineage, that he banished her, and all others that advised him to marry her, out of his realm. At last, this lady went, with some of her friends, to Avignon, where the Pope had his seat at the time; and was so favored, that finally she got a sentence against King David, to stay with her as his lawful lady and wife. Thus the realm would have come under interdiction and great trouble, had she not died by the way, returning home.

King David did many things to administer his realm properly, and then repaired all the strongholds of his realm; and built a tower in the castle of Edinburgh, which was afterwards called David's Tower. Finally, when he had brought his realm to great tranquillity, he decided to go to Jerusalem, to visit the sepulchre of Christ: and, when he had arranged all things necessary thereto, he fell into a high fever, and died in the castle of Edinburgh, the 39th year of his reign, and the 47th year of his age: and was buried in Holyrood House; from our redemption, 1370 years.

Sundry marvels were seen, the same year, in Albion. Ravens, jackdaws, and magpies, nested in winter, contrary to the nature of their kind. All the ewes were barren, without any lambs. Mice and rats abounded with such plenty, that they could not be destroyed. Such a great spate of water was in all parts of Scotland, that many houses and cities were destroyed.

At this time there were many noble Clerics: also, John Duns [Scotus], of the order of Saint Francis, a man of great knowledge in theology; Richard Middleton, William Ockam, with many others.

And so ends here, the fifteenth book of these Chronicles.

Book XVI.

Here Begins the Sixteenth Book of the Chronicles of Scotland.

Chap. First.

How Robert Stuart was made King of Scots. Of his sons and daughters; and how the realm was entailed to them.

After King David had been buried as described above, the nobles convened at Linlithgow, to choose a successor to the crown. On that day, many of the nobles supported Robert Stuart; but William, Earl of Douglas came, with a great force, and claimed the crown, his by right of Edward Balliol and Comyn; saying he was inheritor of both their rights, and was therefore just heir to the crown. It appeared that the said Earl William would usurp the crown by force, if it were not given to him freely. Nonetheless, he was frustrated of his purpose by George, Earl of March, and John Dunbar, Earl of Moray, and several other gentlemen, who he believed would have favored his claim. On Our Lady-day, in Lent, called the Annunciation, <118> the said Robert Stuart was crowned with great solemnity, the 57th year of his age. And, so that more friendship and kinship should stand between the said noble prince, and his subject the Earl of Douglas foresaid; it was agreed, that Euphemia, eldest daughter of King Robert, should be given to James, the Earl of Douglas' son, in marriage. In this way, the Stuarts came to the crown; whose succession reigns yet, with great happiness, in the 8th person from this Robert.

When King Robert received the crown, he had as his wife, Euphemia, daughter of the Earl of Ross; with whom he had two sons, Walter and David. Before he married the said Earl of Rosse's daughter, he had Elizabeth Moore as his mistress; and had with her three sons, John, Robert, and Alexander; and several daughters; of who one was married to John Dunbar, Earl of Moray; another was married to John Lyon, Lord Glamis. This earldom of Moray continued with the Dunbars, only during the life of this Earl John and his son; by whom the succession failed, except a daughter, who was heir to the said earldom, and was married afterwards to Douglas: and by this way, Douglas came to the earldom of Moray.

King Robert, after his coronation, made several earls, lords, knights, and barons. James Lindsay of Glenesk was made Earl of Crawford. In the third year of King Robert, Euphemia, his Queen, died. King Robert immediately married Elizabeth Moore, the mistress described above, for the affection that he had for her children; that they could be legitimised, by the subsequent matrimony. Not long after, with the approval of parliament, he made John, his eldest son, got on Elizabeth Moore, Earl of Carrick; her second son, Robert, Earl of Menteith and Fife; the third son, Alexander, Earl of Buchan, and Lord of Badenoch. His eldest son, Walter, got on Euphemia, his wife, was made Earl of Atholl, and Lord of Brechin; his second son, David, Earl of Strathearn. This Walter was the slayer of James the First; for he always pretended a great right to the crown.

Not long after, a parliament was held at Perth. There the crown of Scotland was entailed to King Robert and his sons, in this manner: "John, his son, got on Elizabeth Moore, his mistress; by reason that he was his first-got son, and legitimated by subsequent matrimony, should succeed immediately to the crown; and failing of his male succession, the crown should come to Robert, his second son; and failing of his succession, to Alexander. And if he had no succession, the crown to come to Walter, who was got on Euphemia, his first wife; and failing succession male of him, the crown to come to David, Earl of Strathearn, and his heirs, whoever the might be."

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All the nobles were made to swear, by the most binding oaths, to observe and keep this new succession, in their best manner.

Chap Second.

How the Earl of March burnt Roxburgh; and how the English were several times defeated by Scots.

The Borderers of England, who live only by their wars and spoils; by envy of fortune, and long peace with Scotland, were brought to extreme poverty: and therefore, to find occasion of war, they slew certain friends of George, Earl of March, at the fair of Roxburgh. Earl George, refusing to tolerate this slaughter, sent a herald to Henry, Earl of Northumberland, Warden of the Border of England; desiring the slayers of his men to be surrendered to him, and the injuries done by them redressed. At last, when he had sent often to the Warden, to the effect foresaid, and receiving nothing but an answer full of derision; he postponed his displeasure, until a more suitable opportunity occurred.

In the year following, several merchants of England convened at Roxburgh. And in the meantime, the said Earl George gathered a great force, with his brother the Earl of Moray, and took the said town, and put it to sack. The English, soon after, came with an army to Scotland, and burned certain lands pertaining to Sir John Gordon; for they bordered with the Earl of March's lands: and spared neither wife nor child where they came; regarding not what misery they suffered, provided they could harm their enemies. Sir John Gordon, very desirous to revenge this injury, came to England with a great force, and brought a plunder of men and goods out of it, without any obstacle. Against whom, came John Lilburn, with an army; and this Gordon, nothing afraid, met him with great courage and valour: through which there followed a sharp battle, fought for a long time with uncertain victory; for the Scots were five times vanquished that day, and as often victorious. At last, the Englishmen were clearly defeated, and Lilburn, their captain, brought prisoner to Scotland.

Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, came, with 7,000 men, to Duns, to revenge these damages. In the night following, the country men and shepherds filled several dry leather pots full of small stones, and tied them together, in manner of saddle-bags, to their horse; then chased them about the camp where these Englishmen lay. Immediately, all the horses that were among the army of England were so frightened with the noise of these saddle-bags, that no reins might hold them; but ran scattered through the country. For fear of this trouble, the Englishmen stood all night in battle array, always waiting for when their enemies should attack them. On the following day, they returned home, for want of horses, on their feet; after their horses were far scattered from them, and fallen as prey to the country.

In the meantime, Thomas Musgrave, captain of Berwick, came to support the Earl of Northumberland; but he was vanquished, and brought prisoner, by John Gordon, to Scotland. And not only were the Scots victorious in the East parts of Scotland, but in the West Borders in the same manner; where Sir John Johnston of that ilk, fought with the Englishmen at several skirmishings, and was always victorious.

Chap. Third.

Of a great plague in Scotland. How the English were defeated at Solway. Of the message sent by Charles of France; and how the surname of Lyons took their beginning.

About this time, Pope Gregory the 11th sent a legate from Avignon to King Robert, and forbade him to meddle with any goods pertaining to the church, after a prelate's death. In this year, the abbey of Saint Andrew's was burned, by negligence of a plumber, who left one of his hot irons in a crow's-nest; where it raised such a huge fire, that it could not be quenched until all the church was burned.

On the 22nd day of October, from our redemption 1368, David Stuart was born, who was afterwards Duke of Rothesay. And on Saint Andrew's Day<119> next following, the town of Berwick was taken by Sir John Gordon, during the night: but it was not long kept; for he was beaten out by the same way he entered. After this, William, Earl of Douglas, came, with 20,000 men, to the fair of Penrith, within England; and plundered the merchants of all their goods, and returned with incredible booty to Scotland. The Scots, thought they had profited greatly by these goods, but came to irrecoverable dissolution; for with these goods came so grievous a plague in Scotland, that the third part of all the people died. This was the third time that the plague came to Scotland; from the Incarnation of God, 1370 years.

The Englishmen, to revenge these raids made by the Earl of Douglas at Penrith, came to Scotland over the Solway, and attacked the country with fire and slaughter, in the most cruel manner. In the meantime, the Scots gathered, to the number of 500 men, and stood in a narrow glen, until the Englishmen were coming by them; and with so huge noise and clamour set on them, that they turned tail: 400 of them were slain, and many of the rest perished in the Solway. King Charles the 6th of France, hearing the fame of their illustrious deeds, sent his ambassadors to King Robert in Scotland; exhorting him to follow fortune, and attack his enemies with continual battle; and promised a yearly pension of money to him and his successors, Kings of Scotland, if he forced the army of England to leave France. These ambassadors renewed the treaty of France with the Scots, and soon after were despatched: and then Walter Wardlaw, Cardinal and Bishop of Glasgow was sent, with many other noblemen, to renew the treaty with France.

In this next year, John Lyon, Chancellor of Scotland, was unhappily slain by James Lindsay, Earl of Crawford. It is said, that this John Lyon was a lusty man, endowed with many gifts of nature and fortune, with excellent beauty; and, for his good manners, so pleasing to every creature, that he was made secretary to the said Earl; and after that, made so familiar to King Robert, that he got his daughter Elizabeth in marriage, with many rich lands, called Glamis: of whom are descended the surname of Lyons. In memory whereof, they bear the lion in their arms, with lilies and tressure,<83> in the same manner as the king bears; excepting only, that they bear their lions in a black field. John Lyon, after his marriage, grew each day in greater friendship with King Robert: through which, the Earl of Crawford took such displeasure, that he slew him at Forfar. King Robert, perturbed by this crime, banished the Earl of Crawford out of Scotland for several years; until at last he was reconciled, by the intercession of the Earls of Douglas and March, to the King's favour. And in the year following, which was from our redemption 1376, Prince Edward of England, who took King John at Poitiers, died. And in the next year, King Edward Windsor, his

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father, died; and left behind him 4 sons alive; that is to say, the Duke of Clarence, the Duke of Lancaster, the Duke of York, and the Earl of Cambrige. And in this same year, was the coronation of King Richard, son to Prince Edward, who had died.

Chap. Fourth.

Of great cruelties done by Englishmen against Scots. How the King of France sent great support to Scots.

In the fourth year after, which was from our redemption 1381, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, came, with many noblemen, to treat peace between the two realms of England and Scotland. At last, when he had agreed 3 years peace with the Scots, and was returning home, he got news, that the commoners of England had risen with great power against this new King Richard, and slain the Bishop of Canterbury, with many other nobles and gentlemen of England. Immediately, he returned to the Borders, and was convoyed by William, Earl of Douglas, and Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway, to Holyrood House, beside Edinburgh; where he remained until, at last, Jack Straw was quartered, and all others who supported him punished.

As soon as the truce had expired, Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway, very reluctant to sustain the injuries daily done in Galloway and Annandale, by the Englishmen of Lochmaben; came with a great force, with the support of the Earls of Douglas and March. And when they had lain at the siege of that house 9 days, they fought against a force of Englishmen that came out of Carlisle to relieve the said house; and put them, after long fighting, to flight: through which, they got both victory on their enemies, and the house surrendered to them, in one day. As soon as the house was taken, it was cast down to the ground. King Richard, hearing Lochmaben was taken in this manner, sent the Baron of Graystoke, with great munition and victuals, to garrison the castle of Roxburgh. At last, when he was coming within a mile of the said castle, he was taken by the Earl of March, and brought to Dunbar, with all his supplies.

King Richard, hearing of these many injuries done by the Scots, sent his uncle the Duke of Lancaster, with great armies, to Scotland, both by sea and land: and after he had overrun both Merse and Lothian, he came to Edinburgh. And, because of the courtesy that he received there in the time of his exile, he returned to England without any further assaults. Nonetheless, his navy stayed still in Forth, and plundered and burned the sea-coasts on each side. On their return, they burned the abbey of Saint Colcille, but the church was saved by a miracle. It is said, an Englishman put fire thrice in the church, and it went out each time, and the Englishman went insane. This navy of Englishmen, not satiated with their cruelties, came to Fife, and plundered many towns thereof. At last, Thomas and Nicholas Erskines, Alexander Lindsay, and William Cunninghame of Kilmaurs, set upon them in Fife, and slew such a great number of them, that few of them returned to their ships.

In this year, the Earl of Douglas put the Englishmen out of Teviotdale, and recovered all the strongholds thereof; which were held under the dominion of Englishmen, from the battle of Durham to those days. This was the last honourable feat done by the said Earl William, one of the most valiant men of his day. He died soon after, of a hot fever, in the castle of Douglas; and lies in Melrose. After his death, his son James succeeded to the earldom of Douglas; a right fierce and valiant knight. In the month of September next following, he recovered the town of Berwick out of Englishmen's hands; and came with such an army to England, that he burned and plndered all the lands thereof, as far as Newcastle. Not long after, he was commanded by King Robert to return to Perth, without any excuses, to give his advice concerning several great matters; for Jean de Vienne, Admiral of France, and Earl of Valence,

came, in the month of May, to Scotland, with 240 warships, two thousand 500 armed men, many of them barons and gentlemen: 400 of them were hackbutters; 1200 cross-bow men; with pikes, halberds, and such like munition of war; their victuals provided and wages paid for a year. And in addition this great force, they brought 400 cuirasses of fine armour, 400 half-length swords, and 40,000 crowns of the sun,<120> to be given where King Robert thought expedient, among his nobles.

Not long after, with the approval of all the barons of Scotland, King Robert raised an army of fifty thousand men; and made Robert his son, who was Earl of Fife, lieutenant to the said army; and made the Earls of Douglas and March to be captains under him. This army came to England, and cast down the castles of Wark, Ford, and Cornwell. Nonetheless, the weather was so bitter, they were forced to return to Scotland. At their return, they set down their camp at Roxburgh, to besiege the castle there. The Admiral of France desired, if the castle were won by his munitions and people, for it to be kept, in times coming, in the King of France's name. And because the Scots refused to take the house under these conditions, the army departed. And at the Hallowmass<121> next following, the Admiral departed for France, with the remainder of his people.

Chap. Fifth

How King Richard attacked Scotland with great cruelties; and of great deeds done by William Douglas.

After the departure of the Frenchmen, the Scots came with an army to England, and remained two months; then returned, with great plunder of men and goods, to Scotland. King Richard, after his return from France, to revenge their injuries done by Scots, came, with great forces, through the Merse and Lothian; putting both lands, towns, and churches, where he came, to utter destruction. He burned Melrose, Dryburgh, Newbattle, and slew all the religious men thereof; also, he burned Edinburgh, and the church of Saint Giles: but the abbey was saved by the Duke of Lancaster, for he previously been lodged in it. Such things done, King Richard returned to England, without any damage done to him by Scots.

In the next year, which was from our redemption 1387, Bishop Walter Warldlaw of Glasgow, cardinal, died.

Not long after the return of King Richard to England, the Duke of Albany came with an army of 30,000 men to England. In his army were James, Earl of Douglas, and Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway. This army came so skilfully through the Water of Solway, that they came to Cockermouth in England, and stayed there three days, attacking the country with great cruelties; and returned with great plunder of goods to Scotland.

Among several spoils got in this expedition, there was found a charter of certain lands given by the King of England, in these words:

"I, King Athelstane,
Give to Paulane,
Odhams,
Rodam;
As good, and as fair,
As ever they mine were.
And thereto witness, Maud, my wife."

Which charter is not unlike a charter given by King William; as follows:

"Here I, William, King,
The third year of my reign,
Gives to the, Normand Huntere,
(To me thou art both loved and dear.)
The Hop, and the Hoptown;
And all the lands up and down,
Under the earth to hell, above the earth to heaven;
From me, and from mine,
To thee, and to thine,
As free, as the kingdom is mine:
To verify that this is sooth,
I bite the white wax with my tooth,
Before Meg, Maud, Marjory, and my eldest son:
For a bow, and an broad arrow,
When I came to hunt upon Yarrow."

By these charters it appears, more faith was given to words of kings, princes, and other people, in those days, than are given now; for the talent of man seeks so many deceits, and new inventions, that no words can be found sufficient to assure such donations and charters given in our days.

In this last campaign against the English, William, son to Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway, won great fame and honour. For, above his many other valiant deeds, he burned the suburbs of Carlisle, having but two servants in his company; and made such marvellous slaughter on the soldiers thereof, that he cast several of them over the bridge, and slew the others who kept the bridge. After this, when the said town was besieged, he followed so fiercely on the soldiers who issued forth, that he was finally taken prisoner by four Englishmen, and his weapons beaten from him: at last, when he was to be brought inside the town, he felled two of them with his fist, and drove off the remaining two; through which he rescued himself from his enemies. King Robert, for this most honourable deed, gave to the said William his daughter Egidia in marriage, who excelled all other women in beauty. It is said, the King of France was so enamoured with this virgin, that he commanded a painter go come to Scotland, to paint her visage to the life; nonetheless, before the coming of this painter, she was married to the said William. This William got on her a daughter; who was married afterwards to the Earl of Orkney.

Chap. Sixth.

How Robert Stuart and William Douglas did great deeds in Ireland. How James, Earl of Douglas, vanquished Henry Percy in single combat. And how he besieged Newcastle.

In the year following, which was from our redemption, 1388, Robert, Earl of Fife, and Archibald, Lord of Galloway, entered England with a proud army: and, at the same time, several Irishmen came with great forces, to Galloway, and took great plunder out of the same. Robert Stuart, and William Douglas, son to Archibald, Lord of Galloway, to revenge these extortions, went with an army to Ireland, and besieged a strong town, named Carlingford. The citizens thereof, having no strength to resist, purchased truce for certain sums of money; and, in the meantime, they gathered a company of 800 men, by support of another town, named Dundalk. Nonetheless, the said Robert and William fought with such courage, that they vanquished their enemies; and after they had plundered this town of Carlingford, they burned it to ashes; then took 15 ships which were lying in the harbour, and loaded them with the goods of this town; and in their return home, they plundered the Isle of Man.

Not long after their return to Scotland, King Richard sent an army to Scotland. This army entered the Merse, and cast down many great towers and strongholds thereof. King Robert then convened all his nobles at Aberdeen; in which, it was decided to raise the power of the realm with all diligence, to revenge these injuries done by Englishmen. Not long after, 2 armies were raised. The first was given in governance to Robert Stuart, Earl of Fife; having with him the Earl of Menteith; Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway; and Alexander Lindsay of Wauchope; to the number of 15,000 men, to go to Cumberland. The other army was given to James, Earl of Douglas, and George, Earl of March; having with them James Lindsay, Earl of Crawford; John Dunbar, Earl of Moray; and Hay, Constable of Scotland; with similar number as the other, to attack Northumberland. These armies wrought such cruelties, that nothing was heard but screams and groans of dying people, in all parts where they came; with most terrible flames, bringing great towns and buildings to utter ruin. At last, both these armies met together at Newcastle, after they had passed, with sword and fire, through all the lands of Northumberland and Cumbria.

In the meantime, the Earl of Douglas choose 10,000 valiant men to besiege Newcastle, which stands upon the Water of Tyne; and began to search diligently, in what way he might most easily attack the said town: which was then full of people; for the most part of all the chosen men from Northumberland and York were in the said town; with Sir Henry Percy, second son to the Earl of Northumberland; called, for his continual pricking, Harry Hotspur. This Henry, confiding in his singular courage and long use of arms, came forth from Newcastle, desiring to fight with the Earl of Douglas in single combat. Douglas, not refusing his desires, gladly condescended to fight in whatever way he pleased. Finally, these two fierce champions mounted on their barded<87> coursers, and ran awfully together, with square and ground spears, to the death. Douglas, wise and circumspect in all his doings, not only saved himself from harm by his enemies; but, by his strength and singular courage, knocked the Percy out of the saddle. The Englishmen, who stood before the gates, waiting for the chance of fortune, suddenly rescued the Percy, and brought him to their town. Thus succeeded no less honour to Douglas than dishonour to Percy.

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Such things done, Douglas called all his captains before him, to show them in what part the town could be most easily taken. Immediately, all his army came smartly with ladders to the walls, and filled the ditches with great multitude of hay and trees. Nonetheless, the town was so valiantly defended, that he was constrained to depart from the siege, with great slaughter of his people; and soon after, he took his voyage to return to Scotland.

Chap. Seventh

How the English were defeated at Otterburn; the Earl of Douglas slain; and Percy brought prisoner to Scotland. How the Hepburns took their beginning.

Now James, Earl of Douglas was coming to the town of Otterburn, in Redesdale, to return to Scotland; when suddenly came to him a borderer on a swift gelding, and said how the Englishmen were coming on him with battle array. Thus were the Scots greatly afraid. Nonetheless, Douglas exhorted them to remember their frequent victories, by which they vanquished their enemies so often before: and prayed them not to fear the multitude of their foes; for it was no difficulty to defeat them who have been so often before defeated by them. Also, their enemies were no more at that time than they were before at Bannockburn, where 30,000 defeated 300,000. And finally, he desired them to remember well to their courage and honour, proven with such great success in previous years; so that they could win some new and recent victory, which would be more celebrated than any old glory of other past victories. And because he knew all the people in his company, and had campaigned with them much of his days, he exhorted every one of them by himself, to show their courage and virtue with some notable deeds against their enemies.

On the other side, Harry Hotspur, captain of the Englishmen, exhorted his people to fight for defence of their country, and their parents, children, wives, and goods; and show how they were of such strength, that they might destroy their enemies at their pleasure. And because victory was certain in their hands, and their enemies frightened; it would be best to go forward with such courage, that their enemies would be vanquished at their first joining. Immediately, at the sound of a trumpet, both the armies joined with the greatest fury, and fought long with uncertain victory; until at last they were severed from each other by the coming of the night. Nonetheless, they waited until the rising of the moon, to fight again. As soon, therefore, as the moon had risen, they joined again, with greater hatred than before: and when the front rank of the Scots were slain, the Englishmen began to drive the Scots back; and, without doubt, they would have won the standards of Douglas, and put his army to flight, had not Patrick Hepburn, with his son and friends, come quickly to the support of the Scots: by whom the battle was renewed.

While the armies were fighting with such cruelty, Douglas came with a heavy mace, of more weight and quantity than any man could wield in those days; and rushed among the great force of his enemies, where he made such terrible slaughter, that they were finally put to flight. The chase continued, with great slaughter of Englishmen, until the break of the day.

In this battle, Harry Percy, and his brother Rudolph, were taken by Keith, Marshal of Scotland. Of the English 500 were slain, all nobles. Many were taken: among whom were the two Percys, Robert Ogil, Thomas Halbart, John Lilburn, William Wauchlute, Robert Hekon, John Colwell, and Patrick Lovell, knights; with many other nobles, in such multitude, that the takers were of small number, in comparison to the great number of prisoners. This victory did not succeed to the Scots without great slaughter of many noblemen; for when the enemy was clearly defeated, the Earls of Crawford, March, and Moray entered into Douglas' tent, where he had returned after this victory, and found him near dead; thrice stricken through the body, and a deadly wound in his head; which was given to him by Englishmen, after

his helmet was not well attached to his head. And when they saw him in such sorrowful state, they fell down in tears and mourning. Then Douglas, with such courage as he might, said to them these words: "My heartfelt friends, remove all this lament and dolour out of your breasts, and rejoice in the present victory, which is granted to you by special favour of God. We have risked our lives this day, for the honour that has now succeeded to us. Therefore, turn your tears and dolour into hymns and prayers for my soul. Forget not my good deeds done for you, although this mischance has fallen to me. And if you desire to recompense my abundant kindness, so often sustained for your welfare and ease; I beseech you to pray the merciful and most powerful God to have mercy on my soul. I beseech you, now, cherish virtue and courage, for the defence of your realm and liberty; and hold yourselves in such perpetual concord, that you may daily increase in honour and friendship, to the terror of foes."

Scarcely were their words said, when he, overcome with dolour, surrendered his soul to God. And he was, while he lived, one of the most valiant champions that ever decorated this realm with the greatest honour. After his death, such sorrow followed among his army, that neither the present victory, spoils, nor great riches coming to them by chance of fortune, might keep their eyes from continual tears.

Not long after, by the coming of Robert Stuart, Earl of Fife, the dolour, although it was some part ceased, was renewed; for though this victory succeeded to Scots, with great slaughter of Englishmen, yet none was in that army but would have been content to have changed his life for Douglas. This Earl of Douglas was brought, after his death, to Melrose, and buried beside his father, Earl Willaim. And because this Earl James had no heirs of his body, Archibald, Lord of Galloway, succeeded to the said earldom. It is said, in the time of King David Bruce, an Englishman was taken prisoner, named Hepburn; and held many years in Scotland, for non-payment of his ransom. At last, when the Earl of March was in danger of his life, by the rage of an insolent and unbroken horse; this Hepburn came quickly to his bridle, when no other man dared restrain this horse. Thus he saved the Earl's life, and got certain lands in Lothian. Whose posterity is grown in such strength of lands and surname, that now, by several noble knights who are in our days, are descended of the same blood, many noble Earls of Bothwell, of no less honour, nobility, and lands, than any other earls or barons in this realm: and of that surname there have been many noble prelates, of singular erudition, as yet occurs in our days.

This battle of Otterburn was fought on Saint Oswald's Day, the 5th day of August; the year of God, 1388 years.

Chap Eighth.

How Robert, Earl of Fife, was made Governor of Scotland. How Alexander, bastard son to King Robert, was punished for his tyranny; and of King Robert's Death.

In the next year, a parliament was held at Perth; in which, King Robert said before his nobles, that he was so broken with age, that he could not do his duties, in the governance of his realm. And therefore, by consent of the three estates, he made Robert, his second son, Governor of Scotland; for his eldest son, John, Earl of Carrick, got such an injury on his leg, by Sir James Douglas's horse, of Dalkeith, that he could not travel through the realm.

King Richard, after the battle of Otterburn, sent the Marshal of England to be warden against Scotland; for Henry Percy and his brother were held prisoners in Scotland. This Earl, at his first coming, reproved the borderers of England, of the misaventure falling to them at Otterburn; and said, it was great shame to them to be vanquished by Scots, they outnumbering them four for one. At last, he made his great oath, wherever he found any Scots, he would give them battle, although he were in few, and they in great number. Nonetheless, as oft occurs, such vain ostentation seldom succeeds with gravity and honour in the end. This Earl, not long after, when Robert, Governor of the Scots, was coming to Northumberland with a small army; put him to flight: and when the herald demanded him, why he was unmindful of his vow; he answered, That he was commanded by his master to risk not so many lusty and valiant men as were in his army, without certain advantage. Robert the Governor, after he had wasted the most part of Northumberland, returned, with great plunder of men and goods, to Scotland. In the same year, a truce was made, for three years, between France and England; and the Scots, if they pleased, were comprised within the said truce.

Soon after, ambassadors came to King Robert, directed from King Richard of England, to see if he would abide by this peace before contracted: he answered, He would gladly abide by it.

While these great matters were happening in Scotland, Alexander Stuart, Earl of Buchan, the third son of King Robert, burned the cathedral church of Moray, the lantern and ornament of the North of Scotland in those days. King Robert, refusing to tolerate such great oppression and cruelty done by his son Alexander; took him, after he was brought to his presence, and put him in a strong prison: where he remained to the end of his life.

The realm being, in this manner, brought to good tranquillity; King Robert, by long age, was brought to great infirmity: and died, at his castle of Dundonald, the 19th day of April; from our redemption, 1390 years; after he had reigned 19 years.

Chap. Ninth.

***Of King Robert the Third. Of the Death of William Douglas,
Lord of Nithsdale. How the clans of Clan Kay and Clan
Chattan fought at Perth.***

After the death of King Robert the Second, his son, John, Earl of Carrick, was crowned at Scone, on Our Lady-Day, in August, called the Assumption^{<102>}. The lords thought that John was an unlucky name for a king; for King John of France was taken unhappily at Poitiers, as is described above: and, therefore, they called him Robert, after his father.

About this time, William Douglas of Nithsdale was chosen, by the lords of Prussia, as admiral, to go, with 240 ships, against the Turks. This William was esteemed so far by the said lords, that he was envied greatly by Lord Clifford, Englishman; and, therefore, the said Clifford challenged him to single combat. Nonetheless, before the coming of the day, this Clifford was so afraid, that he lay in wait with great forces of men, and, slew the said Douglas, on the bridge of Danzig. By his death, this great deed that might have been done against the Turks, was prevented.

Not long after the coronation of Robert the Third, tidings came, that Duncan Stuart, son to Alexander, the king's brother described above, was coming to Angus with great forces of men; and slew Walter Ogilvy, with his sons and friends, who were defending of the country. But his attempts were not long unpunished; for he was taken by the Earl of Crawford, and all his accomplices punished for their conspiracy.

At this time, much of the North of Scotland was heavily troubled by two clans of Gaelic Highlanders, named Clan Kay and Clan Chattan; attacking each other's lands with continual slaughter and robbery. At last, it was agreed between the headsmen of their two clans, by the direction of the Earls of Moray and Crawford, that 30 of the principal men of each clan should come, with 30 of the other clan, arrayed in their best way; and should convene before the king at Perth, for decision of all pleas; and fight with sharp swords to the death, without any armour: and that clan where the victory succeeded, to have perpetual rule above the other. Both these clans, glad of this condition, came to the North Inch, beside Perth, with judges set on scaffolds, to settle the matter. One of these clans was short a man to make up the number, and hired a peasant, for money, to defend their action, although this man had no connection with them in blood nor kinship. These two clans stood arrayed with great hatred against other; and, at the sound of a trumpet, rushed together; paying no attention to their wounds, so long as they could destroy their enemies; and fought in this manner long, with uncertain victory: when one fell, another was put in his place. At last, the Clan Kays were all slain except one, that swam through the Water of Tay. Of Clan Chattan, 11 persons were left alive; but they were so hurt, that they could not hold their swords in their hands. This fight was from the Incarnation, 1396 years.

Chap. Tenth.

How King Robert made his son Duke of Rothesay, and his brother Duke of Albany. Of great deeds done by the Earl of Crawford.

In the third year after, a parliament was held at Perth; where King Robert the Third, after many acts done for the common good, made David, his eldest son, being 18 years of age, Duke of Rothesay; and Robert, his brother, who was Governor, and Earl of Menteith and Fife, Duke of Albany. These were the first dukes that were in Scotland.

During the peace between Englishmen and Scots, there were frequent companies of Englishmen in Scotland; and similarly of the Scots in England: through which, many honourable tournaments were often held between Scots and English, for defence of their honour, and glory in arms. Among which, was not little praised, the honorable victory got by David, Earl of Crawford, on the bridge of London, gainst Lord Wells, in this manner: Lord Wells was sent as ambassador to Scotland, concerning certain high matters between the two Kings of the English and Scots. And when he was at a solemn banquet, where Scotsmen and English were talking about deeds of arms, this Lord Wells said: "Let words have no place. If you do not know the warfare and valiant deeds of Englishmen, fight me, at a day and place when you wish, and you shall soon have experience of them." Then David, Earl of Crawford, said "I will fight." Immediately, by consent of both parties, the day and place was assigned: Lord Wells choose the bridge of London for the place, and Earl David choose Saint George's Day<122>, because he was a valiant knight. Then Lord Wells departed for London. Before the day, Earl David came with 30 persons, well accoutred, to London.

As soon as the day of battle had come, both the parties were convoyed to the bridge. Soon after, at the sound of a trumpet, the two parties ran quickly together, on their caparisoned stallions, with square and sharpened lances, to the death. Earl David, notwithstanding the violent blows of lances broken on his helmet and visage, sat so strongly, that the people, moved by vain suspicion, cried that Earl David, contrary to the laws of arms, was tied to the saddle. Earl David, hearing this murmur, dismounted his horse; and, without any support, ascended again into the saddle. Immediately, they rushed together, with new lances, the second time, with burning desire to acquire honour. But in the third encounter, Lord Wells was knocked out of the saddle, with such violence, that he fell to the ground, to the great displeasure of the Englishmen. Earl David, seeing him fall, dismounted quickly from his horse, and tenderly embraced him; that the people might understand he fought with no hatred, but only for the glory of victory. As a sign of more humanity, he visited him each day, until he recovered his health. There were many other contests at this time, between Englishmen and Scots; each man contending to adorn his own nation with most admiration.

Not long afterwards, Earl David held a solemn banquet, where many nobles of England were present for the time; not ceasing, as their custom is, to praise themselves. At last, when the herald of England had announced this Earl David, as a valiant and noble knight, an Englishman, moved by envy, said, "It is not surprising the Scots are thought to be noble and valiant; for they were got by our noble elders, when their fathers were banished, and their realm nearly obtained." Then Earl David said, "It is not surprising the Englishmen are thought feeble and degenerate; for they were

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got by English cooks and friars, when the great nobles thereof got us in Scotland." Such friendship and kinship continuing between English and Scots, Earl David returned to Scotland, with many nobles of England. And because he vanquished Lord Wells upon Saint George's Day, he founded 7 priests to sing for him, in our Lady Church of Dundee, in the honour of Saint George.

Chap. Eleventh.

How Sir Robert Marlowe was defeated by Hugh Trail. How Henry, Duke of Lancaster, obtained the crown of England, and deposed King Richard.

Not long afterwards, Sir Robert Marlowe, Englishman, came to Scotland, ready to fight against any man that would meet him in single combat. He vanquished Archibald Edmonston and Hugh Wallace: but, at last, he was vanquished by Hugh Traill, at Berwick, and died of chagrin. Several other tournaments were held, the same year, between Englishmen and Scots, with varying outcomes. The same year, King Richard of England married Isabel, daughter to Charles, the 6th of that name, King of France. And because she was only 11 years of age, and could not sustain the duties of marriage, King Richard went, by the advice of his nobles, to quell the rebellion of Ireland; intending to remain there, until his wife came of age.

Soon after his departure for Ireland, the Earls of Derby, Northumberland, with many other nobles of England, conspired to put him from the crown. King Richard, hearing this conspiracy made against him, came from Ireland to Wales, and sent writings to all his friends to come quickly to him, that he might recover his realm, and punish the rebellion of his nobles. The principal lords who conspired against him, sent their writings, desiring to be reconciled with him; and promised, if he would forgive their offence, not only to receive him with greatest honour, but never to rebel against him in times coming. King Richard, giving them credit in this matter, came from Wales; and in his return to London, was taken by his lords, notwithstanding their promise, and put in captivity, until he renounced all right that he had to the crown of England, and was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. After long suffering, he escaped prison, in a woman's clothes; and came to Galloway, where he took service to a Scot, named Macdonald. At last he was recognised, and brought to King Robert the Third: by whom he was treated with great reverence. King Richard, knowing himself cast down from his royal estate, gave himself wholly to religious devotion: until, at last, he died in Stirling, and was buried in the Black-Friars thereof. After his expulsion, Henry, the fourth of that name, and son to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, was crowned at Westminster, the 13th day of October, the year of God, 1399.

Not long after, Isabel, King Richard's wife, being but 12 years of age, returned to Paris, after she was redeemed by her father with great ransom. It is said, a hermit came to King Henry, after his coronation, and admonished him, by authority of God, to restore the just heir to the crown; and predicted, if he were rebelling against him, that great vengeance and calamity would fall on his house. King Henry, dreading that this hermit's words should move the people to conspiracy against him, had this hermit quickly put to death. And as this hermit said, so it happened; for great slaughter and trouble succeeded continually, between the heirs of King Richard, and the house of Lancaster: until, at last, Henry, the 7th of that name, married the daughter of Edward the 4th, just heir to the crown of England. And so both their houses were reconciled to each other, without any contention following.

Chap. Twelfth.

How the Marriage between the Duke of Rothesay, and the Earl of March's Daughter, was dissolved. Of the trouble that came from this.

In the next year, which was 1400 from our salvation, King Robert bethrothed his son, the Duke of Rothesay, to the Earl of March's daughter. Archibald, Earl of Douglas, being indignant that the Earl of March should be preferred to him, bethrothed his daughter Marjory to the said Duke, by the advice of Robert, Duke of Albany. The Earl of March, before the marriage was completed, went to the king, to inquire if he would stand to his first contract. And because he got no satisfactory answer, he made a vow to revenge the contempt done to him, with all the injury he could do.

Soon after, he went to England, and left his house of Dunbar, well garrisoned, in the keeping of his sister's son, Robert Maitland. Archibald, Earl of Douglas, after his departure, came to Dunbar, and desired the castle to be surrendered to him, on the king's orders. This Robert Maitland was so impressed by the king's writ, that he surrendered the house to Douglas. George, Earl of March, knowing the house taken from him by Douglas, brought all his friends to England: and determined, as the greatest enemy to Scotland, to attack it and do as much harm as he could. King Robert, dreading trouble from his rebellion, sent a herald, desiring him, in writing, to return to Scotland; and to have all injuries repaired as he pleased. And because the said George refused to return to Scotland, until he had some revenge on the Earl of Douglas, King Robert sent a letter to King Henry of England, desiring him, if he would have peace with the Scots, to put George Dunbar out of his lands of England; and to allow no rebels of Scotland to have refuge within his realm. King Henry denied these honest petitions of King Robert. Thus was the peace dissolved between Scots and English.

Soon after, Harry Hotspur, and the said Earl of March, took great plunder of goods out of Scotland. Nonetheless, before they returned to Berwick, Archibald, Earl of Douglas, recovered all of it; and came to Edinburgh: where he soon after died, of a hot fever. This Archibald was a nobleman of singular courage and virtue: having priests and religious men in great reverence. He founded the college of Bothwell, and the nunnery of Lincluden; which was after changed in a colleige of priests, because the nuns thereof were of evil life. After the death of Archibald, Earl of Douglas, his second son, Archibald, was made Earl of Douglas, for his eldest son, William, died in the year before.

Chap. Thirteenth.

How King Henry came to Scotland with a great army. Of the death of the Duke of Rothesay; and how the Scots were defeated at Nesbit, by the Earl of March.

A short time afterwards, King Henry came to Scotland with an army. Although he did small injuries to the people thereof; for he desired nothing but for his banner to be erected on their walls. He was a gentle enemy; and did great humanities to the people, in all places of Scotland, where he was lodged. Finally, he said to the lords of Scotland, that he came to their realm, more by counsel of his nobles, than any hatred that he bore to Scots. Soon after, he returned, without any further injury, to England.

In the next year, which was from our redemption, 1400, Walter Trail, Bishop of Saint Andrew's, died. And, in the same year, Queen Annabell Drummond died. By whose death, there followed great harm to her son, David, Duke of Rothesay: for, during her life, he was kept in virtuous and honourable occupation: after her death, he began to rage in all manner of insolence; and defiled virgins, matrons, and nuns, by his uncontrolled lust. At last, King Robert, informed of his young and insolent manners, sent letters to his brother, the Duke of Albany, to keep his said son, the Duke of Rothesay, and to teach him honourable and civil manners. The Duke of Albany, pleased by this instruction, took the Duke of Rothesay between Dundee and Saint Andrew's, and brought him to Falkland, and imprisoned him in the tower there, without any meat or drink. It is said, a woman, having commiseration on this Duke, let meal fall down through the loft of the tower: by which, his life was certain days saved. This woman, when it was known, was put to death. In the same manner, another woman gave him milk of her breasts, through a long reed; and was slain with great cruelty, when was known. Then was the Duke destitute of all sustenance; and brought, finally, to such miserable and hungry appetite, that he ate, not only the filth of the tower where he was, but his own fingers: to his great suffering. His body was buried in Lindores, and performed miracles many years after: until, at last, King James the First began to punish his slayers; and from that time forth, the miracles ceased.

At the same time, George, Earl of March, to revenge the insults done to him by the Earl of Douglas, came, with the Earl of Northumberland, to Scotland; and took a great plunder of men and goods out of the same. To revenge these injuries, the Earl of Douglas came with an army to Northumberland, and wasted the country with great damages. As soon as he had returned, Patrick Hepburn went to England, and did little less damage to it than Douglas's army did before. And though he was counselled by his friends to depart for home, because the Englishmen were coming against him with more multitude of people than he could resist: yet he refused; and finally, fought with such courage against Englishmen, that he appeared to have the victory. And, immediately, George Dunbar, eldest son to the Earl of March, came on him with a hundred spearmen, and put his people to flight. In this battle was slain, Patrick Hepburn of Hailes, with many gentlemen of his house. Several were taken, as John and William Cockburn, Robert Lauder of the Bass, John and Thomas Halliburton. This battle was fought at Nesbit, in the Merse, the 22nd day of June, from our redemption 1402 years.

Chap Fourteenth.

How the Scots were defeated at Homildon. How Harry Hotspur, and Thomas Percy his brother, were slain at Shrewsbury; and the Earl of Douglas taken.

After this defeat at Nisbet, there followed another defeat, more serious: for Archibald, Earl of Douglas, a relation by marriage of King Robert, very desirous to revenge these injuries done by Englishmen, came, with 10,000 men, to Newcastle; and burnt and plundered the country, on all parts where he came. In his army was Murdoch, eldest son to Duke Robert, Earl of Fife; Thomas, Earl of Moray; George, Earl of Angus; with many other nobles of Scotland. At last, when they were returning home, with infinite plunder of riches and goods; Harry Hotspur met them, and George, Earl of March; and troubled them so by volleys of arrows, that they were put to flight. Nonetheless, by the exhortation of Adam Gordon and Sir John Swinton, they renewed battle, and fought with little more success than before; for they were all slain or taken.

In this dreadful battle were slain, Sir John Swinton, Adam Gordon, John Levinston of Callendar, Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie; with several other gentlemen and nobles of Scotland. Archibald, Earl of Douglas; Murdo Stuart, eldest son to Duke Robert; George, Earl of Angus; Robert Erskine of Alloway: the Lord Salton; James Douglas, Master of Dalkeith, with his 2 brothers, John and William; with many of the barons of Fife and Lothian, were taken.

Harry Hotspur, proud of this victory, came, with his victorious army, through Lothian and Merse, intending to subdue them to the rule of England. And, with support of the Earl of March, he came to Teviotdale, and besieged the castle of Cocklaw: but it was so valiantly defended by John Greenlay, that he was constrained to depart from there; after the said John Greenlay had given hostages, if he got no relief within 2 months, to surrender the house. This battle of Homildon was fought on the Rood Day, in harvest^{<123>}; from the Incarnation, 1402 years.

After the departure of the Englishmen, John Gladstone went to Duke Robert, Governor, saying how the castle was conditionally surrendered, unless it got support within the agreed time. Many of the nobles, when they convened to consider this, thought it better to lose the castle of Cocklaw, than to risk the people in its defence; for they were broken by the wars described above. Thus the castle would have been left deserted, had not the Governor declared that he would go himself, to its support, even if none of the nobles would follow him.

In the meantime, there arose such a dispute between King Henry of England and Harry Hotspur, that it was not necessary to send any support against the said castle; for Harry Hotspur, feigning to go against the Scots, raised an army, with the support of the Duke of York and the Earl of Stanford; having with him, in company, the Earl of Douglas, who was taken before at Homildon, with many of his friends, to support him against King Henry, under this condition: "If the King of England was defeated and put from the crown, the said Earl of Douglas should be free of ransom, and have Berwick surrendered to him in reward for his assistance."

King Henry, learning of their rebellion, came with battle array to Shrewsbury, where Percy was assembled at the time. When the forces were ready to join, they were parted by the intervention of George, Earl of March; after King Henry swore to

abdicate from the crown of England, if it were acceptable to his nobles, rather than such great effusion of blood should be made. Percy, giving credit to these words, allowed his army to return to their lodgings for the night, so that they might be provided with victuals. As soon as they had broken ranks, the king set on them with battle array, and slew the said Henry Percy, and Thomas Percy, his brother; with many other nobles and leaders of their faction. The Earl of Douglas, who assisted the said Henry Percy on the conditions described above, fought that day with incredible courage, and slew 3 men arrayed with the king of England's coat of arms; and when he saw the fourth came in the same array, he wondered how so many kings were coming against him. At last, when the field was defeated, he was taken, and none of his company saved but himself; for he was known for one of the most valiant knights in Albion. This Earl was nicknamed Archibald Tinman; for he won no battle that he was in, although he fought always with great courage. He lost one of his eyes at the battle of Homildon; and at this battle, he lost one of his testicles. At last, when he was brought to supper, at the table of the Queen of England, after many lords of England were lamenting their heavy wounds got in this last battle; he said, "They sit still, that have torn trousers." And though the victory succeeded to King Henry, yet it was not without great slaughter of his best captains: but a greater number were slain of his enemies.

Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, knowing both his sons were slain in this last battle at Shrewsbury, thought it was not safe to stay in England; and came to Scotland, with his grandson: and was received by Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of Saint Andrew's.

Chap. Fifteenth.

How James, second son of King Robert, was taken by the English. Of the tenor of the letters sent with him.

Now King Robert was informed, that his son, the Duke of Rothesay, had died, with great suffering, in the tower of Falkland; and through his death, he became each day more sorrowful and melancholy. At last, he sent for his brother, Robert, Duke of Albany; and accused him for the treacherous slaughter of the Duke of Rothesay, his son. Duke Robert, with many lame excuses, said he was him innocent of the Duke of Rothesay's murder; and promised, if the king would go with him to Edinburgh, to deliver the scoundrels bound into his hands, who were the occasion of his son's death. The king, very desirous to revenge his son's death, came from Bute, in a carriage, to Edinburgh. And in the meantime, Duke Robert delivered into his hands certain scoundrels, to be punished for the murder of the said Duke, although they never saw him in their lives. And though these scoundrels were accused and punished by death, yet the Duke was held always in suspicion by the king; for he seemed to want to usurp the crown, when all the king's sons were slain: and, therefore. King Robert besought God to send vengeance on the said Robert's posterity, and all others who were occasion of his son the Duke of Rothesay's death.

King Robert, after returning to Bute, sent his second son, James, Prince of Scotland, to Walter Wardlaw, Bishop of Saint Andrew's; with the son of Harry Hotspur, who was grandson to the Earl of Northumberland, and equal in age to the said James. The Bishop of Saint Andrew's, knowing Duke Robert intended, with utmost efforts, to seize the crown; sent secret writing to the king, and said it was very difficult and dangerous to keep his son in Scotland, considering the Governor had all the realm under his obedience. Thus was it decided by the king to send his son either to France or England, where he might avoid all treachery devised against him.

Soon after, a ship was provided with all necessaries, and tender supplications directed both to the Kings of France and England, to receive him under their shield, protection, and benevolence, if it he happened to arive within any of their realms. Henry, Lord Sinclair, the second Earl of Orkney, was chosen for this business, and raised sail at the Bass; having the said James, and the young Percy, with many other nobles and gentlemen of Scotland, in his company. This James, very weary, by foreign air and corruption of seas, desired to refresh himself on the land; and was captured, with all his company, because of that. Others write, that he was taken at Flamborough Head, upon the sea, by Englishmen; who were informed, by the treachery of certain Scots, of his passage to France. The truth is, he was taken in the 9th year of his age, the 30th day of March; from our redemption, 1404 years: and was held in captivity by Englishmen, 18 years.

After his capture, he presented the supplications, which were directed from his father King Robert, to King Henry; whose tenor was: "Robert, King of Scots, to Henry, King of England, greeting. Your great magnificence, humility, and justice, are very well known to us, by the behaviour of your last army in Scotland; although such things had been uncertain to us before. For though you seemed an enemy, with most awful incursions into our realm; yet we found more humanity and pleasure, than damage, by your coming to our subjects: especially to them that received your noble father, the Duke of Lancaster, in the time of his exile in Scotland. We will not cease, therefore, while we are alive, to love and esteem you, as the most noble and worthy

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prince to rule your realm: for though realms and nations contend among themselves, for conquest, glory and lands; yet we have no desire, to attack either realms or lieges with injuries; but rather to contend among ourselves, who shall treat the other with most humanity and kinship. As to us, we will calm all occasion of battle, where any occurs, at your pleasure. Further, because we have no less solicitude in preserving our children from certain deadly enemies, than your noble father once had; we are constrained to seek support from foreign princes: for the malice of their enemies is so great, that it cannot be defended against, unless they are protected by the friendship of noble men. For the world is so full of perverse malice, that no cruelty nor offence may be devised on earth, but it can be done in return for gold and silver. Wherefore, because we know your Highness full of many noble virtues, with such strength and riches, that no prince in our days may be compared to you; we desire your humanity and support at this time. We trust it is not unknown to your Majesty, how our eldest son, David, is slain, miserably, in prison, by our brother, the Duke of Albany, whom we chose to be Governor, when we were fallen into decrepit age, to our subjects and realm. Beseeching your Highness, therefore, to be so favorable, that James, the bearer of this letter, our second and only son, may have protection to live under your faith and justice; to be some memory of our posterity: knowing the unstable condition of man's life, which can be so suddenly altered; now flourishing, and then suddenly falling to utter destruction. Further, believe well, when kings and princes have no other support but in their own people, their rule is transitory and fragile; for the mind of the common people is always changing, more inconstant than the wind. Yet, when princes are supported, by the friendship of other foreign kings, their brothers and neighbours; no adversity may occur, to eject them from their royal dignity. Further, if your Highness think it not expedient (as God forbid!) to agree to these our desires; yet we request one thing, which was ratified in our last truce and condition of peace, That the supplication made by any of the two Kings of England or Scotland, shall stand as a safe-conduct for the bearer: and we desire this to be observed for this our only son. And the gracious God preserve you, most noble prince!"

Chap. Sixteenth
***Of the great lamentation made by King Robert the Third, for
the taking of his son. And of his Death.***

When this letter was read by King Henry, he called his lords to a council, to decide what was to be done in this matter. Some of them, weary of long wars, and moved by commiseration for the adversity fallen on King Robert, said, It would be best to grant his desires; for his son was come of his benevolence to seek refuge against his enemies. Others were of a very different opinion; saying, James was taken in time of war; and his father, King Robert, was not only attacking the English with continual wars, but harbouring their enemies in his realm: and argued that several Scots came in support of Harry Hotspur, and other conspirators, at the last battle of Shrewsbury. Thus was it decided to keep James as a lawful prisoner. Yet, by the benevolence of King Henry, such wise and expert teachers were chosen, to instruct him in virtue and science; that he was no less skilled in every science, than if he had been perpetually occupied in one only, for he was well taught to fight with the sword, to joust, to turney, to wrestle, to sing and dance; and was an expert physician; very skilful in playing both the lute and harp, and several other musical instruments. He was expert in grammar, oratory, and poetry; and made such flowing and sensible verses, that it was obvious he was a natural and borne poet. He was, also, a cunning theologian. For he learned all his skills during the time of his captivity; and was held, all thatd time, in great admiration by the people for his singular virtue: thus his captivity resulted in his great profit and honour.

King Robert, hearing how his son was taken, in this manner, by the English, made a heavy lamentation, and said, "Had I married, as other ancient Kings of Scotland, my ancestors, did before, with noble princes, and kings of honourable nations; I would not have been slighted and despised, as I am now, with my lieges: for my eldest son is slain; and the other chased from the country, and, for want of friends, taken by enemies. This may be an example to all kings succeeding after me, never to degrade their majesty and royal blood with lower blood than themselves: for, in that way, they shall be slighted and despised by their own subjects, and in no estimation among foreign princes."

King Robert took such melancholy from the capture of his son by the English in this manner, that he died soon after, in the 16th year of his reign; from the Incarnation, 1406 years; and was buried in Paisley, with his Queen Annabell, described above.

King Robert was a man of great stature, very liberal and gracious in all his doings. Although, he was crippled by the kick of a horse, as we have said. He was very fervent in his devotion; and so merciful to the people, that he would suffer no injuries done against them, without punishment. If he could have gone through the country without the impediment of his feet, the realm would have been governed with no less happiness, in his days, than it was in any other prince's time before. Duke Robert, after his death, was chosen, by new election, Governor; and ruled the realm, after the king's death, with better justice than before.

In the meantime, the castle of Jedburgh was taken by men of Teviotdale, and cast down to the ground.

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Archibald, Earl of Douglas, hearing that King Robert had died, sought a way for his redemption, and returned to Scotland.

Not long after, a council was held to restore George, Earl of March, to his honour and lands. After long disputation, it was concluded that he should want a part of his lands, named Annandale and Lochmaben; and the said lands to pass under perpetual dominion of Douglas. By these conditions, the Earl of March was restored to his lands and peace.

Chap. Seventeenth.

How the University of Saint Andrew's began. How great virtue and good administration was brought to Scotland by King James the First. How great injury fell on this realm, by the promotion of vicious prelates.

At this time, there arose great trouble in Scotland, from Donald of the Isles. For William, Earl of Ross, son to Hugh Ross, who was slain before at Halidon Hill, had two daughters: of whom, the eldest was given in marriage to Walter Leslie, with the earldom of Ross; and got on her, a son, named Alexander; and a daughter, who was, afterwards, married to Donald of the Isles. This Alexander succeeded to the earldom of Ross, after the death of his father Walter; and married a daughter, named Euphemia, who was heir to the earldom of Ross. The Duke of Albany persuaded this Euphemia, when she was young, without any experience, to resign the said earldom into his hands, under this condition: "If she died without heirs of her body, the said earldom shall come to his second son, John, Earl of Buchan. And if the said John died without heirs-male got of his body, his brother Robert shall succeed. And failing of his heirs-male in the same manner, the earldom of Ross shall come then to the crown." These things having been done with great deceit, Euphemia died, by the work, as was believed, of Duke Robert; so that the earldom should come to his son. In this way, John, Duke Robert's second son, who was Earl of Buchan before, was made Earl of Ross; and left only a daughter behind him, who was married to William Seton, knight. For these causes, the Setons claimed the lordship of Buchan.

Donald of the Isles, hearing his wife had died, came to Duke Robert, desiring the lands of Ross to be given to him, as nearest and lawful heir thereto. Nonetheless, he got nothing but repulse: and, therefore, he came, with all the power of the Isles, and subjected Ross to his rule. Not content with these lands, he came through Moray, Boyne, and several other lands thereabouts; then came to Garioch, to burn Aberdeen.

To punish these injuries, Alexander Stuart, Earl of Mar, came and fought against the said Donald at Harlaw, where great slaughter was made on all sides. In this battle, 900 Highlandmen were slain; with Maclean and Macintosh, the principal captains under Donald of the Isles. And of the Earl of Mar's side, were slain Alexander Ogilvy, sheriff of Angus; James Scrimgeour, Constable of Dundee; Alexander Irwin of Drum; Robert Maule of Panmure; Thomas Moray; William Abernethy of Salton; Alexander Straiton of Loureston; Robert Davidston, Provost of Aberdeen, knights; with many others. This battle was fought on Saint James' Eve<124>, the year of God, 1411 years. Donald, after this defeat, fled with great speed to the Isles. Nonetheless, Duke Robert pursued Donald so sharply, that he repented and was forgiven, after he had sworn never to attack the realm with more trouble.

Not long after this battle, Patrick Dunbar, second son to the Earl of March, won Fast Castle; and took Thomas Haldane, captain thereof, prisoner.

At this time, the bridge of Roxburgh was broken by William Douglas of Drumlanrig, and the town of Roxburgh burned.

And in this each year, the University of Saint Andrew's began. Many excellent and noble clerics were brought out of several countries to be preceptors in it. There followed a great confluence of young people, out of all parts of Scotland, desiring

learning: through great exercise of virtue, which began to spread fast in this country; especially at the coming home of King James the First to Scotland. This noble prince was so full of virtue, that he held all men of science in great reverence; giving his perpetual business to cause his people to increase in all honourable crafts, and virtue, and to bring themselves in honour and glory, to their posterity. And so that his citizens should learn pleasing and honourable crafts, to remove their idle and rude manners, to which they were before accustomed; at his first return to Scotland, he thought nothing so good as to bring craftsmen and expert clerics out of foreign realms, to adorn the country. He brought to Scotland 18 Doctors of theology, 8 Doctors of law, with many other expert men in all sciences; and promoted them to sundry prelacies. Also, there was nobody at that time, who had any singular virtue or skill, but was promoted to some living by him. No man was promoted to bishoprics in his days, unless he was of singular erudition and science. Great happiness succeeded to the Scots in his days; as the proverb say, "Happy are the people that have a philosopher for their king." But, alas! how far different is our time now from those days! For I believe none have such eloquence nor fullness of language, that may sufficiently deplore the great damage that falls to us, for lack of letters and virtue in our princes. In those days, when the most grave persons, of most erudition and virtue, were sought out from all parts, to be in company with the princes, to nourish them in virtue and princely manners. Now are none of that kind are chosen, but those that are the most ignorant and wicked scoundrels, having no other talent, but only to encourage the princes in vice and insolence: through which, no less unhappiness has fallen to the princes of the realm than to the people thereof. None raised in dignity, office, honour, nor benefice, but most wretched and avaricious people, void of all virtue and good manners; and such great enemies to men of letters, that they will not allow them to rise in profit, dignity, or honours; as if they wanted that no virtue should spread in the country, but the people always, in their ignorance, would be abused; in case, if the people were brought to perfect knowledge, that they should either force their prelates to amend their lives, or else to despoil them of the prey and goods they swallowed in their corrupt practices. Let them amend such faults that have the charge thereof: although, nothing moves us, but commiseration and pity, to detest their vices.

Chap. Eighteenth

How the Earls of Buchan and Wigtown went with great armies, in support of France; and of the death of Duke Robert.

At this time, John Drummond slew, treacherously, Patrick Graham, Earl of Strathern; notwithstanding the assurance made between them. The nobles pursued him so diligently, that this Drummond was taken, and punished for his crime.

Not long after, there arose great wars between Chales the 6th, King of France, and Henry the 5th, King of England. King Charles held several lands of France from King Henry, although they rightly pertained to him by inheritance. At last, King Henry, by a long siege, won the town of Honfleur; then, with proud banner, came through Picardy, and wasted all lands thereof, until he came to Blanzly. And when he was returning to England, there came on him several Princes, and gave him battle: nonetheless, they were all slain, and their army defeated.

In the meantime, King Henry was informed of a great rebellion against him in Wales: through which, he was forced, notwithstanding his victory, to return to England. After he arrived he met the Prince of Wales, with many great princes of England, his supporters, and gave him battle, and put King Henry to flight. King Henry, notwithstanding this defeat, came again with a new army, to Wales, and brought them, at last, to permanent subjection.

While such things were done in England, William Haliburton captured the castle of Wark, and slew all persons found in it. Although, it resulted, soon after, in his great misfortune: for some Englishmen knew all the secrets of the place, and climbed up through a privy, and broke the wall in such a manner, that they made a quiet passage for their companions. Thus the castle was taken by Englishmen, and all Scots found in it slain.

About this time there was a great schism in the Church, three Popes created at once. To repair these errors, the Council of Constance was held: in which, these three Popes were deposed, and a fourth created by the said council.

In the year, from our redemption 1419, the third day of September, Robert, Duke of Albany, died; he was Governor of Scotland for 15 years after the death of King Robert the Third: a valiant and noble prince all his days.

King Charles, at this time, sent to Scotland the Earl of Vendôme, and Chancellor of France, to get support of the Scots against England, and promised great wages, lands, and offices, to all Scots that would come in defence of his realm. Soon after, John Stuart, Earl of Buchan, second son to Duke Robert, and Archibald Douglas, Earl of Wigtown, went to France, with 8,000 armed men, and were tenderly received by King Charles. This force of Scots coming, as we have said, to France, made King Henry of England very perturbed: and, therefore, to cause this force to depart from France, he had a noise and rumour spread through all the lands of his realm, that he planned to come quickly, with an army, against the Scots. For fear of this news, the Scots lay, all the next summer, on the Borders, waiting for the coming of his army.

In the meantime, King Henry went to Normandy, and oppressed the inhabitants thereof with great injuries, and subjected the town of Rouen to his rule. At last, when he was coming to the final triumph of victory, able to have got the whole dominion of France, he was vanquished by a lady, and changed his attention from

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warfare to lust and amours. In this way, King Henry put an end to his wars, and took Catherine, the daughter of Charles, the 6th of that name, King of France, in marriage, under these conditions: "If King Charles died before King Henry, the said King Henry should succeed to the crown of France. And if Henry died first, leaving behind him a son, got on the said King Charles' daughter, this son shall succeed to the crown of France, after the death of King Charles." By which condition. King Charles' son was plundered of all right that he had to the crown of France, and King Charles to reign only during his life. This peace endured a short time; and, therefore, the said Earls of Buchan and Wigtown, with their ordinance, were the more pleasantly treated by the King and Dauphin of France; and got the town of Châtillon, with the castle thereof, to stay there, until they had done some honourable deeds.

Chap. Nineteenth.

How the Duke of Clarence was slain; with many other lords of England, at Baugé. Of the Death of King Henry, and King Charles.

Now the Earls of Buchan and Wigtown were informed, that Thomas, Duke of Clarence, was coming, with 10,000 men, to besiege the town and castle of Baugé, with several other lands of Orleans, which pertained to the Dauphin of France. The Earl of Buchan, knowing the subtle tricks of Englishmen, sent his cousin, Sir John Stuart of Darnley, knight, to spy their army: but he was soon after chased back to the Scots, and said that the Duke was coming, with all his forces, in battle array, against them. The Scots, immediately went to arms, and met the Duke of Clarence on a plain, beside the town, where both the armies rushed together, with the greatest fury. At the first joining, Thomas, Duke of Clarence, was hurt in the face, with a spear, by the Knight of Swinton, and was after slain by the Earl of Buchan. The remainder of Englishmen, daunted by the death of the Duke of Clarence and other great princes of their land, turned tail. The Scots ceased not from continual chase of Englishmen, until it was far into the night. In this battle were slain, the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Redesdale, Lord Ross, Lord Gray, and many other great barons, to the number of 1600: and many of them were taken, including the Earl of Huntingdon; the Earl of Somerset, and his brother, who were brothers to King James the First's wife. This battle was fought on Easter eve, from our redemption 1421 years. The Dauphin of France, pleased by this victory, gave sundry lands to the Earl of Buchan, and made him Constable of France.

King Henry, moved to great anger by the slaughter of his brother, the Duke of Clarence; came with a new army to France: and had with him James, Prince of Scotland; trusting to draw the Scots out of France, by his authority; for the Dauphin of France arose each day in greater strength and honour, by the deeds of several chosen champions of Scotland. King Henry, a short time after, sent for the said prince, to come to the council, where he was consulting with his nobles, by what tactics and deceits he might best attack his enemies. King Henry, at the coming of the said James, began to show what injuries been done to him by Scots, both in England and France. After he had recited many benefits done to him, and his father, King Robert, he desired the said James to pass to the Scots in France, and to command them, in his name, to return to Scotland. King Henry promised, if the said James brought this matter to good effect, not only to remit his ransom, but to send him to Scotland with great riches and honour. To these words James answered: "In so far as you, noble prince, have shown, or will show, any humanity towards me; I shall labour, so far as is in me, to do respond appropriately thereto. Nonetheless, as to this matter, which you wish me to do, I marvel not a little, that you do not consider, how I have no power above the Scots, so long as I am a private man, and held in captivity. Nonetheless, were I put to liberty, and the Scots made my lawful subjects, I would gladly do everything you please." As soon as he had said these words, he departed from the council. Then King Henry said: "Most happy people shall they be, that happen to get that nobleman as their prince."

Many combats, and frequent skirmishing, were made in this year, between the Dauphin of France, and the English. The English had, at this time, all Normandy, and Gascony, under their rule; and bore such hatred against the Scots, that they slew them

where they were taken, with most shameful death, although they used not such cruelties on other people.

When King Henry had destroyed several lands of Brittany, with great raids and slaughter, he attacked the lands and Church of Saint Fiacre: and, by vengeance of God, he was stricken with such infirmity, that no talent of man might cure him. At last, when he had asked the physicians, what malady this was which had fallen on him so quickly; they said. It was the malady of Saint Fiacre; who was once a Scot, and descended of the noble blood thereof. Then said King Henry: "I see that all Scots are born to destroy us; who are always such great enemies to us, living and dead, at home and in the field: for they pursue us with no less hatred, now when they are included among the number of Saints, than when they were in this present life." King Henry, seeing his infirmity increase more each day, had himself brought to Cornwall, where he died miserably: and was brought in a coffin of lead, to England, and buried among the tombs of other kings.

At this time, Charles the 6th, King of France, died. After whom, succeeded Charles, the 7th of that name; by whose death, the great fervour of wars began to cool between Englishmen and Scots. And for that cause, the Earls of Buchan and Wigtown returned to Scotland. Soon after their return, they came with an army to Berwick, and lay long at the siege thereof, without any works worthy to have memory. And therefore, this journey was called The Dirty Raid.

Chap. Twentieth.
How ambassadors were sent to England, for the redemption
of James the First. How the Frenchmen and Scots were
defeated at Verneuil; and of great deeds done by the Maiden
of France.

After the death of Duke Robert, his son, Mordo Stuart, Earl of Fife and Menteith, was made Governor, and enjoyed the said office four years. Although, he was very unsuitable thereto; for he had not such wisdom and courage as his father, Duke Robert, had before him. He was a soft prince; without any fortitude in adversity, or temperance in prosperity. sometimes he appeared so feeble, that no consolation could rouse in him any hope of better fortune; sometimes he was over-severe, and more cruel in execution of justice than the matter required: and so negligent in controlling his sons, Walter and Alexander, that they finally conspired against him: it is uncertain whether this proceeded from the softness of his mind, so that he would not punish the iniquities of his sons, for the fervent love and affection he had to them: or if their faults were so great, that they deserved more punishment than he would use on them; for they were accused of various oppressions, by the people. This Walter, incurred the extreme indignation of his father, for a falcon, which he slew, in contempt of his father. Because his father would not give him the said falcon, he slew it upon his father's hand. Duke Mordo, moved by this great insult, said: O Walter, since you and your brother will not be ruled by my soft rule, I shall bring him home, that shall chastise you and me both."

Soon after, he convened all his nobles to a council; and desired them to send ambassadors to England, for the redemption of James, the First of that name, that he might return to Scotland, and receive the governance thereof. Often great happinesses came from the quarrels of wretched parties, attacking other with mutual injuries: as happened at this time, by this hasty quarrel rising between Duke Mordo and his sons: for had there not been this quarrel, James the First had never come to Scotland, which would have been very damaging to the realm. But we will return to our history.

The Earl of Buchan, Constable of France, believed little profit or pleasure would come to him by the home-coming of James the First; because his father, Duke Robert, held him so long out of his realm: and therefore he solicited his father-in-law, Archibald, Earl of Douglas, to go with him to France. Soon after, the said Earls went, with 10,000 chosen men, to France; and were received with great honour by Charles the 7th, King of France. And after the King had put all these people in his army, he made the Earl of Douglas Duke of Touraine: for he was a nobleman, although he was more valiant than fortunate.

In the meantime, the Duke of Bedford, Lieutenant to the King of England, came with great army to France. And after he had won many towns and villages in France, he besieged a town, named Ivry, and brought it to such necessity, that the captain thereof gave hostages to surrender it to the English, if he got no relief within a short time. King Charles, knowing the castle to be in such danger, sent the Duke of Lanson, and the Earls of Buchan and Douglas, with the remainder of his army, to relieve the said house. Before their coming, they were informed, that Englishmen had got the house surrendered to them, and taken another town of Normandy, named Verneuil. Immediately, they went to arms, and arrayed them on the plain, not far from the town. And when the armies were ready to join, the Duke of Lanson, very resentful

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that Scots should acquire in any lands, or honours, within France; came away, with 20,000 men. The Earls of Douglas and Buchan, notwithstanding this treachery, rushed forward, with great courage, on their enemies, and fought, with great courage, to the death. Nonetheless, both the armies of Scotland and France were finally defeated and put to flight.

In this dreadful battle were slain, John, Earl of Buchan, Constable of France; Archibald, Earl of Douglas, Duke of Touraine, and Lieutenant of France; Archibald Douglas, his son, Earl of Wigtown; with many of the Scots company. Their bodies were buried, with great lament of people, in the Church of Saint Gatian, within the town of Tours. And of Frenchmen were slain, the Earl of Ventadour; the Sheriff of Narbonne; with many other knights and commoners, to the number of 6,000; and of them were taken, the Marshal of France, with many other nobles.

After this defeat, great calamity and displeasure followed to the Frenchmen, in all lands of their realm; few parts thereof untaken or unbesieged by Englishmen. Thus had the Frenchmen been brought to utter ruin, had not, Joan, the Maiden of France, clothed both in man's array and courage, raised King Charles, from extreme desolation, into hope of better fortune. This Maiden came out of Lorraine in France, sent with the special favour of God: by whose courage and happy victories, King Charles recovered his realm, and ejected Englishmen out of all lands thereof. But at last, she was taken at Compiègne, by the Burgundians, and sold to the English; who brought her, soon after, to Rouen: where they accused her of sorcery and spell-casting; saying, that she, against their laws and institutions, bore armour and man's clothes under the figure of a woman. Finally, the tyranny of Englishmen was so great, that they would here none of her reasons nor excuses, but burned her cruelly to death: for, by her industry and honour, they lost the dominion of France. She confessed, shortly before her death, so long as she kept her virginity, she was victorious in every battle, without any experience of evil fortune; and from she was corrupted, she was soon made prey to her enemies.

At this time, Robert Patillo came out of Scotland with an army, to King Charles the Seventh; and recovered several lands of France out of Englishmen's hands: and was called, therefore, by the inhabitants thereof, Petit Roi de Gascogne.

And so ends here, the 16th Book of these Chonicles.

Hector Boece

Book XVII.

*Here Begins the Seventeenth Book of the Chronicles of
Scotland.*

Chap. First.

How James the First was redeemed. Of his Coronation and deeds.

After the death of Archibald, Earl of Douglas, Duke of Touraine, as we have said, at Verneuil; his son Archibald, the third of that name, succeeded as Earl of Douglas. This Earl of Douglas, and William Hay, Constable of Scotland, and Henry, Bishop of Aberdeen, were sent as ambassadors to England, for the redemption of James the First; and addressed the matter to such point, that he could return to his realm, and pay, for his ransom, 100,000 marks sterling: of which sum, the one half should be remitted at his release; and for payment of the other half, several lords' sons of Scotland to be given as hostages to King Henry the 6th. Few of these lords' sons returned home; but died before they were redeemed.

This James, for his singular virtue, had many friends in England: among who were special and most tender to him, John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, and his brother, the Cardinal of England. These two noblemen, with many great princes of England, accompanied him to the borders of Scotland: for he married the said Earl's daughter; and got from him, beside many golden and silver vessels, several rich and precious tapestries, on which were the history of Hercules, most curiously depicted.

Thus Prince James entered Scotland; and came, on Care Sunday, in Lent<125>, to Edinburgh: where he was received by all the Lords of Scotland, Spiritual and Temporal, with the greatest honour. A great crowd of people came to him, out of all parts of Scotland, very desirous to see him: for many of them had never seen him before; or else, at least, they had forgotten what he looked like, although they were well informed of his singular virtue, many years before. As soon as the solemnity of Easter was done, he came to Perth, and soon after went to Scone; where he was crowned, with his lady, Jane, by Duke Mordo, and Henry, Bishop of Saint Andrew's, the 21st day of May; from our redemption, 1426 years.

Many noblemen came out of England with James the First, and got lands from him: among whom was one named Andrew Gray, who was rewarded with sundry lands. By him arose the surname of Grays in Scotland; whose posterity live yet among us, holding with great lands and honours, both in Gowrie and Angus.

Such things done, the king returned to Edinburgh, and summoned all them that enjoyed any authority during the time of Duke Robert and Duke Mordo, Governors. And first, there came to him the Chancellor, the Treasurer, the Clerk of the Register, the Comptroller, and all others that bore any charges concerning the king's rents. At last, when he, after long accounting, had found the most part of all the lands and rents pertaining to the crown wasted by his uncles, Duke Robert and Duke Mordo, Governors, among their friends, and nothing left to sustain the crown except the customs of boroughs; he was not content with this estate: although, he put a good face on it at the time.

As soon as he had examined all documents and rolls pertaining to the crown, he held a parliament in Edinburgh; and, by the consent of the three estates, there was ordained a general tax, to be raised throughout the realm: 12 pennies of the pound, of all lands in Scotland, spiritual and temporal; and 6 pennies for each cow, ox, or horse; for the space of two years to come, for payment of his ransom. This tax was raised for the first year; but in the second, there arose such murmur among poor commoners,

that he remitted the remainder, and never took tax of Scotland, after that, until his daughter was to be married to the Dauphin of France. Among many other things done in this parliament, the people complained of several oppressions done to them by Duke Mordo's sons, and other great men of his realm. The king, immediately had Walter Stuart, son to Duke Mordo, arrested; with Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld, and Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnock. Walter was sent to prison on the Bass; but Malcolm and Thomas were sent to prison in Dalkeith. Nonetheless, the king took only a small amount of money for their release, after all parties were satisfied. In this parliament, King James gave his oath of fidelity, to defend the liberties of holy church to the end of his life: and all the remaining barons, after him, gave their oaths in the same manner.

Not long after, another council was held at Perth: in which, the king had Duke Mordo arrested, and Alexander his son; Archibald, the third of that name, Earl of Douglas; his brother, William, Earl of Angus; George, Earl of March; Adam Hepburn of Hailes; with many other great barons of Scotland: and put them all in several castles and strongholds, to remain in prison until he decided further. Immediately, he took the castles of Falkland and Down of Menteith. Duke Mordo was sent to Caerlaverock, and his Duchess was put in Tantallon.

Chap. Second.

How Duke Murdo and his two sons were executed by King James. How the Earl of Caithness was slain at Inverlochy, and the Earl of Mar vanquished.

On Beltane Day, in the year next following, called the Invention of the Holy Cross<126>, James Stuart, the third son of Duke Mordo, moved with great anger, that his father and brothers were held in captivity, came with a great force to Dumbarton, and burned it, after he had slain John Stuart of Dundonald, with 32 men in it. The king, very perturbed by this deed, pursued James so fiercely, that he was chased to Ireland; where he died. On the 5th day after, 5 accomplices of the said James were brought to the king; and they were hanged and quartered at Stirling.

The king continued his parliament in Stirling to the 18th day of May. And with the king himself sitting in judgement, with sceptre, sword, and crown, Walter Stuart, son and heir to Duke Mordo, was convicted, and beheaded before the castle. On the following day, Duke Mordo, and his second son Alexander, and Duncan Stuart, Earl of Lennox were convicted and forfeited for crimes of lese-majesté; and beheaded before the castle, in the same manner. By the forfeiture of Duke Mordo and his sons, the earldoms of Fife, and Menteith, and Lennox, came into the king's hands. The remaining lords and great barons, who were in prison for the time, at the king's pleasure, were very afraid, hearing the sharp execution of justice made on Duke Mordo and his sons. Nonetheless, they were set at liberty within a year after, and reconciled to the king's favour.

In the next year, which was from our redemption 1428, the king took Alexander, Lord of the Isles, Earl of Ross, at Inverness. On the following day, several wicked scoundrels and oppressors of the country, were taken and hanged on gibbets. On the third day after, this Lord of the Isles was accused before the king, for harbouring thieves, and not bringing of them to the king's justice, where they could be apprehended. Because this Lord of the Isles promised to amend such things in times coming, he was set at liberty: through which, great trouble followed; for, within few days after, he burned the town of Inverness, and lay closely besieging the castle thereof, until he was informed that the king was coming on him, with a great force; and than he fled to the Isles. At last, this Lord of the Isles, seeing so many people lying, each day, in wait, to bring him to the king's justice; came, disguised in poor clothing, and fell down on his knees before the king, at Holyrood House, on Easter Day; where he was sitting at his speech: and desired grace, for His sake that arose, as that day, from death. The king, at request of the Queen, spared his life; and commanded him to remain until the service was finished. Then the king began to muse, if he restored this Alexander to his lands and honours without any further punishment, it should be occasion to conspire against him in times coming. And, therefore, the said Alexander was sent to Sir William Douglas, Earl of Angus, the king's sister's son, to remain in his castle of Tantallon; that so no trouble should arise from his friends. Euphemia, his mother, daughter to Walter, once Earl of Ross, was confined in Iona; for she was a great solicitor of him to attempt such business against the king.

Not long after, Donald Balloch, brother to the said Lord Alexander of the Isles, came with a great force of men to Lochaber. The Earls of Mar and Caithness, to save the country from trouble, came with their people, and fought with the said

Donald at Inverlochy; where the Earl of Caithness was slain, and the Earl of Mar defeated. Thus Donald returned, with victory, and great plunder of goods, to the Isles.

The king, immediately, to punish these deeds, came with an army to Dunstaffnage, intending to go to the Isles: and, there, all the headsmen and clans of the Isles met him, excusing their offence; saying, They were forced, against their will, to go with the said Donald, to plunder the country. All these clans were finally taken in favour by the king, and sworn to pursue the said Donald to the death.

Not long after, this Donald fled to Ireland; where he was slain, and his head brought to Stirling, to the king.

Chap. Third.

Of great Justice done by King James the First in all parts of Scotland. Of the Birth of James the Second. Of several deeds done by the said noble Prince, James the First.

Having defeated this trouble, King James went through all lands of his realm, and punished many great scoundrels and oppressors of his people by death. No pardons granted beforehand by the Governor, were accepted before the King's court; for they had expired by his death. Also, the king thought it not pleasing to God, nor profitable to the common good, that so much slaughtering, raids, and oppressions, done before in the country, for want of justice, went unpunished. It is said, the first two years of his reign, 3,000 people were slain by his justice, for several old crimes and offences committed against the people in the years before.

And though this punishment appeared sufficient enough to all people in his realm; yet a robber, named Angus Duff, of Strathearn, came with a company of thieves, and took a great plunder of goods out of Moray and Caithness. Immediately, Angus Murray pursued him, with a great force. And this Angus Duff, not afraid of his coming, met him, in the same manner, at Strathnaver. There followed a sharp battle, fought with such cruelty on each side, that only 12 persons were left alive. King James, hearing of this slaughter, said, He was no less sorrowful for the slaughter of the men of Caithness than Moray, although none was left alive, that could be punished for the offence.

At this time, there was another great robber, named Macdonald Ross; who grew, by spoils and raids on the people, into great riches. This robber shod a poor widow with horse shoes, because she said she would go to the king, and reveal his wicked oppressions. As soon as she was healed of her wounds, she went to the king, and described the great cruelties done by this robber. The king made, soon after, such diligence, that he took this Macdonald, with 12 of his accomplices, and punished them with the most shameful death.

In the third year after, which was from our redemption 1430, on the XVI day of October, Jane, the Queen, was delivered of two sons at once, Alexander and James. The first died in his infancy; the other was James the Second, who succeeded immediately after his father to the crown. Many great barons and lords were present at their baptism. At this ceremony, 50 knights were made: first among whom was William, son to Archibald, Earl of Douglas; who succeeded after him to the earldom of Douglas.

In the next year after, the king arrested Archibald, Earl of Douglas, Duke of Touraine; and held him in long captivity. At last, by the supplication of the Queen, and other great prelates of the realm, the king pardoned his offences, and set both him and Alexander, Earl of Ross, at liberty.

As soon as the realm was brought to good tranquillity in this manner, so that passengers could travel without trouble in all parts thereof; he sent officers and judges to go through all parts of his realm; so that justice might be done as well in both the highlands and lowlands. He caused the provosts and baillies of each town to use vessels of correct sizes, for the sale of victuals, wine, and ale. Other measures, that were not marked with the mark of the baillies or provost, were broken, and the users of them fined great sums of money. At last, when he had repaired the strongholds of

his realm with appropriate fortifications, he visited the University of Saint Andrew's, often being present at their general disputations; and took such pleasure in them, that he endowed the University with several privileges, and gave them power to choose the most perfect persons, that he might appoint them to great prelacies of Scotland, as they became vacant. Thus men were always promoted to benefices according to their erudition and knowledge. Therefore, all manner of virtue spread fast during his time; and above all other advantages, the service of God increased with great reverence and honour, in most skillful music, as yet occurs to our days.

In the next year, which was from our salvation 1431, Henry the VI, King of England, came to Paris, and was crowned in Nôtre Dame Church, being but 12 years of age. And yet he was, within few years after, put both from the rule of England and France, and came, fugitive, to King James the Third: by whom he was welcomed. And yet he was a notable example of the unstable and uncertain chance of fortune; since he that was once king of two most powerful kingdoms, was put from them both, and constrained to seek refuge with foreign people.

Chap. Fourth

How the Bishop of Saint Andrew's, by long sermons, dissuaded the riotous custom of Banquets.

Not long after, a parliament was held at Perth. Among many other deeds done at this parliament, to remove the excessive expenses made in riotous cheer and banquets, which were brought into Scotland by Englishmen, at the homecoming of King James; to no less damage of men's bodies, than wasting of their goods: arose up Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of Saint Andrew's, and said: "Suppose many noble works, most wise prince! are brought into this realm by your coming; as justice, religion, and good administration, with many other good laws, to the profit of the common good: nothing prevented nor left undone, that might profit or advance your realm: all honourable customs used before among us, are confirmed by your wisdom; and all new bounties now appearing among us, are come only by your industry: furthermore, the more care and labour that you have taken to bring such honourable institutions among us, I think they should be the more diligently be kept:—now, there is a lurking plague, fast increasing with such irremediable poison, that if it is not quickly remedied, all the advantages brought by your coming to this realm shall be of little effect. The nobles that sit here in your presence have desired me to say this matter in their name; and to ask your Highness to show your wisdom in this matter as well as in the other things you have done. Several noblemen, such as were your friends in England, have come to this country, and are not unworthy to have your favour. However, they have brought with them the manners of Englishmen, who are very damaging to your people. And though their manners be not shameful in their own country, because the people are accustomed to them; I think it is a great sin to draw your people into such venomous manners: I mean, their excessive and costly courses of meats that they persuade men to eat and drink, more than is sufficient to the nourishing of nature. If you consider the temperance practised among our old fathers, you shall find nothing so contrary thereto as this new gluttony now brought among us. And yet I do not know whether this sorrowful plague is coming among us more because of our own fault, or by the fault of Englishmen; consider, we have adopted these practices so soon. Yet, in whatever way this wretched custom has come among us, it is to be despised, for the many vices that follow after; such as intemperance, lust, sloth, robbery, and wasting of goods: for if temperance is the nourisher of all virtue, then intemperance is mother of all vices. Furthermore lust and intemperance are so knitt'd together, that they may in no way be severed from each other: and he that is servant to his belly, must obey all the things that it desires. Then follows, by lust of belly, defloration of virgins, adultery, and incest. These mischiefs and poison of young men follow only from superfluity of meat and drink: and from the time a man is given once to pleasure of his belly, he becomes idle, without any thought of things to come: and, always, the more that the talent of man is given thereto, the more fiercely he runs to every kind of vice. And though a man have wasted his patrimony in such superfluous meats and drinks; yet the poison that he imbibes, by the feigned pleasure thereof, shall never leave him until he is dead."

By these and similar words, Bishop Henry dissuaded the king and his people from all superfluous courses and immoderate banquets. Nonetheless, this intemperance has risen to such insatiable greediness, that no fowl in the air nor fish in the sea are sufficient to satisfy the hungry appetite of gluttons, until their belly is so

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swollen, that they may not draw their breath; with many other such harms daily falling on them, as we see by experience.

Chap. Fifth.

Of the Siege of Roxburgh. How the King brought many craftsmen into this realm. How Paul Craw was burned, and the Charterhouse of Perth founded.

In the same year, on the 17th day of June, there was a terrible eclipse of the sun, at 3 hours after noon. The day was darkened half an hour together, as if it had been night; and therefore it was called The Black Hour.

At the next Lammas after, the king went, with an army, to besiege the castle of Marchmond; that is to say, Roxburgh. The Scots were numbered in this army as 200,000 men, including footmen and carriagemen. At last, when the king had lain at the siege 15 days, and used up all his munitions and powder, he returned home, without any more success.

Soon after the return of the army, Robert Cardin, Bishop of Dunkeld, died. After whom, succeeded Bishop James Kennedy, the king's sister's son, got on the Countess of Angus; and within 2 years afterwards, he was translated to the see of Saint Andrew's. King James, to advance the common good, and to cause his lieges to increase in more virtue, brought many noble craftsmen out of France, Flanders, and other parts: for the Scots were exercised in continual wars, from the time of King Alexander the Third, to those days; thus all craftsmen were slain by the wars.

Not long after, a man of Bohemia, named Paul Craw, was taken in Saint Andrew's, preaching new and vain superstitions to the people; especially against the sacrament of the altar, veneration of Saints, and confession to be made to priests. At last, he was brought before the theologians, and all his opinions condemned. And, because he persevered obstinately to the end of his trial, he was condemned and burned. He confessed before his death, that he was sent out of Bohemia, to preach to Scots the heresies of Huss and Wycliffe. The king commended much this punishment; and gave the abbacy of Melrose to John Fogo, for he was principal convicter of this Paul.

King James, when the realm was brought to great tranquillity and peace in this manner, went often among his subjects, especially his merchants; so that nothing should be unknown to him in his realm. At last, when he had considered the manners of their banquetting, he reprov'd them; because they suffered men to pay in their houses, after they were called to their dinners and suppers.

At this time, the Abbey of Carthusian monks was founded beside Perth, thought the great munificence of King James.

In the next year, ambassadors came to Scotland from King Henry, asking that the treaty with France would be dissolved between Scots and Frenchmen; and promising, if the Council of Scotland would assent thereto, to give over Berwick, with all the lands lying between Tweed and the Rey Cross, in Northumberland. The king, knowing there was nothing but deceit in their promises, sent them away them, without any more discussion of these matters.

Chap Sixth.

How the Earl of March was forfeited. Of several honourable deeds done by the Earl of Mar; and of his great industry and wisdom.

The year from the Incarnation, 1433 years, the king took George Dunbar, son of the Earl of March that rebelled against King Robert the Third, his father; and imprisoned him in the Castle of Edinburgh. And soon after, he sent William, Earl of Angus; William Creighton, Chancellor; Adam Hepburn of Hailes; with sharp writings, to the captain and keepers thereof, to deliver the said castle, without any delay, in their hands. Thus was the castle surrendered, without any more delay.

The king, immediately held a parliament at Perth; and, there George, Earl of March, was forfeited for the treacherous rebellion of George, his father, against King Robert the Third. In this way, the noble and ancient house of the earldom of March failed; which had flourished so many years, to the great defence and strength of this realm: and for small offence brought to naught. The king, moved by some mercy, within short time after, gave the earldom of Buchan to the said George, with a yearly pension of 400 marks, to be paid to him from the said earldom of March. This pension was allowed to the said George, and Patrick his son, until the coming of age of King James the Second.

In the same year Alexander Stuart, Earl of Mar, died. This Alexander was a bastard son of Alexander, Earl of Buchan, described above; who was son to King Robert the Second. He was a man of singular virtue, in his tender years; and was at the siege of Liège, when it was taken by Philip, Duke of Burgundy. And, for the great glory that he won in the said campaign, he was married to a lady, named Jane, Countess of Holland. Nonetheless, he was put from her: it is uncertain whether it came by the said Countess, because she had another husband; or because the inhabitants did not wish to be mingled with foreign blood. Within a short time afterwards, he returned to Scotland; and sent his servants to Holland, desiring the income of his land. And because he got nothing but repulse thereof, he made continual wars on the Hollanders, until they were forced to pay him all the income due, and made peace with the Scots for a hundred years. This Earl of Mar was a very industrious and civil man; for he brought out of Hungary to Scotland, several great horses and mares, to improve the country by their generation. Thus the country was, within a few years after, filled full of great horses; for, before his time, there were nothing but small nags in this realm. This wise Earl, for his wisdom, was made Lieutenant of all the North of Scotland. He was buried in Dunkeld. After his death, all his lands, riches, and income were confiscated into the king's hands, because he was got of unlawful bed.

Chap. Seventh.

How Denmark and Scotland were reconciled of all disputes. How King James' daughter, Margaret, was married to the Dauphin of France. And how Percy was defeated by Douglas at Piperden.

Not long before this time, a herald was sent by the King of Denmark to Scotland, desiring the yearly tribute, owed to him for many years past, of the Isles; according to the promise made by King Alexander the Third. Soon after, Sir William Creighton was sent by the king to Denmark; where he accomplished all matters so pleasantly, that nothing but good peace and friendship followed afterwards between the two realms of Danes and Scots.

At this time, ambassadors were sent by Charles the 7th, to renew the treaty between Scotland and France. And to confirm the same with more permanent happiness, Margaret, eldest daughter to the said King James, was given in marriage to Louis, Dauphin of France.

Many ships were prepared, and many of the greatest nobles of Scotland were sent to take her to France, with 140 ladies, matrons, and virgins: among whom were 5 sisters of Margaret. When this fleet had been prepared, and the ships were ready to depart; an herald of England came, desiring the king not to send his daughter to France: and said, if he refused, his daughter would be taken, with all her company, by Englishmen, lying on the sea, waiting for her coming. King James, notwithstanding this menacing host of Englishmen, commanded the mariners to pull up sails with more diligence. And in the meantime, the Englishmen that lay in wait to capture Margaret and her company, by chance, came upon a fleet of Spaniards; where great slaughter was done on either side. And in the meantime, when they were fighting most fiercely, the Scots navy came through the seas, without any sight of enemies, and landed at Touraine; where they were received with great triumph by King Charles; and the marriage made solemnly, between his son, Louis the Dauphin, and Margaret.

While such things were done in France and Scotland, Henry Percy of Northumberland came, with 4,000 men, to Scotland; it is uncertain, whether he came by his own, or by the king's authority. William Douglas, Earl of Angus, to resist his invasion, came with a company of chosen men; among whom were Adam Hepburn of Hailes, Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, and Alexander Elphinston of that ilk; and met the said Henry Percy at Piperdean: where it was fought cruelly, with great slaughter on all sides; but at last the Scots were victorious.

In this battle, of the Scots, Alexander Elphinston of that ilk, with 200 gentlemen and commoners of Scotland, were slain. Of the enemy, Henry Clydesdale, John Ogil, Richard Percy, with 1500 Englishmen; of whom 40 were knights, were slain: and of them 300 were captured, and brought to Scotland.

Chap. Eighth.

Of the murder of King James the First; and of the punishment that was made for it; and of several marvels seen in Albion.

Great mischief and sorrow followed in Scotland after this defeat of Englishmen, at Piperdean, by the secret conspiring of Walter Stuart, Earl of Atholl: who maintained always a right to the crown, by reason that he was got by King Robert the second, on his first wife. This Earl, as we said before, in the genealogy of Stuarts, was the principal mover of Robert, Duke of Albany, to slay David Stuart, Duke of Rothesay. And after the home-coming of James the First, he solicited the said King to slay Duke Mordo, with all other of Duke Robert's lineage; trusting, when these noblemen were put down, to find some secret way to slay the King, and his children, so that he might thereafter succeed to the crown. And because all Duke Robert's sons were dead, some of them slain at the battle of Verneuill, and others executed by King James; he persuaded Robert Stuart, his grandson, and Robert Grahame, his cousin, to slay the King. This Robert was, before, outlawed by the King, for several great offenses done by him, against the King's authority, and had hated nothing more than the King. These wretched traitors, lying, as we have said, in wait, to espy suitable time to fulfill their cursed purpose; came, soon after, to the Black Friars of Perth, where the King was lodged for the time: and, by licence of the porters, they entered in the King's hall; purposing to have remained there, until the coming of another familiar servant to the King, who was participant with them in the said treachery, to get entrance into the King's secret chamber, by his help. Yet, before the coming of this man, a servant, named Walter Stratton, opened the door, and went forth to fetch wine for the King's refreshment. As soon as he saw them awfully arrayed at the door, he cried "Treachery!" and tried, with all his strength, to return again: nonetheless, he was soon slain. Yet, the slaying of him made delayed the others so much, that a young maiden, named Katherine Douglas, who was afterwards married to Alexander Lovell of Bollumbie, closed the door: and, because the bar was missing that should have closed the door, she shot her arme into the place where the bar should have passit. She was but young, and her bones not solid, and therefore, her arm was soon broken asunder, and the door beaten open, by force. Immediately, they entered: and, after they had slain the familiar servants that defended him, they slew the King, with many cruel wounds, and wounded the Queen, who was defending him. The principal man that fought in the King's defence, was Patrick Dunbar, brother to George, sometime Earl of March; and was left for dead, in the chamber.

This prince was of middling stature, broad shouldered, and small waisted; with all his members well proportioned: one of the most virtuous princes that ever was before his days; very just in all his life, and sharp punisher of vice. He was slain the 21st day of February, the 44th year of his age, in the 13th year of his reign; from our redemption 1436 years. His body was buried in the Charterhouse Abbey, which he founded a short time before his death.

The nobles, very sorrowful because of his murder, made great diligence in searching for these traitors. Until, at last, they were all apprehended, and brought to Edinburgh, where they were punished in this manner: The Earl of Atholl, who was principal mover of this treachery, was first plundered of all his clothes; save only a linen rag, to hid his private members. Then they made a instrument of wood, like the winch of a well: and, after they had fastened it in a cart, they hung this Earl upon the hook of the said winch, and walked with the said cart through the town; once raising

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this traitor, that the people might see him, high in the air, and then letting him fall down, with a crash, upon the road: then brought him to a place, where there was the most confluence of people, and crowned him with hot iron; for a witch had said to him, he should be crowned King before his death. This illusion caused him to live always under vain hope to overcome the crown. On the following day, this Earl was dragged with his accomplices, through all the streets of the town. On the third day, his belly was opened, and his bowels taken forth, and cast, quivering, into the fire, before his eyes. After further tortures, his heart was taken out of his body, and cast in the fire. His head was shorn from his body, and his body quartered. His grandson, Robert Stuart, was punished in the same manner. Robert Grahame, principal slayer of the King, was dragged through the town in a cart, and the hand that slew the King, bound to it; and hot irons were driven through all parts of his body, where no quick death would result. And after this great punishment, he was demanded how he dared be so bold to slay the King; he answered: "It is but folly to ask what a man dare do: I dare, said he, to jump into hell, although I could choose between heaven and hell." Then he was punished in the same manner as the other two.

In the same time, there was in Scotland, Aeneas Silvius, ambassador of Pope Eugenius the 4th; a man of great learning; who was sent, by that Pope, to negotiate peace between Englishmen and Scots. This Aeneas was afterwards, for his singular virtue, made Pope of Rome. Nonetheless, when he was doing his mission most diligently in Scotland, came this blow of fortune, that the King was slain. And when he saw him dead, he said: "The Scots were not worthy to have any kingdoms or honours, unless they condignly punished the King's murder." He commended them greatly, when he saw such sharp punishment carried out for his murder.

In the time of King James the First, there were several marvels seen in Albion: a sow had her litter with dogs' heads: a calf was seen with a horse's head: a comet appeared before the King's death; it was long with terrible rays: and such a vehement frost occurred in the winter before, that wine and ale were sold by pound weights, and melted again by the fire: a sword was seen, flying in the air, to no the terror and wonder of the people.

And so ends here, the seventeenth book of these Chronicles.

The Epistle of the Translator To the King's Grace.

Erasmus Roterodamus, in his book, named *The Institution of Christian Kings*; says, most noble prince! nothing is more admirable than works of kings: which are so obvious to the sight of people, that every man has them in his mouth, to their commendation or reproof. Thus, nothing is so fruitful to remedy the common errors of the people, as the honourable and virtuous life of kings: for the life of the king draws their subjects to imitation of his works, worthy or unworthy; and the good or bad results of this are plain to be seen. Further, in every history that men read, it is clear that the people have the same manners as the king. And the people imitate nothing more keenly, nor keep in more recent memory, than the works of noblemen; it follows that their business should be more governed by virtue, than that of any other estates.

Among many knightly exercises used by noble princes, I find none more profitable to them, than frequent reading of these and other histories; for in them may be found many wholesome passages. Also, the fruit of history is so necessary, that, without it, the deeds of forceful champions are forgotten. By contrast, the effect thereof causes those things which are many years gone, to appear as recent in our memory, as if they were but recently done. Therefore, said the moral poet Horace, "He that grows old in his own country, not following such things as have been done before him; for lack of experience, is but a child."

For these reasons, I, that have been your humble servant since your first infancy, have translated the history of Scotland, since the first beginning thereof, into your vulgar language; that your Highness may know the valiant and noble deeds done by your ancestors; and have cognisance how this realm has been governed these 1800 years past: which was never subjected to foreign rule, except to the native princes thereof; although it has sustained great trouble, by wars of the Romans, Englishmen, and Danes, with several changes of fortune. Here, your Highness may understand how your realm should be governed in justice, and what persons are most able to bear authority or office thereunto; seeing many of your elders fallen from virtue, from the company of young and insolent people; vain flatterers, who had no regard for the welfare nor honour of their prince, but only for their own advantages. I doubt not but, in the same manner, are many persons now depending on your Highness, so filled with avarice, that your Grace can do nothing so damaging to your honour or princely estate, but it shall be well commended by them, if they find your will and pleasure set thereto. Nonetheless, your Highness is coming now to such perfection, that you understand well who have been the abusers, and who the best lovers of your welfare; Since your majesty, by no less courage than wisdom, has pacified this region, and brought the same to certain rest, good peace and tranquillity; although it could not by done be your great barons, during your tender age. It appears, therefore, that your noble and worthy deeds proceed more from natural inclination and active courage, than any goodly persuasion of your assistants. And though your Highness is gifted with more gifts of nature than have been seen before in any other prince; you may firmly believe, if such pre-eminent gifts of nature are abused, no works shall follow worthy to be remembered.

Therefore, my Sovereign, I dare boldly affirm that no other business shall be more fruitful to your Highness, than frequent reading of these, and similar histories. For such things shall not only move you to imitation of virtue, but shall imbue no less experience and wisdom, than if you had travelled through the world, or aged by long

process of years; seeing so many examples of virtuous and vicious living: with such illustrious deeds of arms, that, if your elders had possessed prudence equal to their native manhood, no people could have been preferred to them in martial glory: as appears at more length, in reading this history. Here your Grace shall understand, how inviolately the faith of Christ has been observed by your ancestors, never falling from certain religion and pity. Here the broad difference shall be known, between kings and tyrants. For, as Seneca says, in his Tragedies; Not all are kings that are clothed with purple and diadem: but only those that seek no personal profit, to the damage of the common good; and so vigilant, that the life of their subjects is more dear and precious to them than their own life. A tyrant seeks riches; a king seeks honour obtained by virtue. A tyrant governs his realm by slaughter, fear, and falsehood; a king guides his realm by prudence, integrity, and favour. A tyrant suspects all those who have riches, great dominion, authority, or great rents; a king holds such men for his most helpful friends. A tyrant loves none but vain flatterers, vicious and wicked scoundrels, by whose counsel he rages in slaughter and tyranny: a king loves men of wisdom, gravity, and knowledge; knowing well, that his great matters will be well addressed by their prudence. The truth is, that kings and tyrants have many hands, many eyes, and many more members. A tyrant set himself to be feared; a king, to be loved. A tyrant rejoices to make his people poor; a king, to make them rich. A tyrant draws his people into different factions, discord, and hatred: a king makes peace, tranquillity, and concord; knowing nothing so damaging as division among his subjects. A tyrant despises all divine and human laws; a king observes them, and rejoices in equity and justice. All these things shall be seen, in reading the lives of good and evil kings, in the preceding history.

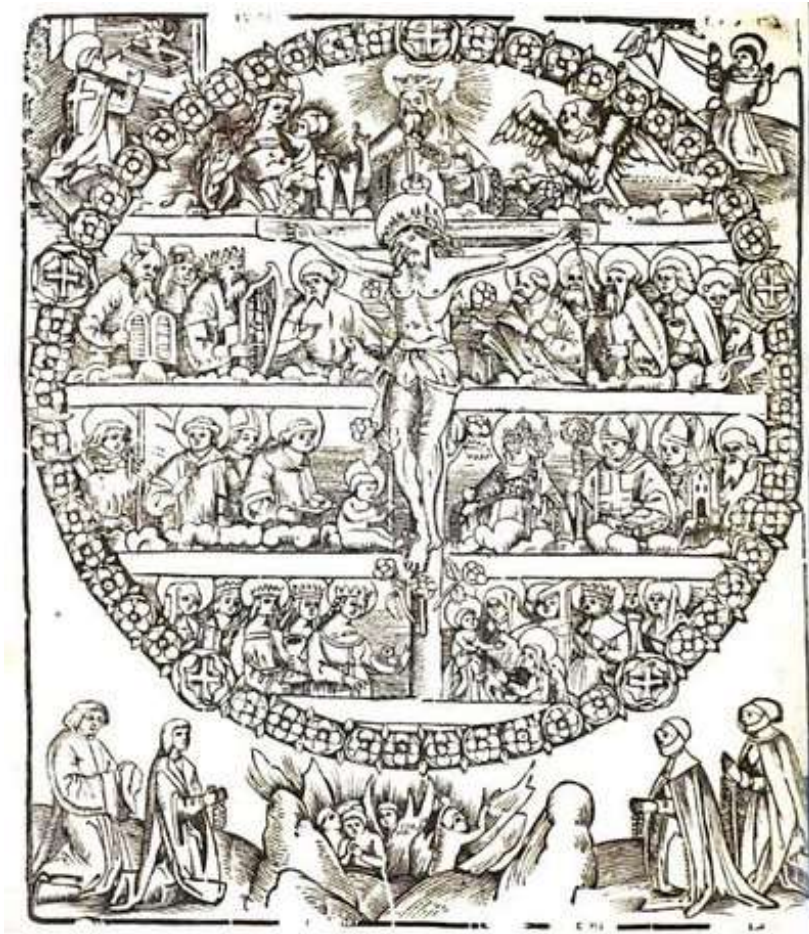
Thus, your Highness may have great usefulness and pleasure from this foresaid history. For what thing may be more pleasant, than to see in this present volume, as in a clear mirror, all the variance of times past: the different changes of fortune: the bloody fighting, and terrible battles, so many years continued, in the defence of your realm and liberty; which has fallen to your Highness with great happiness, although it has often been ransomed with the most noble blood of your predecessors. Who is he that will not rejoice to here the knightly affairs of these powerful champions, King Robert Bruce, and William Wallace? The first, by innate desire to recover his realm, was brought to such calamity, that for many days he dared not appear in the sight of people; but, among waste lands, living on roots and herbs, in hope of better fortune; but, at last, by his singular courage, he came to such pre-eminent glory, that now, he is reputed the most valiant and noble prince, that was before or after his rule. The other, from small beginnings, by fierce courage, and bodily strength, not only put Englishmen out of Scotland, but also, by fear of his awful visage, put Edward, King of England, to flight: and held all the Borders opposite Scotland, waste. In this way many other valiant princes has been in this realm: as Caratacus, Galdus, Kenneth, Gregor, Fergus, with many others, described above in this history. And though some of your ancestors were fallen from virtue, it is not surprising. For of the Roman Emperors many were vicious: as Nero, Caligula, Heliogabalus, Domitian, Commodus, Vitellius, with many others. And, though their vicious deeds are abominable to their posterity, yet, the deploring of their calamity, shall move the readers to imitation of virtue. For, it was never heard, but a man of vicious life has a vicious ending: and not only kings and princes have been cast down from their imperial estate, when they were aberrant from virtuous discipline; but many noble barons in that same manner, when they, by proud insolence, were repugnant to their superior. Trust, therefore, my sovereign, your Highness will be kept with in

memory no less eloquence, than gravity; to have fame as it deserves, now presently in this life. Beseeching the glorious and merciful Lord, to give you grace to persevere in such felicity, that we, your subjects, may have sufficient motive to desire your Highness long alive. The which may the gracious God grant! Amen.

**Here ends the History and
Chronicles of Scotland, with the Cosmography
and description thereof. Compiled by the noble Clerk,
Mlaster Hector Boece, Canon of Aberdeen.
Translated lately into our vulgar and
Common language, by Mlaster John Bellenden,
Archdean of Moray. And printed in Edinburgh
By me, Thomas Davidson, Printer
To the King's Noble Grace.**

Cum Privilegio<127>

Colophon.
Symbolic representation of the Crucifixion



THE END

Notes

Notes added by the Ex-Classics Project transcriber are identified by [TN]. Other notes are by the uncredited editor of the 1821 edition from which this work is taken. Translations of Latin are also by the Ex-Classics Project.

1. The only copy of this book known to exist, is printed upon vellum, and preserved in the Advocates' Library.

2. *En ego, &c.*: "Thus I, the type and image of justice, award these lilies to the servants of the truth at my right hand, and strike with the sword and cast down into the Stygian lake those who declare the opposite." [TN]

3. There are in Scotland two copies of Bellenden's Boece, printed upon vellum. One of these is preserved in the library of the Duke of Hamilton; and a more splendid specimen of early typography, and of antique binding, cannot well be imagined. The vellum upon which it is printed is stainless — and the breadth of the margin would satisfy the most fastidious and princely Collector. The boards bear the following inscription. JACOBUS QUINTUS REX SCOTORUM — and on the title-page, the initials J. R. appear in manuscript. They are, in all probability, in the handwriting of that monarch, to whom the volume appears to have belonged. The other, which is inferior, belongs to the library of the University of Edinburgh. The title-page bears the following quaint inscription: *Thomas Willson Mercator, me Bibliothecae Edinburgensae dono dedit, Anno-dom. 1669.* "Thomas Willson, merchant, gave me to the library of [the University of] Edinburgh." This valuable volume seems to have been heedlessly committed to the hands of a tasteless bookbinder, and has, in consequence, suffered much from those operations known by the name of *cobbling*.

4. This passage has been translated from Scots.[TN]

5. Warton's *History of English Poetry*, I. 318.

6. Pinkerton.

7. *Statute relative to Education*: 1494, c. 54.

8. *And ye, &c.*: "And you, my sovereign by a continuous line from your ancestors who were all kings, write quick-flowing, colourful and rhetorical verse in an ornate poetical style, the lively flowers of which so freshly springing, to the great comfort of all true Scots men." [TN]

9. *Ariosto glanceth at his worth*: Drummond's *History of Scotland*, Edin. 1682, p. 348.

10. *History of Church of Scotland*, p. 68.

11. The name is variously written, Boyis, Boyes, Boiss, Boice, and Boece. The last has been adopted as the more usual orthography. It came originally from France, and never appears to have been common in Scotland. It occurs only once in the General Index to the *Retours—Barbareta Boyes incola* [inhabitant] in *Dundee. Inquis. Generales*, 7528.

12. This letter was in answer to one which Erasmus had previously received from the Scottish historian, dated at Aberdeen, on the 7th of June 1528. By some accident, it appears not to have reached him till the month of February, 1530. After assigning this circumstance as the cause of his apparent long delay in replying to Boece's communication, Erasmus proceeds,— *Quam, mihi tua consuetudo jucunda fuit Hector eruditissime, quum ante annos triginta duo Lutetiae in literarum stadio pariter*

curreremus, licet te pro ingenii tui singulari felicitate multis passibus precurrente: tam mihi gratum fuit eam voluptatem ex tanto intervallo mihi tuis literis refricari. ["How delightful your company was to me, most learned Hector, when thirty-two years ago in Paris we ran together in the race of letters, although you, on account of the singular success of your talent, preceded me by many paces: it was so pleasing to me to refresh that pleasure with your letters from such a distance."] At the close of the letter, Erasmus expresses great satisfaction in learning that Scotland was making rapid progress in the liberal arts. For this she was indebted, in no inconsiderable degree, to Hector Boece.

13. *Gifts and promises: "Muneribus et pollicitationibus." Vitae Episc. Murth. et Aberd. fol. 27.*

14. Samuel Johnaon, *A Tour to the Hebrides.*

15. *Boetius (Arthurus) Hectoris frater juris canonici Professor in academia Aberdonensi. Scripsit Excerpta ex Jure Pontificio, lib. 1. Claruit Anno MDXX.* ["Arthur Boece, brother of Hector, Professor of Canon Law at the University of Aberdeen. He wrote *Extracts from Church Law, Book 1.* He shone in the year 1520"] Tanner's *Bib. Brit. Hib.* The name of Arthur Boyes, the Laird of Balwery, (probably this person,) occurs in the original nomination of the Lords of Session in 1532; but it does not appear that he ever acted.—*Acts of Par.* vol. II. 336. Hailes' *Catalogue of Lords of Session*, p. 1.

16. Orem's *Description of King's College*, p. 166.

17. *Vitae Episc. Murth. et Aber. folio 29.*

18. *Senectus ei jucunda et veneranda, non morosa, non auxia, non difficilis, non tristis.* "His old age [was] cheerful and venerable, not gloomy, not troubled, not cranky, not sad." *Vitae Episc. Murth. et Aber. fol. 31.*

19. 1450

20. Orem's *Description. of King's College*, p. 175.

21. "A History of the Scots, from the origin of the people, with other things and people, a learned edition." The printing was executed, *Jodoci Badii Ascensii typis et opera, impensis autem nobilis et praedocti viri Hectoris Boethii, Deidoani.* "Typeset and printed by Jodocus Badius Ascensius at the charge of that most noble and learned man, Hector Boece of Dundee." The title-page contains a curious engraving of the Ascensian Press, within a border of fantastic devices, and surmounted by a medallion figure of a monk, crowned with laurel, and seated at a writing-desk; which Mr Herbert supposes to be a portrayal of the author.—*Typographical Antiquities*, vol. III. p. 1471.

22. *Privy Seal*, Reg. vi. fol. 70.

23. *Privy Seal*, Reg. viii. 75.

24. *Privy Seal*, Reg. x. 177.

25. The authors of the *Biographia Britannica* have erroneously supposed, that Boece died only a short time previous to the year 1550. The only reason given for this conjecture is, that, in that year, they find his death lamented by Latonius and Wolfius, two learned foreigners, with whom he had been intimately acquainted at the university of Paris.

26. Lluyd, Lloyd, and Stillingfleet. "This furious regicide," says the late Mr David M'Pherson, in a MS. note on his copy of the *Origines Britannicae*," in his hurry to demolish the fictitious kings of the Scots, whom no sensible Scotsman wishes to rescue out of his hands, sacrifices along with them all the real and well authenticated sovereigns whose names he does not find in the genealogy of the direct ancestors of Alexander the Third; so that all the branches of the royal family which failed of issue, are, by this new kind of argument, proven never to have existed." It is not to be supposed, that, with such views as these, Stillingfleet could treat Hector Boece with much lenity or candour.

27. *Laid it to wed*: Pawned it.

28. Jamieson's *Culdees*.

29. Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, vol. II. p. 296.

30. *Aeneas Silvius*: Pope Pius II.

31. Mackenzie's *Antiq. of Royal Line*, chap. III.

32. The various references to the Scotichronicon in the Chronicles are introduced by Bellenden.

33. Nichol. *Hist. Lib.* p. 26.

34. *Antiq. of the Royal Line*, chap. III.

35. p. 305.

36. *Audivi adolescens Abredoniae ubi Boethius Academiae praefuit et fato functus est, ilium exemplaria eorum authorum manuscripta delevisse ad conciliandum Historise suae gratiam ut nostrae antiquitates solum inde haurientur, Misellus homo! Quantum acceperit gratiae in dubio est.* "I heard that a young man in Aberdeen, where Boethius was prefect of the Academy, had destroyed the manuscript copies of their authors in order to gain the favour of his historian, so that our antiquities could only be drawn from them, wretched man! How much grace he received is doubtful."—Nichol. *Hist. Lib.* p. 27

37. *Quis rem tam vetustam pro certo affirmet*: "Which thing is declared to be true from ancient times." [TN]

38. *General Dictionary*, vol. III. p. 435. Mackenzie's *Defence of Royal Line*.—In the letter formerly referred to, Erasmus, in addressing Boece, takes occasion to remark, *Quod a tuis moribus semper fuit alienissimum mentiri.* "To lie has always been most alien to your character."

39. *Hectoris historici tot quod mendacia quaeris
Si vis ut numerem (lector amici) tibi;
Idem me jubeas fluctus numerare marinos
Et liquidi stellas denumerare poli.*

"Friend reader, if you would ask me to count the number of Hector's lies, I could as easily count the waves of the sea or the stars of the sky."

-- Lluyd.

40. *Non solum artium liberalium cognitione supra quam illa ferebant tempora insignem; sed humanitate et comitate singulari praeditum.* "He was distinguished not only by his knowledge of the liberal arts, which was above that of those times; but endowed with extraordinary humanity and kindness."—*Buchan. Lib. II.*

41. *Vir singularis ingenii, felicitatis, et facundi oris.* "A man of singular genius, happiness, and eloquence"[TN]
42. Lesley, Lib. IX.
43. Vol. I. p. 460.
44. Bale says of him, *Ex orientali Scotia oriundus.* "Born in the East of Scotland."
45. Lindsay's *Works*, 1806. Vol. I. 287.
46. *Escheat*: Confiscation, or the property confiscated.. [TN]
47. *Privy Seal Register*, XI. 31.
48. *Privy Seal Register*, Vol. XI. 69.
49. *Privy Seal Register*, Vol. 11. p. 595-600.
50. Scotstarvet's *Staggering State*, p. 130.
51. *Catalogue of Lords of Session*. Note 16th.
52. p. 107. "He died, I think, in Rome in 1550."
53. *Laboriosa cura, et incredibili studio artes omnes, humanas atque etiam divinas perceptit*: "Through extraordinary hard work and study, he knew everything of divinity and the humanities." [TN]
54. Bale and Dempster.
55. *Therefore thow ganis, for no catyve wightis Allanerly, bot unto nobyll men.* "Therefore, you are suitable for noblemen only, not for low-class fellows." [TN]
56. This MS., which is preserved in the Advocates' Library, bears the date of 1558; a great part of it, however, has evidently been written at a more recent period.
57. Bellenden not unfrequently introduces into his narrative passages of considerable length, of which no trace is to be found in the original. Instances of this are the story of the White Hart, which attacked David the First, while hunting on Rood-day [Holy Cross Day, 14th September]; the animadversions on that king's excessive liberality to the church; the remark which it drew from James the First; the defence of Robert Bruce from the suspicion of having occasioned the capture of Dunbar, by withdrawing his vassals from its defence; and the information as to the nickname, and losses of Archibald, Earl of Douglas, are all supplied by the translator. Numerous other instances occur throughout the work. In general, however, Bellenden has rather abridged his author; but he has done it judiciously; the uninteresting passages being those upon which this liberty has been most freely exercised.
58. Bk. III. Ch. xvi.
59. Bk. VI. Ch. xvii.
60. Ibid.
61. Bk. VIII. Ch. vii.— Bk. XI. Ch. vi.
62. Bk. XI. Ch. vii.
63. Bk. XI. Ch. ix.
64. Lord Hailes.
65. Bk. XII. Ch. iii. iv. v. vi. vii.

66. Macbeth, Act iv. Sc. 3. Chronicles, B. XII. C. vii.
67. Macbeth, Act. v. So. 7. Chronicles, Ibid.
68. Bk. XI. Ch. iv.
69. *Super quondam somnio*: "On a former dream." [TN]
70. *Diversi generis carmina*: "Songs of different kinds." [TN]
71. "It is certain that many of his writings are in the hands of persons of distinction in Scotland, who are careful preservers of such kind of curiosities"—*Biograph. Britan.*
72. "O Romans (said he) have ye so fierce and innate cruelty in your hearts, that ye may see him bound under the gallows with great torment and punishment: whom ye saw lately decorated and triumphant, with high victory of your enemies. I believe ye sons of Alba Longa are not so unmerciful that they will behold so terrible a sight and cruelty done to him. Go, Burreus, and bind those hands, which lately, when they were armed, brought such a great victory to the Roman people: Go, Burreus, and cover the head of that champion, who is the deliverer of this city from slavery: Hang up his body from a wretched tree: scourge him now within the Pomerium, among the Horatian Pillars; and the spoils taken by him from the enemy; or else scourge him outside the Pomerium among the sepulchres of the Curatii — Ye can bring him to no place within your jurisdiction; but his great merits, and glory of victory, shall always deliver him from such shameful and vile punishment." [TN]
73. *Silver Diana*: The Moon. *Artophilax*: The constellation Boötes. *Charles' Wain*: The Plough. *Urses*: The Great and Little Bear. *Lucifer*: The planet Venus. [TN]
74. *Heavenly creatures*: i.e the astrological influences. [TN]
75. *Sardanapall*: Sardanapalus, according to (unreliable) Greek historians the last king of Assyria, whose degenerate and hedonistic lifestyle led to his downfall. [TN]
76. *Camil*: Marcus Furius Camillus, legendary Roman hero, who is supposed to have defended Rome against the Gauls around 390 BC.
77. *Notus*: The God of the South wind. [TN]
78. *Scarlet*: a kind of heavy expensive cloth, not necessarily red in colour. [TN]
79. The Scottish Isles came under the sovereignty of the King of Scots in 1493. [TN]
80. *Electuary*: A medicinal ointment. [TN]
81. *Golden Titan*: The Sun [TN]
82. *Scotichronicon*: A 15th-century chronicle by the Scottish historian Walter Bower, one of Boece's sources. [TN]
83. *Tressure*: In heraldry, a narrow band surrounding the shield at some distance from the edge. [TN]
84. *Sorners*: People who live by intimidating others into giving them free food and lodging. [TN]
85. *Free regality*: A territorial jurisdiction, co-extensive with that exercised by the Crown, conferred by the king upon a subject. In civil matters this jurisdiction was equal to that of a sheriff; in criminal matters, to that of the justiciary, though not competent in cases of treason. Originally apparently conferred only as part of and

along with a grant of land by the king. [TN, taken from *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, DSL, 1990]

86. *Commission of Blood*: The authority of a judge to pass sentence of death. [TN]

87. *Barding*: Caparison or armour for war horses. [TN]

88. *Voada*: Now called Boadicea or Boudicca. [TN]

89. *Saint Barnabas' Day*: 11th June. [TN]

90. *In Principio*: "In the beginning"; *John* 1:1. *Verbum caro factum est*: "The word was made flesh"; *John* 1:14. [TN]

91. *Avail*: A sum payable to the lord by his tenants, on the marriage of his heir. [TN]

92. *Boetius*: See <https://www.exclassics.com/consol/conintro.htm> on this web site. [TN]

93. *I am fre marche, &c.*: "Let those who pass know, that this is the border of Scots, Britons, and English." [TN]

94. *Dongard*: Perhaps Dundalk? [TN]

95. *Pontus*: Perhaps Drogheda; in Irish the town is called *Droichead Átha* "The bridge at the ford." (*Pons*, *Pontis* is Latin for a bridge) [TN]

96. *The Fates*: "Weird sisters" i.e Sisters of Destiny, in the original. They held the thread of life; one spun, one measured the length of the life of each man, and one cut the thread. Called *Moirai* in classical mythology, and *Norns* by the Norse. [TN]

97. Her grandson, the third Lord Crichton, was embroiled in an affair with the sister of King James III which resulted in a child. Then he was implicated in a conspiracy involving the king's younger brother. This led to the forfeiture of his estates and title. [TN]

98. *Exaltation of the Cross*: Celebrated on the 14th of September. [TN]

99. *Ciborium*: A container for consecrated hosts. [TN]

100. *Epiphany Day*: 6th January. [TN]

101. *Lammas Day*, called *Advincula Petri*: 1st August. [TN]

102. *Assumption Day of our Lady*: 15th August. [TN]

103. *Martinmas*: 11th November. [TN]

104. *Saint Stephen's Day of Yule*: 26th December.

105. *By staff and burdoun*: The transfer of possession of lands, &c. was symbolized by handing over a wooden staff. [TN]

106. *Magdalen Day*: 22nd July. [TN]

107. *Feast of All Saints*: 1st November. [TN]

108. *Saint Matthias' Day*: 24th February. The battle of Roslin was actually fought in 1303 by modern reckoning. In Boece's time the year began on 25th March, so dates between 1st January and 24th March were counted with the previous year. [TN]

109. *Use of Sarum*: A version of the Mass liturgy used in England from the late eleventh century until the English Reformation. [TN]

110. *The chair of marble*: Known as the Stone of Scone, it remained in Westminster until 1996, when it was returned to Scotland. It was brought back temporarily to Westminster for the coronation of King Charles III. It is now on display at Perth. [TN]
111. *The nativity of Saint John the Baptist*: 24th June. [TN]
112. *Ulcony*: There is no town of this name, or anything like it, in Ireland. The Latin text has *Ulconia*, possibly a misprint for *Ultonia*, which is the province of Ulster. [TN]
113. *Mace-bearer*: An officer of arms of the Crown, under the Lord Lyon's authority, who delivered royal commands and summonses and uttered public proclamations. (*Dictionary of the Scots Language*.) [TN]
114. *Magdalen's Day*: Feast of St. Mary Magdelene, 22nd July. [TN]
115. *Lent*: A period of forty days before Easter. [TN]
116. This rather confused passage seems to mean that Ramsay thought that Douglas was Douglas's own servant who had stripped his master of his fine armour. Thus as a servant he fetched a small ransom. [TN]
117. *Michaelmas*: 29th September. [TN]
118. *Our Lady-day, in Lent, called the Annunciation*: 25th March. [TN]
119. *Saint Andrew's Day*: 30th November. [TN]
120. *Hackbutters*: Soldiers who use a hackbut, which was a very heavy musket supported for firing on a tripod or long rod with a fork at the top, placed near the muzzle, while the soldier held the butt; *Cuirass*: A piece of armour covering the upper torso, with a breast-plate and a back-plate connected by leather straps; *Crown of the sun*: A large gold coin. [TN]
121. *Hallowmass*: The feast of All Saints, 1st November [TN]
122. *St George's Day*: 23rd April. [TN]
123. *Rood Day in harvest*: The Feast of the Cross, 14th September. [TN]
124. *Saint James' Eve*: 24th July. [TN]
125. *Care Sunday*: The fifth Sunday in Lent (second before Easter) also called Passion Sunday.
126. *Beltane Day, called the Invention of the Holy Cross*: Beltane is 1st May; the Invention (i.e discovery) of the Holy Cross is now celebrated on 7th May, but before the 1960s it was the 3rd.
127. *Cum Privilegio*: "With privilege" -- used in a published book to indicate that the issue is duly licensed or authorised.